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CHAUKHAMBHA ORIENTAL RESEARCH STUDIES
NO. 1

MITHILĀ IN THE AGE OF VIDYĀPATI

By
RADHAKRISHNA CHAUDHARY

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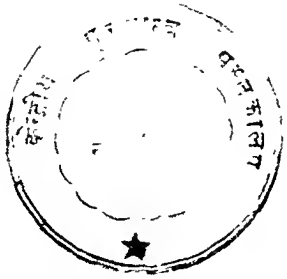

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निर्देश संख्या...
नई दिल्ली
केन्द्रीय पुरातत्व पुस्तकालय
901.0954 Cha.

For

My Wife

"A perfect woman, nobly planed,
To warn, to comfort, and command;
And yet a spirit still, and bright,
With something of angelic light."

PREFACE

The present work attempts to survey in details the life and condition of the people of Mithilā (North Bihar) between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century A.D. The nature of society, polity and economy in India is such that historical studies have necessarily to be more largely based on regional lines. Regional studies are necessary for having a broader view of the study of Indian history as a whole. Regional history should be studied in a wider perspective, reflecting on a larger canvass. Mithilā's role in the history of India is unique in many respects and the period, under review, was one of transformation from old to new and was marked by a cultural flowering of which Vidyāpati was a typical representative.

The work is based mainly on the writings of Vidyāpati and other contemporary authors and thinkers. All possible literary sources (published or unpublished) of the period, under review, have been critically scrutinised, studied and systematically arranged to present an integrated picture of society and culture in medieval Mithilā. Other sources, besides the literary ones, have also been tapped. The main aim of study is to bring out all possible details regarding the life of the common folk of Mithilā. No such attempt has hitherto been made in respect of any part of the history of Bihar and as such it may be treated as a pioneer attempt. My 'History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut' (1200–1765) fills up a major gap in the history of Mithilā and the present work fills up a major gap of cultural aspect in so for as the history of Bihar in general and Mithilā, in particular, is concerned. The present work is the result of my studies on Mithilā for the last twentyfive years. No last word can be said in history since it is a developing discipline and hence I do not claim finality in my work. Further research and discoveries may throw fresh light on the hitherto unknown aspect of the cultural life of Mithilā.

If this work stimulates further research on the subject I shall think my labour amply rewarded. If this humble

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(A) Abbreviations and (B) Bibliography.

(A) Abbreviations

ABORI — Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
AB — Aiteieya Brāhmaṇa.
AIOC — All India Oriental Congress.
AIE — Ancient Indian Education.
Annals — Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
ARASI — Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
or *ASIAR*— Do (Annual Report).
AŚ — Arthaśāstra.
AT — Aini – Tirhut.
BI — Bibliotheca Indica.
BSOS — Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
BSPP — Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Patrika.
(also*VSPP*)- Vangiya – Do Patrikā.
BPP — Bengal. Past and present.
Brh-upn — Brhadāraṇyaka Upniṣad.
BMI — Mithila Bhaṣamaya Itihās.
BTA — Bihar through the ages.
CHI — Cambridge History of India; Cultural Heritage of India.
CP — Copper plate.
CS — Current Studies.
CII — Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
DV — Daṇḍaviveka; Dānavakyavali.
Dsnātak — Dhurtasamāgananāṭaka.
DHNI — Dynastic History of Northern India.
DBT — Durgābhaktitaraṅgini.
DG — Darbhanga Gazetteer.
EB — Encylopaedia Brittanica.
EI — Epigraphia Indica.
ERE — Encylopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

ED — Elliot and Dowson.
EHI — Early History of India.
GR — Grihastaratnakara.
HDS — History of Dharmaśāshtra.
HB — History of Bengal.
HML — History of Maithili Literature.
HCIP — History and Culture of the Indian People.
IC — Indian Culture.
IA — Indian Antiquary.
IHQ — Indian Historical Quarterly.
INC — Indian Numismatic Chronicle.
IPC — Indian Penal Code.
JA — Journale Asiatique.
JASB — Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
NS — New Series; Letters.
JAHRS — Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
JAOS — Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JBORS — Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JBRS — Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
JARS — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London).
JBBRAS — Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JG(N)JRI — Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute.
JIH — Journal of Indian History.
JDL — Journal of the Department of Letters.
JUPHS — Journal of the U. P. Historical Society.
JOR — Journal of Oriental Research.
JOT — Journal of Oriental Thought.
JOI — Journal of the Oriental Institute.
JPU — Journal of the Patna University.
JBU — Journal of the Bihar University.
Jayanti — Ram Lochan Saran Jubilee Volume.
JNSI — Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JKAS — Journal of the Kāmarupa Anusandhāna Samiti.
KK — Kavita Kaumudi.
KR — Kṛtyarhtnākara.
Kath-Upn. — Katha Upniṣad.

KNPP — Kasi Nagari Pracharini Patrika.
LS — Lakṣmaṇa Samvat.
LSI — Linguistic Survey of India.
MB — History of Bengal (edited by R.C. Majumdar).
MBH — Mahābhārata.
MS, MSS — Manuscript.
MASI — Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
Mund. Upn.- Mundaka-Upniṣad.
MM — Vidyāpati by Mitra-Mazumdar.
MD — Mithilā Darpana.
MM — Mithilā Mahātmya.
MTV — Mithila Tatwa Vimarsha.
PB — Padavali Bangiya.
PP (G) — Puruṣaparīksā (edited by Grierson).
PP (Pāthaka)-Puruṣaparīksā (edited by Pathak).
PP (Nerukar)-Puruṣaparīksā (edited by Nerukar).
PASB — Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
PIHC — Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
PIHRC — Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records' Commission.
PAIOC — Proceedings of the All India Oriental Congress.
IPC — Proceedings of the Indian Philosophical Congress.
PI — Purāṇa Index.
POS — Punjab Oriental Series.
PB — Pamchaviṁśa Brahmana.
RT — Rāgataraṅgini; Rajatarangini.
RR — Rājanitiratnākara.
Sat-Brah — Satpatha Brāhmaṇa.
Svet-Upn.— Svetasvatara Upniṣad.
ST — History of Tirhut (S. N. Singh).
Taitt. Upn— Taittiriya Upniṣad.
TM — History of Mithila (Thakur).
TFS — Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi.
Taitt. Brh.— Taitteriya Brāhmana.
TC — *Tattvachintāmani*; *Tirthachintamani*.
Upn. — Upniṣad.
VC — Vivādachintamaṇi; Vyavhārachintamani.

VR — Varṇanaratnākar (Varṇaratnākara); Vivādaratnākara.

Vaj-Sam. — Vājasenayi Samhita.

VP — Viṣṇupurāna.

(J) *VVRI* — (Journal of) Visheshwaranand Vedic Research *Institute.*

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Glossary

Advaita	Monism
Agṇi	God of Fire
Ahiṁśā	Non-injury
Ānanda	Bliss
Aparigraha	non-acceptance
Aripana (Alpanā)	A type of painting in Mithilā.
Artha	Worldly possession
Āśramas	Four stages of life
Ātman	Self *or* soul
Avatāra	Incarnation
Bandha	Knot
Brahman	The world spirit
Chakravartin	Universal ruler
Chaturvarga	Four fold pursuits
Dana	Gift
Daṇḍa	Parishment
Darśama	Philosophy
Dharna	Duty
Dharmaśāstra	Text on morals and Law
Dvaita	Dualism
Dvija	Twice-born (upper three Varṇas)
Gārhasthya	Second āsrama
Guru	Teacher
Jajamāna	Patron
Jāti	Caste
Jñana	Knowledge
Kāma	Desire
Karma	Action
Karmayoga	Way of ritual
Kartā	Head of a Hindu Joint Family
Karuṇā	Compassion
Manasā	A Hindu goddess
Mandala	Circular Magical diagrams Conmeited with Tantric rites

Maṭha	a Hindu monastery
Matsyanyāya	State of anarchy
Māyā	illusion
Mokṣa	Spiritual release
Nirguṇa	aspect of Brahma (devoid of qualifications)
Nirvāna	State of final bliss
Nyāya	A school of Hindu Phiiosophy
Panchāyata	Village assembly
Pargana	Revenue or fiscal division
Saguna	Aspect of Brahma (provided with qualities)
Śaiva	Followes of Śiva
Śākta	Followers of Śakti
Sāmkhya	A School of Hindu Philosophy
Sanyāsi	One who has renounced the World
Sapinda	A Special kinship bond
Saura	A religious or wife Cult
Smriti	Hindu Scripture
Stridhana	Property belonging to female (or Wife)
Sūtra	Aephorism
Vibheda	Discrimination
Visistadvaita	Qualified monism
Yogi	Practioner of *Yoga*

MITHILĀ IN THE AGE OF VIDYĀPATI

(C. 1330–1525 A. D. : A Study in Cultural History)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I

Introductory remarks

While much attention has been paid towards the literary evaluation of the writings of Vidyāpati, practically little or no attention has been drawn towards the historical aspects. About half a century ago, late lamented Mm. Haraprasād Śāstri drew our attention towards the indispensability of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* as an important source-book of history. Though written in a conventional style of the contemporary books of ethics, *Purusaparīkṣā* is very useful for our purpose. Vidyāpati is a great poet, a vast ocean, and a comprehensive effort, based on his writings, has yet been a desideratum. Earlier efforts to study the poet have mainly centred round his literary genius and the vast world of knowledge, disclosed in his writings, has been, therefore, lying as a sealed box to us. For a student of social and cultural history, the study of folklore is extremely essential. It is true that it lacks the flourish and glamour of a court chronicle, but in its own way it professes to reconstruct a spiritual history of man, as represented by the more or less inarticulate voices of the folk.[1] The materials for a study of the cultural history of Mithilā are scattered in a variety of books, folklore and fiction, poetry and songs.[2] Cultural traits can best be traced to folk religions and rites. The folk culture is, no doubt, the culture of the people. It is in the folklore that we find an expression of genuine desires, aspirations,

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1. A. H. Krappe—*The Science of Folklore* (London-1930)—Intr. XV.

2. Cf. Late Dr. Amarnath Jha's speech at *Suhrid Saṁgha* and Quoted by Ramekbal Singh Rākesh in his book *Mathilī Lokagīta*—pp. 6-7.

genius, emotions and thoughts of a people. A scientific reconstruction of the cultural history of Mithilā is possible only by a critical study of such literary and folklore materials as are preserved either orally, in manuscripts or in printed form. Like an archæologist, we have to be cautious here in using the literary spades in exploring such a rich heritage of the past of our people. The period, under review, is marked by the decay of original Sanskrit literature and we can turn, with profit, to the provincial literature for valuable historical information. The *Varṇanaratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara[3] is the earliest specimen of vernacular prose in northern India.

At the very outset, I do not hesitate to confess that I have barely explored a few directions and have succeeded in using only a part of the material. There is every danger of being seduced in poetry and folklore and, therefore, one should be cautious in making an uncritical use of such evidences. I have left no stone unturned to secure all corroborative evidences in support of my argument and to avoid pitfalls. My primary aim is to give an introductory account of the life and condition of the people of Mithilā on the evidences of Vidyāpati and other contemporary writings of his age. The age of Vidyāpati witnessed the emergence of new forces which not only influenced but shaped the development of the people of Mithilā. The important landmarks in the sphere of political history demarcate a socially significant period. While dealing with the social aspect of the period, I have been inspired by Trevelyan's ideal of social history which aims at "giving the daily life of the inhabitant of the land—" According to the learned historian, the social history includes "the human as well as the economic relation of different classes to one another, the character of the family and the household life, the conditions of labour and of leisure, the attitude of man to nature, the culture of each

3. Edited by Dr. S. K. Chatterji and Pt. Babua Miśra—(Calcutta–1940)—Usually it is known as *Varṇa-ratnākara*.

age as it arose out of these general conditions of life, and took exchanging forms in religion, literature and music, architecture, learning and thought."[4] Judged from this ideal, Vidyāpati seems to be an indispensable source. Hitherto, no spade work has been undertaken in so far as the history of Mithilā is concerned and the present work may just be regarded as an humble beginning in that direction. Enough literary materials are there to enable us to reconstruct the cultural history of the period and the contemporary *Smṛti* literature constitutes a considerable volume. No justice can be done to the subject unless these sources are tapped by a host of specialists in every branch of *Smṛti* literature. Here, on the basis of a close scrutiny of microscopic amount of materials, an attempt has been made to sketeh a rough outline of the culture of Mithilā. It may be taken just as a workable introduction to the subject, though all possible care has been taken to leave out nothing of outstanding importance.[5]

Certain inferences have been drawn from a common sense point of view for the presentation of important social data. One remarkable feature is the static character of the life of the people. The distinctive feature during the period, under review, is the emergence of certain social forces which aimed at solidifying the social structure to the extent of its being truncated from perennial elasticity. An overall study of the writings of Vidyāpati and other contemporary *Nibandhakāras* reveal to us

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4. For an elaboration of these views—Cf.—*Lenin on Art and Literature*—
5. In so far as the political history of the period, based on contemporary literary and other evidences is concerned, the following papers of mine may prove useful—
   (i) Vidyāpati's Puruṣaparīkṣā—an important source of political history—*JOI*–Vol. I. No. 2.
   (ii) Oinwāras of Mithilā—*JBRS*–XL–II (1954).
   (iii) Jaunpur in Vidyāpati's *Kīrtilatā*—*JUPHS*–(1957).
   (iv) *Vaidehi Viśeṣāṅka*—1960–1961 and 1963–64.

the cultural outlook of the age. No social historian can afford to loose sight of such an important source. Our writers in the past have busied themselves in trying to realise the glories of the beatific vision. We have to re-interpret them. Here I have tried, in my own humble way, to adopt the analytical method. Needess to say that a vast horizon is revealed to us by the genius of our poet. His works give a vivid description of the age in which he lived and sang. It has been my earnest endeavour to study the poet and his contemporaries under various spheres of human knowledge in all its aspects.

II

Contemporary outlook and Vidyāpati

The period, under review, saw the rise and consequent crystallisation of a number of provincial literatures, *Viz*, *Prākrit*, *Avahaṭṭa*, *Śauraseni*, *Māgadhi*, *Śakāri*, *Ābhīri*, *Chāṇḍāli*, *Sāvati*, *Drāviḍi*, *Otkali* besides Sanskrit.[6] The *VR* is a compendium of cultural history and deals with the social history of Mithilā. The rise of provincial vernacular literature brought in its train such eminent personalities as Mukunda Rāma, Chaṇḍīdāsa, Vidyāpati and Chaitanya in Mithilā and Bengal, Lalla in Kashmir, Nānaka in the Punjab, Kabir in the upper Gangetic plain and Jāyasi. The *VR* and the old cultural tradition of Mithilā guided the genius of Vidyāpati. There is, no doubt, that Vidyāpati was the greatest poet of Eastern India after Jayadeva[7] and in many respects he was greater than Jayadeva. His name is a household word in Eastern India. Thanks to the untiring labour of late lamented Sir George Abraham Grierson, Vidyāpati's songs are now the admiration of the world. Distinguished as a poet, a story writer, a gazetteer writer, a letter writer, and composer of songs in praise of various deities, Vidyāpati is

6. *VR*—Introduction–P. XXXII; Recently the earliest Vernacular *nāṭaka* in Maithilī has been discovered and published—, *that is*, *Dhūrtasamāgama* by Jyotirīśvara (Allahabad–1960).

7. J. C. Ghose—*Bengali Literature* (O. U. P. 1948)—pp. 54–55.

also a recognised authority on the *Smṛti*. By the time of Vidyāpati, Mithilā had lost her political independence to a great extent. The strain on the cohesion of Hindu Society was fastly reaching the breaking point. The Brāhmaṇas were once more essaying and re-enforcing the tottering edifice to the best of their ability.[8] Having lost control of economics and politics, the contemporary *Śmriti* writers confined themselves to social and domestic life, wrote digests, codified laws, regulations and rules of conduct in various walks of life. Their intrinsic merit and innate strength inspite of age-old abberrations, and, above all, their judicious applications in harmonising an apparently uncompromising rigidity with an evergrowing adaptability to times, as witnessed by the uninterrupted series of commentaries, have enabled these *Śmriti* works to preserve the individuality of our society and make it minister to a large mass of civilised humanity. The undoubted claim of Hindu civilisation that it is eternal is nowhere better exemplified than in her *Śmriti* literature. In Mithilā, the growth and development of *Śmriti* had its evil effect in one direction. While the whole of northern India was convulsed by religious and social upheavals, Mithilā remained unaffected, deeply engrossed in the details of *Karmakāṇḍa* and technicalities of rituals. It resulted in hampering the growth of critical and liberal education. That is why Vidyāpati and other contemporary writers failed to make a break with the past. Inspite of his rational and superior scientific conception of contemporary outlook, he could not rise above the influence of his time. He could not step in the shoes of his contemporary reformers, preachers and poets because of his orthodox surroundings. His portrayal of the contemporary social picture is conventional and traditional, peculiar to the land of Mithilā. He was attached to the Oinwāra Court of Mithilā. Inspite of his conservatim, his writings, if read with other contemporary evidences, throw a welcome light on the cultural history of Mithilā. As a

8. Cf.—H. P. Sāstri's introduction to *Kīrtilatā*.

poet of hope and a seer of the people, he has ventured out on untrodden ground and diven deep into the unchartered ocean. Naturally, therefore, his writings seek to interpret contemporary Mithilā in all her manifold aspects. It is difficult to me to understand Mithilā without Vidyāpati. Some of his writings have been found useful in so far as the political history of the land is concerned.[9] It is needless to say that his works are distinguished for charming diction and poetic excellence.

III

Works of Vidyāpati

As a renowned scholar of the *Smritis* and the *Purāṇas*, Vidyāpati was adept in the art of marshalling facts. On account of his long association with the Oinwāra court, he had to write on a number of subjects. He wrote the following works[10].

(i) *Kīrtilatā*—(Avahaṭṭa)—is a historical poem in four cantos. It is popularly believed to be the earliest work of the poet. This work is in praise of Kīrtisiṁha (and his brother Vīrasiṁha). There is a very fine description of Jaunpur in this work. The date may be roughly calculated to have been between 1405 and 1408 A. D. It is more a history than *kāvya*[11]. Here the contemporary events are dated by certain landmark and it would not be an exaggeration if we say that descriptions here are vivid and realistic, without any admixture of the marvellous. It is equally important for a study of the niceties of contemporary language. It is published.

(ii) *Bhū-Parikramā*—It was written under the orders of Devasiṁha. It is in the form of a story told to Baldeva

9. *JASB* (N.S.)—XI. P. 391 ff.

10. Cf. B. K. Chatterjee—*Padāvalī literature*—in the *Journal of the Dept. of Letters*—XVI (Calcutta-1927)—P. 25. ; Khagendra Mitra and B. B. Majumdar—*Vidyāpati* (Calcutta-1953) ; Subhadra Jha—*The Songs of Vidyāpati*—(Benares-1954).

11. *JBORS*—XIII. P, 198.

during his travel to Janaka-deśa. A palm-leaf manuscript of this book is said to be in the manuscript library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. This book was written when Devasiṁha was staying in Naimiṣa forest with his son, Śivasiṁha. There are also some historical references in this book[12].

(iii) *Puruṣa-Parīksā*—It is a book of moral tales, written under the orders of Śivasiṁha and is said to have been the expanded form of the *Bhū-parikramā*. It starts with an examination of Hindu ethical ideals and illustrates its morals with examples from the ancient history of India. Many of the characters are historical personalities. On the authority of Haraprasad Rai's Bengali transalation of this book, Messrs, B. K. Chatterji and Sukumar Sen held that Śivasiṁha died before the completion of this work. A critical study of all these available sources reveals to us a different picture altogether. It is an important source of historical knowledge. A close and critical study of the *Puruṣa-pariksā* is yet a desideratum.[13]

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12. *Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss.* No. VI. 79, folio—ल-देवसिंह निदेशाच्च नैमिषाख्यनिवासिनः । शिवसिंहस्य पितुः सुतपीठनिवासिनः । पंचषष्टिदेशयुतां पंचषष्टिकथान्वितां । चतुः खण्डसमायुक्तामाह विद्यापतिः कविः । Also Cf—Folio-27a-b. The photostat copy of this manuscript is also available in the library of the Bihar Rāstrabhāṣā Pariṣad, Patna.

13. Chandra Jha—*Puruṣaparīkṣā*—Introductory Verse 3 ; Cf-Bengali translation of the Same (Bangavasi edn.)-final colophon and final verse ; *JA*-XIV (1885) P. 192-; Cf. Grierson's edition of the *PP* (London-1935). Vidyāpati calls this work—"a knotty science of Politics"—"ग्रन्थं ग्रन्थिलदण्डनीति" ; Also Cf-my article—"Puruṣaparīkṣā—an important source of the study of India's Political History"—Published in the *Journal of Oriental Thought* (Nasik)-Vol. I. No. 2 ; Cf. Subhadra Jha-*The Songs of Vidyāpati*"—Introductory portion : A new edition has recently been published by Prof. Ramānāth Jha (Patna).

(iv) *Kīrtipatākā*–It is in *Avahaṭṭa* language. It was written under the orders of Śivasiṁha. It is an important work, no doubt, but various pages of the book are yet missing. It describes a battle between Śivasiṁha and some muslim invaders. The work has beeen recently published by the All India Maithili Sahitya Samiti, Tīrabhukti, Allahabad[14].

(v) *Padāvali* (in Maithilī)—Vidyāpati is better known to the reading public on account of this charming poem, but it may be pointed out here that it is very important from the historical point of view. It not only refers to kings and queens of Mithilā but also to a number of social and economic problems[15]. The *Padāvali* contains a long list of the rulers of the Oinwāra dynasty of Mithilā—such as—(i) Devasiṁha (*Poems* Nos—1, 3, 4, 5, 6), (ii) Harisiṁha (No. 7), (iii) Śivasiṁha (Nos. 8–204 and also in 207), (iv) Padmasiṁha and Viśvāsa Devī (No, 208), (v) Arjuna and Amara (Nos 209–213, 214–15), (vi) Rāghavasiṁha (No. 217–19), (vii) Rudrasiṁha (Nos. 220 and 228), (viii) Dhīrasiṁha, Bhairava siṁha and Chandrasiṁha (No. 216)[16].

(vi) *Likhanāvali*[17]—It is said to have been written under

14. *Kīrtipatāka*—(Allahabad–1960)—Edited by Mm. Dr. Umesh Miśra.

15. Cf. K. N. Mitra and B. B. Majumdar—*Vidyāpati*–The introductory portion is a learned contribution. Of all the available editions, the present one is the best though there are some defects. The second best collection is that of Subhadra Jha's *The Songs of Vidyāpati*. His collection is based on the Nepal *Mss*. His introduction to his own edition is very learned and instructive. A new edition of this work has been recently published by the *Bihar Rāṣtrabhāṣā Pariṣad* (Patna).

16. All these poem nos. are collected from the Mitra–Majumdar edition of *Vidyāpati*.

17. Few pages of this *Ms* were copied for me (from a printed copy of 1902 A. D.) by Dr. Brajkishore Varma of Bahera, and they are with me.

the patronage of a king of the Droṇavāra dynasty, named Purāditya, who is said to have killed one Arjunasiṁha. It is a Sanskrit work on the form of letter-writing. It was for the use of the public to maintain the formal dignity of courtly life. It is a very important source for the study of the socio-economic history of Mithilā. A critical edition of this work is yet a desideratum.

(vii) *Gaṅgāvākyāvali*—It is a peom on religious merit of worshipping the holy river and is attributed to Viśvāsa Devī, queen of Padmasiṁha.

(viii) *Śaiva-sarvaśva-sāra* or *Śambhu-vākyāvali* (as referred to in the 12th *śloka*). It is a vast treatise on the Śaiva form of worship and it is also attributed to the wife of Padmasiṁha. It is an encyclopaedia of the Śaiva cult.

(ix) *Dānavākyāvali*—It is a book on religious gifts, attributed to Dhīramatī, wife of Narasiṁhadeva. A manuscript of this work dated 1539 Saṁvat (1482 A. D.) is reported in Bhandarkar's report for the year 1883–4 (P. 352). Raghunandan in his "*Vivāhatattva*" has extensively quoted from this work.

(x) *Vibhāgasāgara*—It is a work on the law of partition of property and inheritance. It was composed at the instance of Narasiṁhadeva.

(xi) *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇi*—It is a work on the form of Durgā worship of over one thousand verses and is regarded as the latest of Vidyāpati's Sanskrit works. It was written under the patronoge of Dhīrasiṁha, Bhairavasiṁha and Chandrasiṁha—three sons of Narasiṁha.[18]

(xii) *Varṣa-kṛtya*—Is now lost but we find its quotations in the *Malamāsatattva* of Raghunandan.

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18. *IA*–1885–PP. 192–93 ; Cf. *India Govt. Mss*–No. 4760 *folio* ৩, Introductory verse 5 ; *Ibid*—*folio* 99 A, end of the verse and colophon.

(xiii) *Gayāpattalaka*—It is a manual of rites to be performed on the occasion of Śrāddha at Gaya.

(xiv) *Śaiva-Sarvaśvasāra Pramāṇabhūta Purāṇa saṅgraha*[19].

(xv) *Maṇimañjarī*—a drama[20].

(xvi) *Pāṇḍava-Vijaya*—?[21]

(xvii) *Gorakṣavijaya*—a drama—[22]A manuscript of this drama, copied at village Sundarauli by a Karṇa Kāyastha, Śri Bhagirath Kaṇṭha, son of Murāri Kaṇṭha, in excellent *mithilākṣara*, is preserved in Nepal and it has been recently published by the All India Maithili Sāhitya Samiti, Allahabad (1961). It was composed on the occasion of *Bhairavapūjā* under the orders of Śivasiṁha and he is also named in the *bhanitās* or the songs.[22]

(xviii) *Dvaitanirṇaya*—a Tāntric work[23]—(?)

(xix) According to Dr. Sukumar Sen, Vidyāpati was also the author of *Vyāḍī-Bhakti-taraṅgiṇi* — a work dealing

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19. *MM–Op. Cit.*—Introduction PP. 13 and 22. It is said that a copy of this book is in the Rāj Library, Darbhanga. I have not been able to verify it.

20. Shivanandan Thākur—*Vidyāpati Thākur*–PP. 18–49–Quotes the following—आदिष्टोऽस्मि परिषदा यदद्य श्री विद्यापतिनामधेयस्य कवेः कृतऽभिनवा मणिमञ्जरी नाम नाटिका...

21. *Ibid*—

22. *Gorakṣa-Vijaya* (Allahabad–1961)—Introduction–P. 2. Cf–the text–P. 2–3—श्रीविद्यापतिशत (सत् !) कवि (वी) श्वरस्य गोरक्षविजय नामनाटकनटनायमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमत् सि(शि)वसिंह देवपादैः स्वहेतुकार्थं श्रीमद्भैरवभक्तये आज्ञापितोऽस्मि ।

23. D. C. Bhattacharya—*A Tantric work of Vidyāpati*—in the *JG(N)JRI* (Allahabad)–Vol. VI. Pl. 3. pp. 243–47—(i) "इति श्रीविद्यापति विरचिते द्वैतानिर्णये पूजा द्वैतनिर्णयः प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ; (ii) इति महामहोपाध्याय ठक्कुर श्रीविद्यापति विरचिते द्वैतनिर्णये पुरश्चरण द्वैतनिर्णय(:)समाप्तः । The learned scholar has quoted extensively from the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, where a very interesting account of Vidyāpati and his family is narrated.

with the details of snake-worship.[24] The book is said to have been composed during the reign of Darpanārāyaṇa. It may be mentioned here that Narasiṁha had the *Viruda* of Darpanārāyaṇa. This work possibly preceded the composition of *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*.

(xx) He copied the *Ms.* of the *Bhāgavata purāṇa*. This *Ms.* in poet's own handwriting is preserved in the Manuscript Section of the Rāj Library, Darbhanga. A further search may prove useful in this respect. From the list of his works, collected here, it can be said that Vidyāpati was a voluminous writer on a number of subjects. There is no doubt that he was a versatile genius.[25]

IV

Date of Vidyāpati

The works of Vidyāpati, enumerated above, are invaluable source of history and it is on the basis of these sources that we intend to proceed further in our enquiry into the period. Hitherto, the date of Vidyāpati is a disputed point in the annals of Mithilā and all attempts to fix the date of this great poet have met with practically little or no success. The confusion, created by chronological irregularities on account of the variance of the L. S., the Śaka and the Vikrama eras, still persists and we have hardly any definite datum to start with. It is through his own writings that we can arrive at any particular conclusion. According to a Maithila tradition, Vidyā-

24. The Ms of this book is said to be preserved in the Dacca University Library—It contains the following lines—इति समस्त प्रक्रियालंकृत भूपतिवरवीर श्रीदर्पनारायण देवेन समरविजयिनाइस श्रीविद्यापति कृतौ श्री व्याड़ि-भक्तितरंगिण्यां···and just a step over this colophon, we find—अनुक्तंयदन्यद् दुर्गाभक्ति तरंगिण्यामनुसन्धेयं··· ।

25. Except *Likhanāvali* (now out of print), *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*, *Puruṣaparīkṣā*, *Dānavakyāvāli*, *Padāvali*, *Kīrtilatā*, *Kīrtipatākā* and *Gorakṣa-vijaya*, all other works are unpublished.

pati was a descendant of Chaṇḍeśvara[26]. He is placed by some between 1360 and 1447 A. D. Vidyāpati had a long life and he served under a large number of the Oinwāra kings. From all accounts, only one thing is crystal clear and, that is, that Vidyāpati lived up to the age of eighty. In his *Kīrtilatā*, Vidyāpati has called himself a "*Khelanakavi*" and it can be presumed that he must have been very young at the time of its composition. At the time of its composition, he had hardly earned any renown as a poet.

Whatever sources we lay our hands at, we find that the differences of opinion occur. The process of computation of the Lakṣmaṇa Sena Era is not still open and above board. Vidyāpati gives two corresponding dates about his patron, Śivasiṁha, *L. S.* 293 and *Śaka* Era 1324. Assuming that the L. S. started in 1119 A. D., the total comes to 1119+293 = 1412 A. D., while according to the Śaka Era, it comes to 1324+78 = 1402 A. D. In the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to say as to which of them is true. But this

26. K. P. Jayaswal—*Rajanīti-Ratnākara* (Second edition) p. 15–; Cf. U. Mishra–*Vidyāpati Thākura* (Allahabad–1949) pp. 46–50 ; J. K. Mishra–*A History of Maithili literature*–Vol. I. 138–45 ; *JGJRI*–VI. 247—Here D. C. Bhattacharya says—"The date recorded in this account in round numbers of the Kali era (4500 Kali Era Corresponding to 1399 A. D.).....though in the present case the date is not wide off the mark." Also Cf. D. C. Sen—*Baṅgabhāṣā O Sāhitya*–p. 213–18 ; Dr. Sahidulla places Vidyāpati between 1390 and 1490 A. D.—Vide–*IHQ*–1944–Vol. XX. 211–17 ; Cf.—Grierson—in his edition of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* (London–1935), he says—"Vidyāpati flourished and was a celebrated author during at least the first half of the 15th century."—Cf.–Tulsidas Bandhopadhyay–*Madhyayuger Vāṅglār Sahitya*—PP. 206–214–placed Vidyāpati between 1358 and 1448 A. D. ; Subhadra Jha—*The Songs of Vidyāpati*–P. 27ff–; Mitra–Majumdar–*Vidyāpati*–PP. 48–49 places Vidyāpati between 1380 and 1460 A. D.

much is certain that it is one of the solid data to start with, I strongly hold that any discussion on the chronology of Mithilā should be preceded by a discussion on the actual starting year of the *L. S.* era and its process of computation in relation to other Eras used over there. There are only two authentic dates in the life of Vidyāpati—(i) *L. S.* 291 (= 1410 A. D.) when a copy of the *Kāvyaprakāśa viveka* was copied under his orders (*I. G. Mss. No.* 117 A—*Colophon*); *L. S.* 309 (1428 A. D.) when Vidyāpati himself copied the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. There is another evidence to show that Vidyāpati lived upto 1460 A. D.[27] It is generally believed in the Mithilā tradition that Śivasiṁha was ruling in Mithilā between 1410 and 1414 A. D. The chart showing the difference between the *L. S.* and other corresponding Eras has been drawn up by Jayaswal[28] and from that chart it appears that the starting point of the L. S. varies from 1108 to 1120 A. D. There is a striking agreement in the two corresponding dates, *L. S.* 505 (=1624 A. D.) and Śaka 1546 (= 1624 A. D.), in a *Ms.* of the *Smṛititattvāmṛta* and here it is evident that the L. S. strarted in 1119 A. D.[29] There is yet another grant, of dubious origin, said to have been made by Śivasiṁha in favour of Vidyāpati.[30] In view of Vidyāpati's own assertion, it is very difficult to call the *Biśaphi Grant*—spurious.[31] This grant gives us *L. S.* 293 as equivalent to *Śaka* 1329 (= 1410 and 1407 A. D. respectively), but here we have to keep in view the

27. H. P. Shastri—*Catalogue of the Palm leaf Mss in Nepal Darbar Library* (Cal.-1905) P. 48...श्रीविद्यापति महाशयेभ्यः पठिताद्धात्र श्रीरूपधरेण ।

28. *JBORS*-XX. 20ff ; Cf R. L. Mitra-*JASB*-Vol. 47, PP. 398 ff. wherein he opined that the L. S. started in 1106 A. D.

29. Subhadra Jha—*Op. Cit.* 28 ff.

30. *IA*-XIX. P. 1 ff. ; Cf. the *PASB* of 1885-Grierson takes this grant to be spurious.

31. पंचगौड़ाधिप सिवसिंह भूप कृपाकरिलेल निजपास
विसपी ग्रामदान कएल मोहि रहइत राजसनिधान ।

date supplied by Vidyāpati in one of the *Mss*, discovered from Tarauni, where, L. S. *293*[32] is equivalent to *Śaka* 1324. This point is very important in the sense that L. S. 293 has been used as equivalent to *Śaka* 1324 and 1329. The occurrence of various eras in the *Biśaphi grant* has made the confusion worse confounded. According to a document, brought to light by Dr. Subhadra Jha (*op. cit.*—pp. 36–37), L. S. 566 is shown as equivalent to *Śaka* 1605 (= 1683 A. D.) and if this calculation be taken as correct, we should assume that the *L. S.* was started in 1117 A. D. On the basis of the evidences, set forth above, it can be surmised that the difference between *L. S.* and the equivalent chrisitian era was somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1119 and 1120 A. D.. as would be amply illustrated by the chart prepared by Jayaswal, till the first quarter of the seventeenth century A. D. The two documents of Vidyāpati, referred to above, hardly admit of any correct verification in the present state of our knowledge. R. C. Majumdar shows that the L. S, varies between 1108 and[33] 1120 A. D.

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32. A. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa–*Vidyāpati Padāvali* (2nd edition) P. 12–has equated L. S. 293 with 1400 A. D.—stating thereby that the era started in 1107 A. D.

33. R. C. Majumdar (edited)—*History of Bengal*–Vol. I. P. 232 ; Also Cf. *JBORS*–XX. 20 ff ; *Prāchīnalipimālā* (2nd edition)–P. 148 ff. Also Cf. Mm. H. P. Sastri–Introduction to *Kīrtilatā*–P. 27 ; Cf. *JBORS*–XIII. 299 ff ; IX. 47 ; also–Cf. *J. N. Banerjea Commemoration Volume* ; The next earliest mention of the L. S. in *Mithila* inscription is in the *Khojpur Durga image inscription* and is dated *L. S.* 147. Cf. *JBRS*. 1951.

The earliest *L. S.* era is on a *terracotta plaque* discovered by me from Begusarai and is dated *L. S.* 67–Cf. *Select inscriptions of Bihar* (Introduction and Text).

Also–cf–My article on the *Lakṣmanasaṁvat* in the *Rahul Commemoration Volume* of the *JBRS*.

Since the evidences regarding the date of Vidyāpati are conflicting, it is difficult to assign any particular date to our poet. Though he had attained popularity during his life time, his popularity grew more and more with the passage of time. Lochana (17th century) refers to him as a great genius[34]. By the fist half of the 17th centuty A. D., his eminence as a poet came to be recognised over a large area and his views on *Navarasa* had sufficiently gained ground. Vidyāpati's view has been extensively quoted by Paṇdita Chaturbhuja Mishra in his *Bhāṣā-Saṅgraha*[35] composed in Śamvat 1702. From a contemporary evidence, we learn that Vidyāpati had become famous for his *Nachāris*. It is with the help of these external and internal evidences that we can find some solution about his date. The poet was attached to the Oinwāra court for a number of years and a *Mss.* of *L. S.* 291 tells us the Śivasiṁha was a *Mahārājādhirāja* then[36]. According to Shivanandan Thakur, Vidyāpati was born in *L. S.* 241 and he died in *L. S.* 329 but his statements are contradictory and does not, therefore, admit of verification. In the *Kīrtilatā*, Vidyāpati describes Bhogiśwara as one of his patrons[37]. This Bhogiśwara was a contemporary of Firuz Tugluq (1351-1388 A. D.). Naturally the poet must have been advanced in age when he composed this[38]. It was in *L. S.* 293—*Śaka* 1324 (= 1402 A. D.) that Śivasiṁha ascended the throne[39]. Since Śaka era is also given here and there is no difference of opinion about that, we have taken it as the authentic date and its equivalent 1402 A. D. as the

34. *Rāgataraṅgiṇi* (Darbhanga-1935) P. 33-34.

35. *Kāśī Nāgarī Pracāriṇi Patrikā*—Vol. 56. No. 1. P. 12.

36. *JASB*-1915. P. 426 ff; Cf. *JBORS*-XIII. 298; N. Gupta-*Introduction to Vidyāpati Padāvali*-P. 2 ff; Shivanandan Thakur *op. cit.* P. 38 ff.

37. *Kīrtilatā*-P. 4; Gupta-*Padāvali*-P. 478.

38. Cf. *Kīrtilatā*, P. 7; Cf. Gupta-P. 474; 531.

39. Gupta-P. 531. Cf. Grierson-PP.-Introduction.

starting point of Śivasiṁha's reign.[40] Śivasiṁha ruled for nearly about four years and this date also fits in with the invasion of Mithilā by Ibrāhim Shah[41]. Thirty two years after the death of Śivasiṁha, Vidyāpati saw a dream[42] and this convinces us of the fact that Vidyāpati was alive in 1437 A. D. Besides a *Mss.* of 341 *L. S.* also refers to Vidyāpati. (i.e. upto 1460 A. D.). Keeping in view these two datums—the mention of Bhogiśwara and the *Mss.* of *L. S.* 341, we can tentatively suggest *that the poet flourished sometime between 1350 and 1461 A. D.* Tradition asserts that he died at the age of 90 *or* 97. From Bhogiśwara onwards, Vidyāpati served and sang under a number of Oinwāra kings and he has mentioned a large number of persons in the *Kīrtipatākā* and the *Gorakṣa Vijaya.* Vidyāpati's existence in about 1453 A. D. is also supported by the fact that he wrote his *Dānavakyāvali* under the orders of Dhiramati, wife of Narasiṁha and *Bibhāgasāgara* at the instance of Narasiṁha himself. The contention, put forth above, stands further confirmed by the fact that Vidyāpati was an older contemporary of Pakṣadhar Miśra who is said to have copied *Viṣṇupurāṇa* in *L. S.* 345 (= 1464–65 A. D.).[43] The discovery of the two silver coins of Bhairavasiṁha sets the matter at rest for the time being. These two coins give us the regnal year 14 and are dated in the Śaka era 1411 (= 1489–90 A. D.). The starting point of the L. S. is yet unsettled, though Altekar has tried to place it at 1200 A. D. (Vide *Introduction to the Biography of Dharmaswāmi*—edited by Roerich—

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40. Cf. S. Jha–*Op. Cit.* P. 49–We cannot agree with him in the present state of our knowledge that "*293 L. S. was but 1402 A. D.*"

41. Cf. the Diary of Mulla Taquia–Maasher–Patna (1946).

42. सपन देखल हम सिवसिंह भूप, बतीसवरस पर ।

42. *Gorakṣa Vijaya*—Introduction–P. 2. Vidyāpati is "likely to have lived between 1360 and 1448 A. D."

43. *JBORS*–XXIV. 170 ff.

Patna—1959) and he has been followed in his assertion by Mm., V. V. Mirashi without any critical examination of the facts (Vide—Presidential speech at the 24th session of *the Indian History Congress*, Delhi—1961). Only few dates of the Oinwāra history are recorded in the *Śaka* era and they are—

(i) *Śaka* 1324 (1402 A. D.) in case of Śiva Siṁha.
(ii) *Śaka* 1375—Kandāhā Inscription.
(iii) *Śaka* 1411—Coins of Bhairava Siṁha.
(iv) *Śaka* 1416—On the *Mss.* of *Śudhinirṇaya* of Vācaspati Miśra.
(v) *Śaka* 1426—When *Dānakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpaturu* was copied.
(vi) *Śaka* 1449—When *Kaṁśanārāyaṇa* died.
(vii) *Śaka* 1329—in the *Biśaphigrant.*

On the evidence of these *Śaka* eras, we can assign a definite period to Vidyāpati. In *Śaka* 1324 (= 1402–3) Vidyāpati was alive and Śivasiṁha seems to have been an independent ruler. It was in this status that he made a grant to Vidyāpati. In *Śaka* 1375 (= 1453), Vidyāpati was alive when Narasiṁha was ruling. This is the first ever recorded *Śaka* era in the epigraphy of Mithilā. He had two sons, Dhīrasiṁha and Bhairavasiṁha and both of them are associated with Vidyāpati. From the two coins of Bhairavasiṁha, we learn that Bhairavasiṁha ascended the throne is *Śaka* 1397 (1411–14) = 1475–76 A. D. and ruled upto 1494–95 (Vide the *Mss* of *Sudhinirṇaya*). *Since Vidyāpati was alive in the reign of Bhairavasiṁha, we can safely say that from 1402–3 to 1475–76 A. D. he was an active participant in the Oinwāra Court. These two dates should act as lamp-posts in our endeavour to fix the date of Vidyāpati* (Cf. my article–*Currency of the Oinwāra of Mithilā and its bearings on the history and chronology*—in the *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*—Patna 1962). In view of these new facts, *we can place Vidyāpati between 1360 and 1480 A. D. though the above two dates are definitely clear.* The fragment of Vidyāpati's *Mss* of the *Bhūparikamā* contains

a date in the post-colophon statement, namely, 1480 (Cf. *JBORS*-IV. P. 19-H.P. Sāstri's article).

V

Historical importance of his works

Vidyāpati was a man of great learning and was held in high esteem by the rulers of Mithilā. He took to the life of a courtier quite early and remained attached to the court for a long period. As such his knowledge about the actual political and cultural conditions of the period must have been first hand because we find him sharing the fate of his rulers in times of their happiness and sorrow.[44] We find that Vidyāpati generally chose his themes from history, not only of Mithilā but of India. Most of the Hindu and Muslim characters of his writings are well-known historical personages. The importance of *Puruṣaparikṣā* as a source of history can not be ignored. A critical textual editions of this text is yet a desideratum. There are many editions of this work. Late lamented Dr. P. K. Gode informed me that there were five *Mss.* of the *PP.* in the collection of the Bhaṇḍarkar Oriental Research Institute and one of them was above five hundred years old. The book, under reference, is extremely useful because it illustrates morals from the examples of contemporary social life and the range of the choice of historical examples does not exclude the Muslims or the Lower orders of India. His other writings also throw sufficient light on the social, economic and religious life of Mithilā, which was, then, the homeland of various learned refugees from different parts of the country. In the medieval period, Smṛti formed one main stream down which flowed Sanskrit thought in Bengal and Mithilā. It engaged the attention of numerous scholars and our poet was no exception to the rule. These works are of great importance to a student of social history. They furnish us with a mass of infor-

44. Cf. K. M. Ashraf—*Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan*—(Published in the *JASB*-Letters. Vol. 1.) P. 135.

mation bearing on the social and religious life of the people. *Kīrtilata*, besides being important for the study of Mithilā, throws a flood of light on the Turks and the Turkish court in India. Whatever he has written here is on the basis of his own experience. In his description of the invasion of Mithilā by the Sharquis, he has drawn a pen-picture of the naughtiness, sexual indulgence and the unmanly treatment of these Turks. Hence it is evident that a thorough and critical investigation into his works would certainly reveal to us the actual state of culture then obtaining in our glorious land. In filling up the gap of a real people's history of this region, we shall have to take recourse to these literary sources, when other sources are lacking. A survey of this treasure house of knowledge will certainly open a new vista for the social and cultural historians.

There is nothing to doubt about the fact that Vidyāpati had a thorough historical insight. *Puruṣaparikṣā* is an evidence of this fact. But here a word of caution is necessary. He viewed things political from the standpoint of a courtier and, therefore, lacked the strength of poets like Chaṇḍidāsa and Chaitanya. His being a courtier does not, in any way, mar the beauty of his poetic excellence as he was a born genius. Every court poet has his limitations and our poet was not an exception. An impartial writer, unconnected with the court or the palace, will never use hyperbolic expression because he has not to satisfy the whims of any body, but a writer, maintained by a court, can not claim such liberty of expression as a matter of right. Vidyāpati's power of description is marvellous as all his works would amply show. It may be noted here that his conservatism also stood in his way in looking at things scientifically. He believed in the old social order, based on the *Varṇāśramadharma* and any violation of this system was a source of anxiety to our poet. A typical instance of this aspect of his character can be gleaned through the pages of the *Kīrtilatā*. The passage also refers to the declining moral standard

of the people and the poet bewails. By anarchy our poet did not mean the political aspect of the question but only the social aspect. When the social system based on the *Varṇāśrama* began to crack, our poet felt anxious.[45] His conservation did not allow him to make a sharp break with the past. The conditions were also not favourable for such a sharp break. Like his early and later contemporaries, Vidyāpati, with all the qualities of a great poet and artist, failed to create a school of his own because of his long association with the court life and conservative social and economic outlook. But the fact remains that to understand Vidyāpati is to understand Mithilā and *Vice-Versa*.

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45. Cf. *Kīrtilatā* (B. R. Saxena)—*Pallava* II. P. 16.

ठाकुर ठक्क भएगेल, चोरें चपुरिधर लिज्झिअ ।
दासे गासाअ निगहिअ, धम्म गए धन्ध निम्मज्जिअ ॥
खले सज्जन परिभाविअ, कोई नहि होई विचारक ।
जाति अजाति विवाह, अधम उत्तम कौं पारक ॥

अख्खर रस निहार नहि,
कई कुल भमि भिख्खार भँउ ।
तिरहुति तिरोहित सव्वगुणे,
राए गणेश जवे सग्ग गँउ ॥

Also Cf. Haraprasad Śāstri—in his introduction to *Kīrtilatā*—Says—

"जखन मुसलमानेरा.....काशी पर्यन्त लोपकरिया तुलिया छिल, सेई समये विद्यापति प्रादुर्भूत हइया नानाग्रन्थ लिखिया अनेक तीर्थेर पुनः संस्थापन ओ अनेक हिन्दू सत्कर्मेर पुनः प्रचलन करेन । तिनि वो ताहांर सहयोगी मैथिल पण्डित दिगेर निकट हिन्दू समाज ए विषयेर जन्य चिरदिन ऋणी थाकिबे"—

For the causes of conservatism in Mithilā during the period under review—Cf. K. P. Jayaswal & A. Banerji Śāstri—*Search for Sanskrit & Prakrit Mss. in Bihar & Orissa* (Patna–1927) introduction only.

VI

Viewed from the standpoint of cultural history, Vidyāpati is a mine of information as he throws sufficient light on the life and conditions of the people of northern India in general and Mithilā in particular. The distinctive feature of the social structure of medieval Mithilā was the existence of numerous castes and subcastes. On account of the advent of the Islam, the rigidity of the caste system was getting slackened and the relative positions and privileges of different castes were undergoing transformation. The essentially proselytising nature of the faith of Islam[46] and the professions of social equality and fraternity among its followers opened its door wide to the lower orders of the Hindu society. Its offer had an additional force because it came from those who ruled over a greater part of India and possessed unlimited resources. Hinduism was, thus, faced with the ominous prospect of its number being reduced and gradually being absorbed into the growing field of Islam. The Hindu Caste System, based as it was on the doctrine of *Karma*, (i) led to the creation of a liesured class composed of the learned and strong with supposed inborn attitudes and inherited privileges; (ii) another class composed of labourers who were assigned a degraded social status and finally (iii) it invested this ingenious arrangement with the most sacred and positive sanctions. The argument was purely scriptural and it placed the inequalities of the caste system on a moral order of which God's will was the guardian and embodiment and the created beings had only to thank themselves for their plight. Hinduism tried to raise a bulwark against the rising tide of Islam by making certain concessions in reclaiming the higher classes back to their old privileges. For a time, it had nothing to offer to the lower classes who began to develop new philosophy of life

Result of Islamic Contact

46. Cf. J. E. Carpentier—*Theism in Medieval India* (London 1921)—P. 321—for details.

for themselves and gradually developed the theory of the *Bhakti*.

The *Bhakti* ideal stressed love and preferred ultimate salvation to immediate one. In our country, through the centuries, there had been a see-saw struggle between the trend of caste crystallisation, based on social or institutional rather than organic or spiritual heirarchy, and the egalitarian trend, rooted in the conception of infinite worth and dignity of the universal man, that recurrently challenged the traditional social stratification.[47] Between the 13th and 15th centuries of the christian era, the traditional social structure underwent a profound transformation which focussed and intensified the forces that were bringing about new caste alignment.[48] The love, compassion and service, preached by the social reformers in medieval India, belonged to all caste men and it was preached that in this ideal scheme of *Bhakti*, the greater was the opportunity for receiving God's *prasāda* i.e. grace. These reformers had a more significant social levelling influence due to the relative absence of caste rigidity among them.[49] While the process of assimilation was discernible, the digest writers of medieval Mithilā emphasised the necessity of maintaining the *Varṇāśramadharma*, which, according to our poet, meant the observance of the respective duties of various cates.[50] The society was conditioned by economic factors. Alteration in the economic position went a long way to modify the social position of the erstwhile higher and privileged classes. An important factor in the economic life of the people was the administrative machinery. It shared the fruits of the peasant labour, the economic framework of the society worked as

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47. Radhakamal Mookherji—*The Indian scheme of life* (Bombay–1951) P. 16.

48. *Ibid*—P. 41.

49. *Ibid*—P. 55.

50. Nerukar's edition of *Puruṣapariksā*—110–111.

best as it could within the limits of its productive capacity. It involved division into classes, disparity of income and a general degradation of the status of the productive labourers. All these factors had to be adjusted with the social system. Through generations of exclusive employment and inherited traditions of efficiency and skill, the quality of the product was excellent and their artistic value was great. The social status and the limited opportunities of village craftsmen discouraged them from making progress beyond certain limit. The peasants and industrial workers lived on a bare pittance.

In the words of Sir John Marshall, seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilisations so vast and so strongly developed yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and the Hindu meeting and mingling together. Islam profoundly influenced our system and *vice versa* and that ultimately led to the establishment of medieval theism. The increasing emphasis on monotheism, emotional worship, self surrender and laxity in the rigours of caste were the direct results of our contact with the Islam. The efforts to seek new life led to the development of a new culture. India absorbed certain foreign elements and out of this ferment arose new types of reformers. Mysticism marked the beginning of theological scholarship. Mithilā came to be recognised as one of the important centres of Sufism. There was a fine mingling of Sufism and Bhaktism. The contact between the two cultures gave rise to mystical institutionalism. Sufi conception of a deified teacher was incorporated in medieval Hinduism. The elevation of different vernacular languages was brought about by the contact with the Muslims. It is too well known to be attested that our provincial literatures started with the triple legacy of religion, emotionalism, humanism and doctrinal dissent of love, intuition and man. The *Vaiṣṇava* poetry of Mithilā and Bengal symbolised the creative power of society and the individual. Curious syncretic cults

and practices arose. Hindus and Muslims developed common traits, habits and culture as one people in the rural areas and in the urban areas there developed a highly intricate and sophisticated common culture. The *Indo-muslim* architectural style represented a complete harmonisation of the artistic spirit of Hinduism and Islam and nowhere does it become more clear than in the Mosque at Ahmedabad and Jaunpur, a fact attested to by our poet in the *Kīrtilatā*.

Even when such a process of cultural assimilation was going on and an attempt for the unity of outlook was transcending the local and provincial barriers, nothing positive could come out. The urge towards political unification was counteracted by the vastness of the country and the absence of the adequate means of communications. Even then, the great reformers tried to take note of the change that was occurring and they acted accordingly. Sir Jadunath Sarkar is of opinion that the simple faith and democratic ideals of Islam produced a ferment which was focussed by Chaitanya and he had disciples from the lowest strata of the Hindu society and among the Muslims. In so far as Mithilā is concerned, it may be noted that it was the only semi-independent Hindu State surrounded, on all sides, by the muslim rulers. The Mithilā rulers were nothing if not extemely conservative. They failed to keep pace with the growing needs of the time and became rather hardened with their conservative need. It was under the patronage of such rulers that Vidyāpati lived and wrote and under the circumstances, it was impossible for him to make any sharp or remarkable break with the orthodoxy of his rulers. The social attitude of the period is clearly reflected in the contemporary Sanskrit writings. While the kings of Bengal patronised and encouraged the growth of provincial literature, their counterparts in Mithilā paid special attention to the study of Sanskrit. The Oinwāra rulers' patronage to Sanskrit attracted the attention of a pilgrim from Prayāga[51]. During the period, under

51. Cf. *India office catalogue* P. 214.

review, Mithilā continued to be the homeland of Sanskrit studies with special reference to *Nyāya* and *Smṛiti*. *Smṛiti* was allied with the *mimāṁśā* system of Hindu philosophy. A host of Sanskrit writers influenced the social outlook of the people of Mithilā. We have an abundance of images from the court life in the poetry of Vidyāpati and some of them also owe their origin to the social needs of the people in general[52].

VII

Influence of Geography

The geographical factors also influenced the character of the people of Mithilā and according to Grierson, it was a tract too proud to admit other nationalities to intercourse on equal terms. It has not changed its ancestral peculiarities[53]. Mithilā has been a land of rivers. With the Himalaya in the north, Ganges in the south, Gaṇḍaka in the west and Kośī in the east, Mithilā was assured, far more, of her security than other contemporary rulers. This sense of security in the past, provided by geography, made the Maithilas complacent of their strength and they did not pay any heed towards manly acquisitions or royal responsibilities. Wealth and security in a secluded atmosphere enabled them to care more for their luxuries and at the same time to encourage traditional learning which might help in giving legal sanctions to their extravagant ways of living. To these rulers, people, as a whole, did not matter much. The security of the state was a lookout of the rulers who acted with expediency according to the time and circumstances. Security, sometimes, was purchased for freedom. No attempt was ever made to move the people for the sake of the country. This seclusion made them proud of their merits.[54] All these resulted in making Mithilā a

52. *HMIL*—I. 161.

53. *Linguistic Survey of India*—V. II. P. 4.

54. Cf. पुरुषपरीक्षा (गीतिविद्य कथा)—अहो तीरभुक्तियाः स्वभावाद् गुणगर्विणः भवन्ति ।

static country for centuries to come. According to Grierson, the people of Mithilā are guided by the mint, anise and cumin of the Brāhmaṇic law in their everyday life. She even guarded with extreme jealousy her teachings and there sprang up rigorous institutions[55]. This exclusive isolation and fear of being polluted prevented her from taking inspiration for writing folk-lores and other things from the sources other than Sanskrit. Even when borrowing from the Sanskrit literature, they relied mainly on the Epics and the *Purāṇas*. Vidyāpati, too, drew mainly from the *Purāṇas*. The Maithila scholars intentionally avoided borrowing from the Buddhist and other anti-vedic sources. Buddhists and materialists are described as heretics. The Maithila tradition, represented by our poet, advises us to follow the path that has come down in the tradition of our birth.[56] Ganges was the dividing line between the Brāhmaṇical culture of Mithilā to the north and the Buddhist culture of Magadha to the south. Since the days of Śatapatha Brāhmana, Mithilā had been the cradle of the vedic civilisation, great stonghold of the Brāhmaṇical culture and traditional learning. The geographical factors were responsible for the insularity of Mithilā.

VIII

Cultural Background

For sometime, Vaiśālī remained the centre of the Jain, the Buddhist and other heretical thoughts. As soon as the last great Buddhist emperor Harṣa passed away, all possibility of any royal support to Buddhism died out and the sponsors of Brāhmaṇical faith raised their heads to exterminate the Buddhist. We shall revert to it, later on, in details. For the present, it may be noted that Kumārila and others did every

55. Jayaswal—*Catalogue of Mithilā Mss.* II. Introduction.

56. Grierson—*LSI*—IV. 126; Also consult his Edition of the *Puruṣaparikṣā*.

thing within their power to uproot the tenets of Buddhism.

Kumārila

Ānandagīri, in his *Śaṅkaravijaya*, refers to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, as an indefatigable and brilliant scholar, in glorious terms for organising repeated massacre of the Buddhists. His *Kārikā* or the versified account of the ritual appears to be the oldest.[57] The name of his famous work is *Taṅtravārtika*. He regarded the *Mahābhārata* as a work of sacred tradition intended for the instruction of all the four castes. According to a tradition, his connection with Mtthilā was very intimate because his own student Maṇḍana was married to his sister, Bhārati. Kumārila was determined to bring Buddhism to an end and when he could not achieve his end, he burnt himself in a sacrificial fire in Orissa. After Kumārila comes another brilliant star, Maṇḍana Miśra.

Maṇḍana Miśra

He is one of the few illustrious names in the cultural history of India in general and Mithilā in particular. Maṇḍana was an upholder of the Vedic social order and the *Varṇāśramadharma*. He was of the opinion that whosoever ruled was to be accepted as a Kṣatriya. He wrote his famous treatise—*Mīmāṁsānukramaṇikā*—on vedic rituals and orthodox behaviour. He was exhorted by the famous Śaṅkarācharya to take to *Saṅyāsa*. He wrote a marvellous work—*Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, wherein his impatience with human suffering finds eloquent expression. He gathered round him a band of scholars and if traditions are to be relied upon, his maid servant was also a great[58] poetess. His another important work is *Vidhiviveka*. According to Maṇḍana, *āsraya* (seat) of *avidyā* is the *Jīva* and his theory of *Avidyā-Nivṛitti* is identical with *Brahma-Jñana*. Thus it appears that he belonged to an earlier School of *Adwaita-Vedānta*.[59]

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57. A. A. Macdonell—*A history of Sanskrit Literature* (London–1905) P. 271.

58. Cf the article in the *JBRS*–XLIII.

59. Cf an article—Maṇḍana, Sureśwara & Bhavabhuti—by D. C. Bhattacharya–in the *IHQ*–VII. PP. 304–308.

Vācaspati,[60] who followed Maṇḍana, was fully conscious of the suffering humanity and he dedicated his whole life in expounding the views of earlier thinkers on the problem of human welfare. Vācaspati was one of the master minds and his work, *Bhāmati*, (written after the name of his wife) is yet a problem to philosophers and thinkers. Vācaspati was followed by another great scholar, Udayana, who was a strong supporter of the Vedic social polity and fought, with all the strength at his command, against Buddhism. Under the Karṇāṭas (1097–1325 A. D.), the Brāhmanical studies were vigorously pursued at the encouragement of the rulers.[61] The whole period was confined to Brāhmanical literature and ritualism. The main object was to regulate the daily life of the people and to counteract the social and religious disturbances. An eye-witness account of the thirteenth century A. D., Dharmaśwāmī (a Tibetan traveller), clearly states that though he was a Buddhist, the ruler of Tirhut, Rāmasiṁhadeva, offered to him the post of the chief priest. This is just an example of the fact that the spirit of tolerance was[62] still there. The antagonism to Buddhism gave rise to New Logic or the *Navya-Nyāya* in Mithilā. Udayana, a great logician, was one of the greatest adversaries of the Buddhist faith. Gaṅgeśa wrote with the object of controverting the principles of Buddhism. We shall revert to these points, in detail, later on. These eminent

Vacaspati

Udayana

Gaṅgeśa

60. Cf. a passage ascribed to Yajñavalkya—धर्मस्य तत्वं विज्ञेयं मिथिला-व्यवहारतः–i.e. the path of duty can be known from usages of Mithila.

61. Cf. My article—*The Karṇāṭas of Mithilā*—in the *ABORI*—XXXV. 91 ff; My article—"*Mithilāka Saṁkshipta Rājanitik Itihāsa*" in *Vaidehi Visheshānka* of 1960, and *Mithilāka Saṁkshipta Saṁskritik Itihas*—in *Vaidehi Visheshānka* of 1963–4, Cf *TM*—Chapter V.

62. Cf. *The Life of Dharmaśwāmi*—published by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna (1959)—Also–*G. D. College Bulletin Series No. 4.*

scholars succeeded in stabilising the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇical thought to be cemented later on by the *Nibandhakāras* of Mithilā, among whom our poet too occupies a prominent place. Thus the entire energy of the Maithila scholars was spent not in bringing out only new thought, though it came by the way, but in rooting out one of the most progressive religious beliefs, i.e., Buddhism. Geographically isolated as Mithilā was, these learned discourses on the Smṛti rules and regulations sealed her fate further and paved the way for orthodox outlook and conservative thinking.

The Karṇāta period has been regarded as the golden age for Sanskrit literature in Mithilā. Gaṅgeśa, Caṇḍeśwara and Padmanābha Datta graced the Karṇata period and Jagaddhar, Vidyāpati, Śaṅkara, Vācaspati (ii) and Pakṣadhara continued their traditions in the Oinwāra period. The writings of Caṇḍeśwara and Vācaspati (ii) are the most important sources for the study of our period. The real purpose behind these writiugs in medieval Mithila was to preserve the ancient culture against Budhism. As the Buddhist attack was directed mainly against the sacrificial rites and rituals, the Maithila *Nibandhakāras* wrote books in support of these two aspects, on the side of philosophy, it led to the creation of a vast literature on *Nyāya* and *Pūrva-Mimāṁsā* and on the social side, the *Dharmaśāstra*. These two branches reached their climax in Mithilā. Books like *Smṛtidarpaṇa, Smṛitimahārṇava, Chāndogyapariśiṣta, Śrāddhapaṅjikā, Paribhāṣa* etc. were written during our period and Lakṣmīdhara, Graheśwaramiśra, *Śrīdatta*, Rudradhara, Caṇḍeśwara, Deveśwara, Gaṇeśwara, Viśeśwara, Vardhamāna, Harināṭha, Vācaspati, and others flourished during the period under review. Various digests were compiled. A big gathering of the Mimāṁsakas was held at Mithilā at the instance of Rāni Viśwāsadevi in the 14th–15th century. Such was the cultural background of Mithilā, when Vidyāpti flourished and wrote. It was by reason of her secluded position that Mithilā has been able to preserve

her continuity in the evolution of a culture, peculiarly her own and also in retaining intact the fundamental truths embodied in Hindu culture. The comparatively peaceful atmosphere of Tirhut made it the centre of learning and culture in the middle age. Her connection with Tibet and Nepal continued[63].

IX

Feudalism

Feudalism reached its high water mark in Mithilā during the period under review.[64] The institution of private property brought about a change in the social outlook of the people. Feudalism began early as in other parts of India but it stabilised itself during the Gupta period. Since then feudalism has been the basis of all social and political developments. Property came to be the source of all position and power. Even a rank in the court was to be determined by the closeness of relation with the monarch as well as by magnitude of the fief land. Caṇḍeśwara opined that the ministries are to be on a hereditary basis.[65] This hereditary basis stengthened the bonds of feudalism and deepened the feudal tendency.[66] During our period, feudalism formed the basis not only of the social organisation but also of the polity. Various feudal-titles like *Mahāsāmantādhipati, Mahasāmanta, Mahāmaṇḍaleśwara, Māṇḍalika, Sāmanta, Rāṇaka, Rauta, Ṭhakkura, Mahārāja,* etc. are known to us from the contemporary inscriptions and literatures. All these titles are indicative of the feudal

63. R. K. Choudhary — *History of Bihar* (Patna — 1958)— PP.—180 ff.

64. Cf my article in the *PIHC* (1953)—Waltair session, and also my article on '*feudalism*' in the *JIH*—XXXVII and XXXVIII.

65. K. P. Jayaswal–*Rajaniti-Ratnākara*—Chap. II. P. 10.

66. Cf. *MBH–Sabhāparva*—5.43; Manu VII 48s 54; Yajñavalkya–I. 312. The position, taken here, is not approved of by Kautalya, Somadeva and Sukra.

grades who mattered in the administrative set up. Sometimes the Sāmantas were appointed to look after the administration of a group of villages. Caṇḍeśwara, a feudatory himself, and a minister of the Karṇāṭa dynasty under Harisiṁhadeva, has fully discussed the legal status of the feudatories in Mithilā.[67] These feudatories excercised a good deal of influence on the day to day administration of the state. It was the obligation of the vassals to pay tributes to the king.[68] While preferring the hereditary army, Caṇḍeśwara explains the cause of not preferring the *Śreṇibala* which receive payment for their services. The feudatories had to attend the royal court on ceremonial occasions. These feudatories also made regular grants to their subordinates. These facts are supported by the contemporary literature and inscription. At times the ordinary people were harassed by the feudal nobility. Here in India, much less in Mithilā, feudalism did not usher into a new era as was the case in Europe. The reference to forced labour and sale of slaves is indicative of the fact that the feudal *Corvee* had come to stay in this land of the *Nibandhakāras*. Feudatories also rallied under the banners of their rulers, going out on conquests. The clanish spirit of the medieval rulers and their intense spirit of jealousy, on account of their feudal divisions, accounted for the national calamity that befell us off and on. These feudal princes failed to make a common cause.[69]

During the period, under review, in Mithilā, feudalism reached its apex. We are told in the *Sugati-Sopāna* that Gaṇeśwara presided over the council of the feudatory chiefs of Mithilā. He was himself the chief of those feudatories.

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67. *RR*–60.

68. *Ibid*–4–5.

Also cf.—a description about a *Sāmanta* in the *Govinda-mānasollāsa*. *MM*–introduction–P. VII ; According to the *Mahābhārāta* and Manu, Rājās and *Ādhiśvaras* were below the rank of a *Samrāṭ*.

69. That was the main cause of Hindu failure in the middle ages.

These feudal barons formed the cabinet under the *Karṇātas*.[70] They ultimately became so powerful that the post of the prime minister became hereditary and three generation of Caṇḍeśwara served under Harisiṁhadeva. These lords also acted as *aide-camp* of the kings of Mithilā. The different departments of state were under the control of these lords. We learn from the *Prākṛt-paingalaṁ* that Caṇḍeśwara himself was a great baron and he had under him a protege named Haribrahma. They generally donated lands, tanks, temples and performed *Tulāpuruṣadāna* or *Yajña*. The feudal chiefs are said to have checked the autocratic power of Śakrasiṁha. Caṇḍeśwara takes all credit for victory in Nepāl. The title *'Thakkura'* is translated as barons in Mithilā.[71] For Caṇḍeśwara, caste in politics had lost all meaning, though the hold of religion on politics was yet a reality.[72] The *Thakkuras* granted lands to the Brāhmaṇas at Simarāmpur and Vīreśwara built a palace known as "Ladder to heaven."[73] Caṇḍeśwara's king also was no better than a vassal[74] and he supplied troops to the emperor. The *Varṇanaratnākara* presents a picture of the contemporary social classes.[75] Some of these classes do exist in Mithilā even today, attached to their master through the medium of land. According to Jyotiriśwara, a king is to be surrounded by *Bhūpāla*,[76] *Māṇḍalika*, *Sāmanta*, *Rajāputra* and others etc. *Sāmanta* is also called a *Rājasevaka*. Mutual acrimony and jealousy among the feudal chiefs led to vicious atmosphere. They controlled the entire economic and political life of Mithilā. Vidyapati reveals to us that the barons had turned cheats.[77] Forced

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70. Cf.-my article—*The Karṇāṭas of Mithilā*—in the *ABORI*-xxxv. 91 ff.
71. *RR*-Introduction.
72. *Ibid.* 70-74.
73. Cf—First volume of the Publications of the First All Indian Maithili writer's conference held at Darbhanga in 1956—Papers Published in the History Section, Cf—*Sugati-Sopāna*.
74. *RR*—4.
75. *JIH*—xxxviii-202 ; 76—*Ibid.*
77. Cf—*Kīrtilatā*—PP. 16-19.

labour was a common feature of the feudal society of Mithilā. But whatever be the nature of feudalism in India, it must be said that feudalism developed here in a way different from the west and the conditions here donot call for any similarity of means and methods. In Mithilā, it developed in a different manner and on a differen basis altogether.[78] Though the set up in Mithilā was feudal, conditions had begun to change and Mithilā's contact with the other states was growing. It was under such conditions that our poet lived and wrote. He was himself one of the participants in the history of Mithilā and he shaped its course for about eight decades, if not more.

78. Cf *EI*–V. 118–141 ; III. 221–224 ; xxvii. 41–47—In the Rāstrakuṭa inscriptions, we come across a peculiar type of feudal land holding barons.—Also Cf—Kosambi (D. D.)—*An introduction to the study of Indian History*—PP. 355–56 for the nature of Indian feudalism.

CHAPTER II

POLITY

I

The tradition of an independent political system is as old as the vedic literature in the history of Mithilā. The old monarchical system was replaced by a republican institution in the Buddhist period and the Vajji constitution represented the earliest type of democratic republic in our country. The Lichchavi constitution was thoroughly organised on a sound basis. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya also influenced the political thought and ideas of the country. The Lichchavis seem to have enjoyed some sort of autonomy even during the Mauryan and the succeeding periods of our history. Vaiśali maintained its position for several centuries and even one thousand years after Buddha, we find it as the capital (*Adhiṣṭhāṇa*) of a province of the Gupta empire. Vaiśālī, in the Gupta period, was the capital of Tirabhukti[1]. Tirabhukti continued to be a province under the succeeding emperors and empires and the recent discovery of a copper plate of the later Guptas,[2] discovered from the district of Muzaffarpur, further confirms this point. Somadeva, in his *Yaśasatilaka*, has given a description of the soldiers of Tirhut. He pays glowing tributes to the Tirhut regiment.[3] Even during the early medieval period, Mithilā, in the background of her ancient past, developed a political philosophy and a system of administration. Under

Background

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1. R. K. Choudhary—*History of Bihar*—PP. 67–68 ; *Select Inscription of Bihar*—s. v. *Vaiśali Inscriptions*.
2. Unpublished—its text was communicated to me by the late lamented Dr. A. S. Altekar for my study.
3. Cf. *Yaśasatilakachampu*—edited by Handiqui—

the Karṇāṭas, the administration of Mithilā was thoroughly organised. The origin o Mithilā polity can be traed to our ancient political system. In the medieval period, digests of Hindu Law began to be compiled and composed and that marked a new stage in the *Arthaśastra* literature. Somadeva and Lakṣmidhara Bhaṭṭa were the two prominent writers of *Digests* in the middle ages. We further learn from the *Vivādaratnākara* of Caṇḍeśwara, that Gopāl composed a *digest* known as *Kāmadhenu*.

All these go to show that a new trend to present the *digest* was coming into light. Caṇḍeśwara, through his *Rājanitiratnakara*[3](a) introduces a new branch of literature. In the branch of polities, the *RR* is possibly the oldest work in Mithilā. The most remarkable and perceptible change is the adoption of the title *Rājaniti* instead of *Daṇḍnīti* or *Arthaśastra*. Caṇḍeśwara was followed by a host of writers in Mithilā. Misaru Misra's *Vivadachandra*, Vidyāpati's *Bibhāgasāra* and *Puruṣaparikṣ* Vardhamāna's *Daṇḍaviveka*, Vācaspati's *Vyavahāracintāmaṇi* are some of the important works dealing with the Law and legal and administrative matters and as such they are important for the study of contemporary polity. The Oinwāras witnessed the same administrative pattern as that of their predecessors. The question of independent monarchy had receded into oblivion at the time of the composition of the *RR*. Lawgivers like Vacaspati, Vardhamāna, Pakṣhadhara, Keshava and Narhari etc., continued the tradition of writing digests. Numerous books on the laws for sale, inheritance, loans, possessions, barters, repayment of debts, legal possessions, ownership of

3(a). *RR*—It is divided into 16 chapters–dealing with—(1) Kingship ; (2) Ministers ; (3) Minister of Religion ; (4) Lord chief Justice : (5) Councillors ; (6) Forts ; (7) Discussion of Policy ; (8) Treasury ; (9) Army ; (10) The commanders-in-chief ; (11) Ambassadors ; (12) Administration ; (13) Excentive Authority and Punishment ; (14) Abdication and Appointment ; (15) Appointment of a new king by the Minister of Religion and (16) Coronation. The text has been edited and published by K. P. Jayaswal.

land, rights and privileges of monarch, etc were written in the tradition, initiated by Caṇḍeśwara. Murari Miśra's *Ekādasādyadhikaraṇa* is a unique book on polity and it deals with the domestic and foreign affairs. This book was written as a sequel to his own work *"Bādhābhyuchchaya Lakṣaṇa"* i.e. old political obstacles. Caṇḍeśwara was not only a scholar but also an administrator. It has been rightly pointed out that the "traditional inverse proportion between scholarship and wealth did not hold good in his case."[4]

With Caṇḍeśwara came a change in the political thought in Mithilā. He was intelligent enough to keep pace with the growing needs of the time. He had the boldness to differ with the other *Dharmaśāstra* writers and their theories. He took a liberal view of the rights and duties of a king and citizen. His king was no despot. Caste in politics had become bankrupt in fact as we find that Caṇḍeśwara did not attach any importance to it. It is here that he differed from the other *Dharmaśāstra* writers and thereby displayed his quick changing aptitude. The king need not be a kshatriya but he should justify his position by giving protection to his people, and should always seek their welfare and progress. He should be capable of leading the society. Caṇḍeśwara did not attach any importance to the sacrament of coronation as he did not think it essential for kingship. In this respect, we can call him a realist who was not blind to the stark reality of his age. The establishment of muslim rule had nipped in the bud all hopes of Hindu monarchical revival. There was no way out but to change with the time and herein lay his originality. Inspite of all these, most of his views are traditional. The change in his attitude was due to the fact that he contemplated a dependent Hindu King (*i.e.*–the *Karada* King).

Caṇḍeśwara influenced Vidyāpati in so far as the latter's political ideas are concerned. Vidyāpati's views are preserved in his *Puruṣaparikṣā* but it should be borne in mind that his views in the *PP* are not the only nor the final word which

4. *BTA*—440.

he pronounced on the subject of politics. In order to assess the importance of Vidyāpati as a political thinker, it would be advisable to assess the part which politics played in the formation of his unique personality. Everything about him bears the true mark of greatness. He employs real historical characters to exemplify the truths he has mastered and the message he intends to convey. His allegories, throughout his writings, his interpretations of kings, countries and his symbolism are all laden with politics. His interest in politics seems to have been determined by his love for the kingdom of Mithilā in which he took active part. During his long span of life, he was not a silent spectator of the turmoil and ever-shifting fortunes of the Oinwāras of Mithilā. Mithilā was, then, one of the centres of Hindu kingdom and Vidyāpati was its great citizen. To Vidyāpati, Mithilā was a well-defined unit, with her clearly marked geographical features and boundaries, her language, customs and civilization. Mithilā was the object of his passionate love. It provided the basis of his notions of the state. The viccissitudes of the political life also influenced his thinking. The kingdom of Mithilā was the first constituent element of Vidyāpati's theory of politics.

Vidyāpati as a political thinker

It may be noted here that the existence of nearly Muslim kingdoms of Jaunpur and Delhi in the west and Bengal in the east made the benefits of political life extremely precarious. Misfortune enabled him to draw a fruitful lesson from the school of adversity to which he was admitted after the disappearance of his patron friend, the indefatigable hero, Śivasiṁha. The *Bibhāgasāra* is an ample evidence of the fact that he did not lack in legal training. His knowledge of Law was much more than superficial. A full-throated supporter of monarchy, he regarded king as the source of all law. He expounded the theory of temporal as well as spiritual monarchy and that was consistent with the medieval tradition. It may be noted here that his political ideas are nothing more than a general systematisation of traditional arguments and can be traced back to earlier sources. The political ideas, enunciated by Vidyāpati and his eminent contemporaries, are all conso-

nant with the medieval philosophical and legal argumentation. Kauṭalyan argument for the national foundation of state as the realisation of human ends acted as a beacon-light to the later political thinkers and that was also responsible for the later scholastic conception, that is,—to keep the whole capacity of the potential intellect constantly actualised. This can not be done without unified direction by a single authority. As a court poet, Vidyāpati's respect for monarchy and monarchical form of government was naturally very high.

Medieval Mithila had well organised system of administration, patterned largely on older theories and practices. The writers of the period drew largely upon the ancient political thinkers and made or modified certain changes to suit the local circumstances, created by the then political conditions. We have an account of monarchy in Umāpati's *Pārijātaharaṇanātaka*, the *Varṇanaratnākara* of Jyotiriśwara Thakur and in a number of other works written by Chaṇḍeśwara, Vidyāpati and Vācaspati. The codification of Laws, as a result of the advent and consequent stabilisation of the muslims in Indian political life, resulted in the regulation of conduct in various walks of life[5]. The individuality of Maithila tradition is doubly proved by the intrinsic merit and innate strength of these *Smṛitis* inspite of age-old abberrations. Feudal lords dominated the political life of Mithilā under the Karṇāṭas (1097-1325 A. D.) and they controlled the political power. Haribrahma, the protege of Chaṇḍeśwara, the mighty minister of Harisiṁha, wrote a panegyric on his patron and that is yet preserved in the pages of the *Prākṛtapaiṅgalaṃ*.[6] The conditions in Mithila had changed and therefore books on Politics had to be adjusted accordingly. Chaṇḍeśwara's *RR*. in that sense is a typical book on polity and deserves special study.[7] Jyotiriśwara, if read along

5. *JBORS*—XIII-iii-iv.

6. *JASB* (Letters)—XVI. 269.

7. A detailed account of the administrative system, as envisaged in Caṇḍeśwara's *RR*, can be found in my chapter (chapter IV) contributed to the comprehensive History of Bihar (K. P. J. Research Institute, Patna) to be published shorly.

with Cṇḍeśwara and Vidyāpati, can be taken as a reliable authority for a study of the political system of Mithilā. Jyotiriśwara has much to say on various aspects of polity. In so far as the concept of monarchy is concerned, he is further supplemented by Harihara's *Sūktīmuktāvali*. Vidyāpati synthesises all the views propounded by other writers.

II

Monarchy

Both the Hindu and Muslim term for politics—*Siyāsat* and *Daṇḍanīti*—are identical in meaning and significance. The king was held to rule by divine right and to be, in a sense, a god himself, being only tied to the advice of a Brāhmaṇa.[8] If he violated *Dharma*, consolation could be drawn from the belief that the outraged Law would avenge itself on a tyrant in a second and an inevitable birth.[9] It may be questioned under these circumstances if a feeling of patriotism ever extended to the people as a whole outside the ruling classes. We have an instance where the mother of Hammirdeva herself stops the Rājput chief from shooting his enemy, Alāuddin Khalji,[10] and supports the moral rights of the Sultan to rule over the Rājputas. The king, in medieval Mithilā as in other parts of India, followed the old and cherished tradition of paternal monarchs, though this criterion, by no means, can be laid down as a rule for general application.[11] The contemporary muslim thinkers

8. *MM.* No. 9—Śivasiṁha is compared with Rāma in so far as the protection of religion is concerned and with Dadhichi in so far as *Dāna* is concerned. Vidyāpati calls him the eleventh incarnation—*Ibid*–No. 89 ; an incarnation of Śiva—*Ibid*–No. 140.

9. F. W. Thomas—*Mutual influence of Muhammadans and Hindu in India* (Cambridge–1892) PP. 9–10.
Also Cf. Nerukar—PP. 115.

10. Cf. Todd—*Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*–Vol. I. 483 ; Also Cf. *An Arabic History of Gujerat* (Edited by E. Denison Ross–London 1921–28)–Vol. II. 807.

11. Nerukar—*Op. Cit.*–72–73.

considered it to be a high duty of a king not to overlook any irregular acts of his officers.[12] An ideal monarch should be (i) well-versed in the science of punishment; (ii) able to enjoy pleasure; (iii) able to conquer the four quarters; (iv) able to kill all his foes in the battlefield; (v) able to offer oblations to the fire; (vi) able to sacrifice to the deities; (vii) well-versed in learning and kind enough to distribute gold among the supplicants.[13] All these could not be possible without an expert exploiting machinery of which the king himself was the head. Amir Khusrav has rightly observed—"Every pearl in the royal crown is but the crystallised drop of blood fallen from the tearful eyes of the poor peasant" (cf. *Kulliyat-i-Khusrav*). When the Brāhmaṇas themselves became king in Mithilā, they approximated to the muslim ideal of a Sultan. Vidyāpati declared that plotting against the king was a sin.[14]

Certain fundamental regulations had to be followed. A king should not be heedless in his own affairs as that would mean the loss of his kingdom. It was the duty of the king to protect his subjects and to subdue the wrong.[15] The king should have paternal attitude towards all.[16] He should not give away his rule to other as all men are to him but mercenaries.[17] According to Caṇḍeśwara, one who protects is the

12. Cf. the views of Afif (—Published by S Gupta-Calcutta-1953) P. 19. The medieval concept of kingship has been well brought out by A. H. Lybyer-in his book—*The Government of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge-Massasuchets-1913)--

"In order to hold a Land, one needs troop men;
In order to keep troops, one must divide out property
Only Law creates the riches of a people;
If one of these be lacking, all four are lacking
When all four are lacking, the dominion goes to pieces."

13. Cf. Nerukar-*Op. Cit.*-164, 166.
14. Nerukar—115.
15. Grierson edition of Umāpati's *Parijātaharaṇanāṭaka.*
16. Grierson—PP. Tale. 18. Cf. *Raghūvaṁśa*-II. 48--पितेवपाषि-
17. *Ibid.*-Tale 13

king.[18] He was to govern the people in the manner of a father governing his children. The paternal conception of kingship was based on righteousness.[19] It was the duty of the subject to honour the king and in return the king was expected to protect and maintain them. It was the duty of a king to promote the good and destroy the evil. The fate of a country was linked up with its king. Knowledge in statecraft was considered essential for a king. The *Sirāt-i-Firozshāhi*, supplements the existing Hindu sources on medieval political system. According to the *Sirāt-i-Firozshāhi*, a king should keep himself conversant with every event and should take care in selecting officials and should also be able to strike awe in the minds of his enemies.[20] It was the policy of the muslim rulers to heavily tax the Hindus with a view to reducing them to poverty.[21]

Jyotirīśwara, who guided the genuis of Vidyāpati, was one of the few elites of Mithilā who helped in the formation of some specific Maithila cultural traits. In *Kallola* 2, there is the description of a hero who should be expert in archery and skilful, well-versed in the use of thirty six kinds of weapons and in the eightyfour kinds of kingly devoir and polity.[22] He has vividly described the court life and has given a long list of administrative officers.[23] He also mentions the coronation ceremony.[24] According to Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the list of officers and courtiers in the *VR* is longer than any other contemporary lists.[25] Jyotirīśwara and Caṇḍeśwara thus complement and supplement each other. Both Jyotirīśwara[26] and

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18. *RR*-प्रजारक्षकोराज्यैत्यर्थः— Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*-I. 13—आत्मकर्मक्षमं देहं क्षात्रोधर्म इवाश्रितः ॥
19. Grierson PP. Tale-32.
20. *PIHC*-VI. PP. 236-37.
21. *ED*-III. 230-31.
22. *VR*. XXVI ; For administrative terms, see P. 8.
23. *Ibid*. PP. 8-9.
24. *Ibid*. PP. 22-23.
25. *Ibid*. XXXIII.
26. *Ibid*. P. 3. Cf. *RR*-66.

Caṇḍeśwara depart from the old titles of *Arthaśāstra* and *Daṇḍanīti* and they adopt the term "*Rājnīti*" (royal policy) for polity. Caṇḍeśwara discloses to us the fact that there was a work attributed to Nārada dealing with politics.[27] According to Jayaswal, the *Ratnākara* is thus valuable in the history of political literature and still more important are the norms which obtained at the close of the Hindu and the beginning of muslim periods. There is no lack of interest and no total surrender of reason.[28] Caṇḍeśwara has largely drawn upon the following twenty five authorities and books—(i) *Arthapradipevyāsa* (P. 72) ; (ii) *Arthaśāstra* (P. 55); (iii) *Kātyāyana* (PP. 16, 20, 21, 69, 71, 77); (iv) *Kāmandaka* (33, 54); (v) *Vācaspatyaṁ* (54); (vi) *Kośaḥ* (or *Amaraḥ*)-(P. 11); (vii) *Kośaḥ-Kośakāraḥ* (71-75); (viii) *Kullukabhaṭṭa* (P. 2); (ix) *Gopāla* (72, 75); (x) *Guru* (3, 33) ; (xi) *Nārada* (12, 13, 17, 20, 22, 23, 56, 62, 68, 71, 77) ; (xii) *Nārdīyaṁ* (5) ; (xiii) *Nārada* (nītoḥ)-(3) ; (xiv) *Rājanito'nāradaḥ* (P. 70), (xv) *Nītiḥ* (28, 31, 32, 43, 76) ; (xvi) *Nītikalpataruḥ* (8) ; (xvii) *Padaṁ* (70) ; (xviii) *Pallavakāraḥ* (16, 32, 37, 47; 48, 63, 70, 73) ; (xix) *Prāñcha* (*Navyāḥ*) (22, 56) ; (xx) *Bārhaspatyaṁ* (70) ; (xxi) *Bhāgawataṁ* (70) ; (xxii) *Manu* (2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 19, 22, 24, 27, 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68, 71, 76) ; (xxiii) *Mahābhārata* (3, 9, 11, 26, 27, 28, 32, 34, 36, 39, 45, 67); (xxiv) *Maya-Maitra-Viśālakṣa-Manu-Bṛhspati-Sukraḥ* (59); (xxv) *Mitākṣara*-63, 76. His indebtedness to Lakṣmidhara is evident from all his works.

King was the chief administrative head in the scheme of Caṇḍeśwara and he has rightly drawn our attention towards his divinity.[29] The king was an incarnation of God on earth and the coronation ceremony was held in accordance with the Vedic injunctions.[30] He held the view that a weak or an old

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27. *RR.* Introduction-29.

28. *Ibid.* 29.

29. *RR.* 68—महती देवताह्येषानररूपेण तिष्ठति । He has stated it on the authority of Manu.

30. *Ibid.* PP. 70-74.

king should abdicate and go in for a life of austerity, penance and salvation.[31] The coronation Oath, as laid down by Caṇḍeśwara,[32] affirms that the country is god and that the king, in protecting it, will consider it as such. It is the duty of the king to protect his subject.[33] He defines *Rājadharma* as signifying "protection and benefaction of subjects."[34] He believes in the indivisibility of kingship and says—"leadership, if divided, would destroy the state."[35] On the authority of the *Rājanitikāmadhenu*, he says that there are two types of king—"*Akara*" by virtue of his prowess and heroism and "*Karada*," dependent on some emperor. That king is happy who himself looks afters his whole kingdom.[36] He put forward the theory that the royal property was such as was owned by the whole people.[37] He was a supporter of benevolent monarchy. A king should be just and honest. He should love his subjects in the manner he loves his own self and children. He should protect his subjects in times of peace and war and should act wisely on critical occasions to save his kingdom. Caṇḍeśwara envisaged a king who should not only be efficient in his own way but should be the master of details. He should be well-conversant with the minutest details of administration and should possess the ability to handle any situation, arising within or without, successfully.[37(a)]

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31. Devasiṁha, father of Śivasiṁha, had acted accordingly.
32. *RR.* Introduction–P. 25 ff.
33. *RR.* 2.
According to the *VR.* (P. 9)—a king should be—"दानेवलि परोपकारे जीमूतवाहन । सत्येयुधिष्ठिर । शौर्ये परशुराम । आज्ञायेलंकेश्वर । अहंकारे दुर्योधन । विलासे गोपाल । मर्यादाजे महोदधि । गुरुताजे सुमेरु । ऐश्वर्ये महादेव ।
34. *Ibid.* 1.
35. *Ibid.* 72.
36. *Ibid.* 4.
37. *Ibid.* 72.
37(a). *VR.* P. 8—
सर्वगुणसंपूर्णराजा ; P. 9. सर्वगुणसंपूर्ण सर्वकलापरीक्षक, सर्वविधक ऐश्वर्य—

After finishing his daily usual rites, he should go to his harem in the noon. After his food articles are examined by *aides*, he should take them. After some rest, he should attend to official duties. He should be a *Jitendriya*. He should boldly discourage such things as are likely to make him weak and docile, *that is*, he should avoid intoxicants, anger, bad habits, etc. He should be considerate and well advised. He should divert his energy to secure the welfare of his people. In accumulating wealth, he should possess the qualities of *Baka* (or Duck), in preserving his strength, he should be like a lion, in diplomacy he should be intelligent like a hare and in dealing with his enemy he should be efficacious like a sheep. He should try his utmost to protect his kingdom by means of fortification. If the kingdom is lost on account of his carelessness and infatuation for things of transitory value, he is deprived of the help and co-operation of his friends and relations.[38] When he grows old, he should call a meeting of all the prominent citizens and in accordance with the seven elements of state, he should hand over his kingdom to his eldest son. Caṇḍeśwara categorically says that a sinful king should not be honoured.[39] At one place he says that in times of need even an undesirable king should not be left in the lurch.[40] He compares his king with a *Kalpabṛkṣa* and since such a king is endowed with all the good qualities he is to be served by the people.[41] He has further[42] prescribed certain minimum standards of court ettiquette and decorum. The court nobles should watch the movements of their king.

From the contemporary records, it may be assumed that there was some increase in the royal power. The king assumed such highsounding titles as *Parameśwara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Mahānṛpati, Kṣitipāla, Bhūpāla, Mithilāpati, Bhujabalabhima, Bhimāparākrama, Dasamadeva-*

38. *Ibid.* 60.
39. *Ibid.* 54.
40. *Ibid.* 51.
41. *Ibid.* 46.
42. *Ibid.* 48.

avatārā, etc. All these titles are evidently based on the model of the Pālas and Senas of Bengal. The tradition of the Pāla and the Sena administrative system Seems to have been maintained throughout the period with necessary changes called for by the local conditions. Of course, the form of government was monarchical and the succession to the royal throne was based strictly on hereditary priniciples. The actual position of the *Yuvarāja* in the administrative setup of Chaṇḍeśwara is not very clear. Vidyāpati is very much indebted to Chaṇḍeśwara. He borrowed his political ideas not only from Chaṇḍeśwara but also from Kauṭalya for whom the poet had a great respect.[43] In so for as Vidyāpati's conception of kingship is concerned, he almost literally follows Chaṇḍeśwara. His handling of the polity was naturally, therefore, traditional. What the poet has written about his patron, Śivasiṁha, is ample enough to demonstrate that the king was the essence of all existence, an embodiment of all light and the highest of all. Divine origin of kingship is already there. To Vidyāpati, a king was *Ekādasa-avatāra, Deva, Naradeva, Narendra, Bhūmipati, Rājā, Prajādhipa, Nṛpa, Adhipati, Kṣitipāla* etc, and certain emblems of royalty, as enunciated in the VR and the RR, are also referred to in the writings of the poet. Vardhamāna, in his *Daṇḍaviveka*,[44] suggests that a king should please his subjects by his action. The poet had a great love for the power and strength of a king.[45]

Vidyāpati enjoins upon his king to possess a robust health for a perfect healthy body alone can serve the end of protection which is the principal duty of a king. He should have a clear knowledge of the scriptures and of the various *Vidyās* to aid

43. *PP.* Tale 20—Vidyāpati says—'He (Kauṭalya) whose wrath hurled the nine Nandas to the abode of the god of death, and whose favour endowed Chandra Gupta, the Vṛṣala with a kingdom unopposed, he, Chānakya, a second Brahmā on this earth,.....was famed all the world over for his learning and his wisdom.''

44. P. 8—समीक्ष्य सधृतः सम्यक् सर्वारञ्जयति प्रजा—

45. Cf. *Śukranitisāra* I. 363–64.

him in dispensing justice.[46] Following Yajñavalkya,[47] our poet holds that a king should keep all secrets of his government to himself. According to Vidyāpati, a king should aim at consolidating his power by fixing the roots of his policy deep into the hearts of his subjects which would engender good will in them for him, and in his way he could become unassailable. Although powerful, he should not proceed on the wrong path and he should be capable of suppressing troubles among his subjects. He should treat all with perfect equanimity. Destroying the enterprises of his enemies, he should be intent upon the performance of his own action and striking enemies on weak points, he should conceal his own defects with great care. He should be internally mild and externally cruel. On the authority of Kāmandaka, he also suggests that a good king should always follow a middle path.[48] He should suppress all unworthy acts. In matters of statecraft, he should rely on the expert advice. He should try to run a benign government and he should not transgress the bounds of established order and should go by the path, shown by the science of polity. Following Umāpati, our poet also called his king *Hindūpati*.[49] It was the duty of the king to look to the

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46. Our poet considered Śivasiṁha to be an ideal Hindu prince.

47. Cf. मन्त्रमूले येतो राज्यमतो मन्त्रे सुरक्षितम्—

48. Mallīnātha in his *commentary* on the *Raghūvaṁśa* IV. 8, and VIII. 9—quotes the following—

    तीक्ष्णश्चैव मृदुश्चैव प्रजानां स च संमतः

    × × × × × × × ×

    दण्डेन नृपतिस्तस्माच्युक्त दण्डः प्रशस्यते

    Cf. *Brīhadāraṇyaka Upn*—I, 4, II—where *Dharma* has been equated with truth. Metaphysically *Dharma* is *Ṛta* or the cosmic building of order, the eternal truth, holding sway over the Universe in the words of the *Arthaśāstra*. According to the *Suttapiṭaka*, Dharma analysis is the discernment of an eternal, orderly conditioned sequence of things.

49. *MM*. No. 57—Umāpati in his *Parijātaharaṇa* called Harisiṁha the tenth incarnation, while Vidyāpati called Śivasiṁha, the eleventh incarnation.

observance of the *Varṇāśramadharma*. He regarded the monarch as more than a father.[50] Even earlier than Vidyāpati, Jyotiriśwara knew the essence of eightyfour kinds of kingly devoir and polity, beginning with the control of horses and elephants and ending in statecrafts and decisions at important junctures. Jyotirīśwara's king was endowed with mercy, charity and friendliness and all other qualities of a cultured folk.[51]

The king, according to Maithila thinkers, was perfect in himself. We have a fairly long account of the march of conquest of a king and the various kinds of horses and elephants and troops, arms and accountrements of the men and animals and the sights and sounds on the march and the general state of things as a consequence.[52] The chief task of a king, as thought of by a medieval maithila writer, was (i) to regain the hidden meaning of the holy vedas, (ii) to crush the enemies of the Brāhmaṇas and Gods, and (iii) to lift the load from the earth and cut off sin.[53] Thus in keeping with the earlier tradition of the majesty of kingly office, Vidyāpati also called his king, a protector of the Dharma, which essentially meant the protection of *Varaṇāśrama* rules. Loyalty was a precondition to all protection and the citizens were expected to be loyal to their masters. Religious sanctity was attached to the office of the king in view of the latter's divine origin. Unquestioned obedience to the king killed the people's incentive to goodness. Just as it was not

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50. *PP.* Tales 17,18; Cf.–the last Maithili song of the *Pārijātaharaṇa*–
धरमप्रजापरिपालथुराजा । चारु वरण करथुनिअकाजा ॥
बामन बेद खेद जनुपावे । साधुक संग आन जनु आवे ॥
Cf. the *Raghuvaṁśa*–XIV. 67—
नृपस्यवर्णाश्रमपालनंयत्स एव धर्मोमनुना प्रणीतः

51. *VR. Kallola*–2.

52. *Ibid. Kallola*–5.

53. *Parijātaharaṇa*–P. 30—
भूमीभार निवारणाय दुरितच्छेदायशुद्धात्मनाम् ।
वेदार्थ व्यवहारणाय च परित्राणाय धर्मस्य च ॥
दर्पस्य प्रशमाय दुष्ट मनसां देवद्विजद्रोहिणाम् ।
ब्रह्मेन्द्रादिमदक्षयाय च मयालब्धोऽवतारोभुवि ॥

desirable to question the authority of god, so was the case with the authority of a king. The change had, no doubt, come after the impact of muslim invasions though the effect was not clearly discernible except in minor technicalities with which the peolpe were less concerned. Vidyāpati also indirectly refers to the coronation ceremony.[54]

Three classes of Sovereign have been referred to in the *RR—Samrāṭa, Rājā* and *Adhiśwara*. The latter two were below the rank of a *Samrāṭa*. A *Samrāṭa* collected taxes from all kings.[55] In support his views, he quotes Manu and says that *Sakaras* or those paying tributes regularly were known as *Rājās* and the *Akaras*, those who paid tribute occasionally on the pretext of courtesy visit to the *Samrāṭa*, were known as *Adhiśwaras*.[56] *Akara*[57] *Adhiśwaras* were of two varieties—one who rules by his own prowess and awards punishment according to his own will and the other who is exempted from payment of tribute by favour of the emperor. An unnamed *Smriti* is cited in support of the second view. *Sakara Rājās* are also of two kinds—(i) *Adhikṛtadaṇḍa* has the right to administer criminal justice and whose decision is final in civil case since there was no right to appeal to the emperor; and (ii) *Anadhikṛtadaṇḍa*—having the right to administer civil justice but without any power to award punishment and having no jurisdiction over criminal cases.[58] Caṇḍeśwara wrote everything on the basis of the facts before him. Caṇḍeśwara's own king, Bhaveśa, under whom he wrote his *RR*, was a dependent king and that is why he propounded the theory of a *Karada* king.

Vidyāpati, who is said to have visited Jaunpur, transports his reader to the Sharqi capital in its best days. Of course the description of Jaunpur is without any admixture of the marvellous. He describes Ibrahim Shah as a powerful ruler and

54. *MM*—761—धूपदीप नैवेद्य कन्त्र पिआ आगे, लोचन लोरे करब अभिसेके।
55. *RR*—4.
56. *Ibid*—3.
57. *Ibid*—4.
58. *Ibid*—4-5.

has thrown light on the court etiquette and manners.[59] To Vidyāpati Jaunpur was a second Amrāvati or Indrapuri and Ibrahim Shah was second only to God. The Sultan was surrounded by a large number of chiefs. Special rows were assigned to the nobles in accordance with their ranks. Distinguished visitors had to wait for being presented before the Sultan ceremoniously. Certain formalities of presentation[60] were observed. Ibrahim Shah was the typical example of a liberal muslim Sultan who paid all attention to the solution of all problems facing the State.

The concept of the *Bhaktimārga* was exploited to the full to secure loyalty of the people for the ruling monarch. This essentially ancient term of spiritual importance was employed to give to the political relations between the ruler and the ruled a certain spiritual basis. The earthly[61] despotic ruler was supposed to be an incarnation of god. The service of a master required a complete and unqualified surrender of personality.[62] While we have the living examples of Gorā and Bādala, Marco Polo also refers to a rājā of Deccan, who had loyal nobles and who would even burn themselves with him if he predeceased them. The history of our period is rich in examples of supreme sacrifices in the service of a master. Muhammad Shah remained faithful to Hammiradeva until the last breath of his life. Our poet, himself, is the best example of loyalty and he remained as such to the Oinwāras till the last breath of his life. The Oinwāra officials were loyal to their masters.[63] Vidyapati says—"Kingship's rule as it were a tree, of which the threefold fruit is glory, virtue and happi-

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59. *Kirtilatā* (Saxena)—PP. 47–50.
60. Cf. my article—Jaunpur, as described by Vidyāpati, in his Kīrtilatā—in the *JUPHS*–1956–57.
61. Nerukar—120—for exposition and illustrations.
62. *MM*–No–774–इस नर अधम परम पतिमा; Cf. *Ibid* Nos–775–775 wherein dependence of personality on various factors has been discussed.
63. Cf. *Kirtilatā*.

ness; and if that fruit be not gained by a ruler, what need be there for his rule.[64] "

Vācaspati, in his *Vivādachintāmaṇi*, opines that a king should be possessed of all good and sterling qualities. He should be impartial and honest. He shall never take the *stridhana* and that of the minors. He shall have the tenth part as customs duty and twentieth part on those of commodities imported from foreign lands. It this respect, he relies on Viṣṇu. The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of the *Hariharasuktimuktāvali*[65] are important in so far as the study of contemporary thinking about politics is concerned. The seventh chapter called *"political"* is an elaborate dissertation on political truths.[66] In this section we get some references about the qualities of a king. A king should be (i) well versed in politics;[67] (ii) equipped with fourfold[68] *niti*; (iii) be prideless[69] and (iv) should be generous towards his subjects.[70] He, also, is a traditionalist, though he emphasised the importance of wealth in the social setup.

Thus an overall picture of monarchy gives an idea of the fact that the Oinwāras inherited an organised administrative system from their predecessors, the Karṇāṭas. Feudalism was the basis of political organisation and the king was considered to be an overlord. On the whole, the system was based on the traditional pattern. The overlord was supported by a hos t of nobles, designated also as Mahāmattakas and Sāmantas, who had strengthened their position in the then political setup. Devāditya, Vireśwara and Chaṇḍeśwara are some of the notable examples. Chaṇḍeśwar, himself, united the office of the Chief Justice with his other important portfolio. While

64. *PP.* Tale–5; Cf. *PP.* (Pāthaka)–45, 46–fate of State was tagged with the king *or* the *Kshitipālaka*
65. Ramanath Jha—*Harihar subhāṣitaḥ* (Patna–1949)
66. *Ibid*—P. 26.
67. *Ibid*—VII. 1.
68. *Ibid*—VII. 2.
69. *Ibid*—VII. 13.
70. *Ibid*—VII. 17.

the king was the overall head, important branches of administration were under the supervision of departmental heads, who were, in their turn, responsible directly to the king. The king also granted *'Jāgir'* to his employees in lieu of their services to the State. Though there is a reference to the *Saptāṅga* theory of State in the *RR*, it is very doubtful as to whether the State, in Mithila, consisted of all of these seven elements. The king also paid attention to the social aspect of the administration and it was one of his important duties to look to the maintenace of the *Varṇāśramadharma.*[71]

III

Council of Ministers or the Mantriparisad

Generations of Brāhmaṇa and Kāyastha families were associated with the rulers of Mithilā as ministers and in the later period it appears that the hereditary principles were observed in the appointment of ministers. On the basis of the panegyrical element in the literary sources, it may be suggested that there was a substratum of truth in it and the Brāhmaṇas, like the nobles of the muslim courts, wielded a dominant power and strength in the royal court of Mithilā. Of course their intellectual qualities and political wisdom gave them a commanding position. The king, naturally, turned to them for the conduct of administration. The core of their strength lay in their feudal strength in land. The supreme position, no doubt, belonged to the king who was advised in all matters by a set of councillors. Chaṇḍeśwara has devoted a special chapter on the methods of appointment of councillors and other officers of the State. It was old dictum in our

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71. Cf. *Darbhanga District Gazetter* (old edition) P. 16 ; *RR*—P. 17 ; *VR*—is very important in the sense that no iota of information on the life of a man has escaped the notice of this encyclopaedic writer of Mithilā.

Cf. Vidyāpati—*Kīrtipatākā*—P. 7—दारिद्दवरीपांपणिउ अविडअ *that is, a king should wage a relentless war against poverty.* Similar feeling finds expression in *Sirāt-i-firuz Shāhi.* Cf. *PIHC*—VI-236, 237 (Aligarh, 1943).

country that a single wheel cannot move, meaning thereby that the king alone cannot run the administration. The Maithila king carried on his administation with the help and advice of ministers and we have at our disposal a long list of ministers, who served under different kings. The *RR*[72] has devoted a fairly long chapter dealing with the different qualities that go to make a good minister and their functions have also been categorically specified. It is during this period that we come across, for the first time in the history of Mithilā, an important official of the State whose status was like that of a prime-minister. According to Caṇḍeśwara, a prime-minister should be righteous, wise, practical and fully acquainted with the activities of the State. He should preferably belong to royal blood. Only wise and experienced persons should be appointed to this post. Besides being learned and wise, a prime minister should be adept in the art of politics[73]. He should possess a fair knowledge of "*Saṁdhi, Vigraha, Yāna, Āsana, Dvaidha* and *Āśraya*. A king should not ignore his prime-minister rather he should entrust him with all his responsibilities and should always formulate his policies in consultation with him. The prime minister, in return, should identify himself with the king. The prime-minister was called *Mahāmattaka*[74].

A minister should love his work more than his own son[75] and should always be devoted since an irresponsible minister, sometimes, destroys the tradition of a good administration. A minister should always be free from all economic and financial worries. He should always be happy and live in good company. Unless a minister is free from all worries, it would be difficult for him to think and deliberate upon the bigger policies of the State and advise the king in times of

72. *RR*—PP. 10–13.

73. *RR*—11.

74. We learn from the *Aṇḍhrāṭhārhi* and *Hāvīdiḥ inscriptions* that the prime ministers were also known as *Mantri*—Cf. R. K. Choudhary—*Select Inscription of Bihar—S.V., Mithila Inscriptions.*

75. *RR*—10.

need. Caṇḍeśwara, a veteran politician himself, occupied the post of a minister for a number of years. He was himself the *Saṅdhivigrahika* and *Saprakṛtyā Mahāvartika-Naibaṅdhika* under Harisiṁhadeva.[76] The use of the term *Mahāmattaka*, for prime-minister in the traditional sources, shows greater power and high pretensions of some of the ministers. These ministers used such high sounding titles as *Sāmanta, Mahāsāmanta, Mahārāja, Māṇḍalika, Mahāmāṇḍalika* etc. They were like the powerful barons of medieval England and their position in the State enabled them to make princely gifts and construct monuments and palaces. Verse 7, of the *Kṛtyaratnākara* of Caṇḍeśwara, relates that Vireśwara after having stormed the enemy fort, excavated a big tank at Dahivata, a prominent city, and constructed a very high palace. He granted a city of Rāmapura to the Śrotiyas. Caṇḍeśwara himself offerd *Tulāpuruṣadāna* after his resounding victories in Nepal. During the period under review, importance of these ministers had immensely increased.

Caṇḍeśwara has devoted sufficient space to deal with the qualifications and the manners of appointments of *Sabhyas* or councillors.[77] The State was taken as an organism and the councillors were the important elements of this body politic. According to Caṇḍeśwara, king was the head, the chief executive was the mouth, *Sabhyas* were arms, *Dharmaśāstras* were hands, *Gaṇaka* and *Lekhaka* represented the thighs, fire and water were two eyes and the gold stood for the external internal eye in the body politic. The '*Sabhyas*' were to deli-

76. Under the Karṇāṭas, there were Brāhmana and Kayastha ministers and traditions continued under the Oinwāras. Śrīdharadāsa was a minister under Nanyadeva and that was the case with Ratnadeva, my ancestor. The descendants of these two Kāysthas were the pillars of the Karnāta administration of Mithilā. Śrīdharadāsa was also the Mahāmāṇḍalika and a descendant of Ratnadeva was given the title of *Rauta* a feudal designation. Vidyāpati also seems to have attained the status of a minister as in the *Gorakṣavijaya* he calls himself a *Mahārāja*.

77. *RR*—18 ff.

berate upon all important matters relating to the State and helped in the formulation of royal policies. These *Sabhyas* had to swear oath of allegiance by gold and fire and in this connection, the '*Sākṣi*', or the witnesses, also played an important part. It was prescribed that only such councillors should be appointed who are wise and intelligent, men of integrity and character, honest, truthful, learned and devoid of all bad qualities[78]. Caṇḍeśwara made a departure from the past practices when he suggested that in times of emergency, when difficult problems arose and it was found impossible to arrive at any positive decision, a king, in such a situation, should not only depend on the advice of the learned Paṇḍitas, but he should call a meeting of the council and discuss all matters threadbare and, then, arrive at any decisions.[79] In appointing councillors, a king should give first preference to a learned Brāhmaṇa, if not available, to a learned Kṣatriya, and if that is also not available, then to a learned Vaiśya. It was the duty of the king to see that no Śūdras are appointed as far as possible. In the different branches of administration only expert persons are to be appointed.[80] Śūdras, in all cases, are to be avoided as far as possible. This was only natural for Caṇḍeśwara as tradition dies very hard. Following Manu[81] he holds that the amātyas were to be appointed on hereditary basis.

Vidyāpati was of opinion that a minister should bear the burden of administration[82]. It was incumbent upon a minister to find out the causes of discomfiture in the kingdom. If the king was going on the right track, it was expedient to arrange for some holy men to instruct him to the path of righteousness. The ministers had a right to summon holy men to bring the king on right track and even then if the king could not be brought to his senses, the ministers and the

78. *Ibid*—P. 20.

79. *Ibid*—21.

80. *Ibid*—53.

81. *Ibid*—10—Cf Manu VII. 48.

82. *PP*—tale 13.

councillors had the right to hold counsels and decide about the succession. They could even depose such kings. With regard to the ministers, whose appointment solely depended on the goodwill of a ruler[83], our poet sounds a note of caution when he says that disaffected ministers are not desirable for any State[84]. The ministers were directly responsible to their masters and the moment they lost that confidence, they[85] had to quit. They were the advisers of the king. Their security and tenure depended not upon the goodwill and confidence of a majority but upon the whims and caprices of individual monarchs. Inspite of all limitations, the council of ministers played a very important part in the administrative system. If the king was strong, ministers were kept under control otherwise the position was sometimes just the reverse. All important matters were discussed in the council and the decisions, thus arrived at, were generally not disregarded. The king could hardly dare disregard their advice in view of their strong positions as feudal barons. By virtue of their feudal position, they, in most cases, held the key of administrative machinery. The prominence, attached to these ministers by our poet, bears ample testimony to this fact.

The baronial position was the source of all strength to the council of ministers. These ministers, sometimes, carried on political mission and we are informed by Vidyāpati, that Śivasiṁha's minister, Amṛtakara, was sent to settle some political matters with a muslim ruler. Almost all medieval governments had intensely exclusive aristocratic organisation. The ministers were generally confined to the cream of aristocracy. The game of war and politics was a preserve of the well-born aristocrats. It is doubtful if all the cultural groups were represented there. From Vidyāpati, we have a list of some ministers, names of which are indicated below[86]—

83. *Ibid*—37.

84. *Ibid*—32.

85. *Ibid*—41.
Cf. my paper '*The Karṇāṭas of the Mithilā*'—in the *ABORI* XXXV (91–121) for the powers enjoyed by ministers under them.

86. Cf. (i) *Kīrtilatā*—72—We find the name of *Vichakṣaṇa* mantri.

(i) Achyuta—*mantri* of Śiva Simha.
(ii) Maheśa—
(iii) Ratidhara—
(iv) Ratipati and Śankara were great officers of the State
(v) Vācaspati—was a Pariṣad.
(vi) Rāuta Rajadeva—a feudal baron.

The ministers, no doubt, bore the burden of administration and the king enjoyed the pleasure of life.[87] All matters of the State were first reported to a minister so that he may know the cause and take necessary action.[88] It was the duty of a[89] minister to save the life of his king. All ministers were always eager to win the confidence of their masters. In all his viewpoints with regard to ministers, Vidyāpati has relied on all the traditional sources.[90] Single-handed administration was never allowed in India by the political theorists.[91]

(ii) Peterson's *Third Report*—P. 322–Introductory Verse 3 names Achyuta–as a minister—
(iii) *MM*—Nos. 221–224—मति महेसर (=मंत्री महेश्वर)
(iv) *Ibid* No. 225–मति रतिधर—
(v) *Ibid* Nos. 222 and 387 respectively—
(vi) Cf. the final Colophon of the *Śūdrāchāraehintāmaṇi* in R. Mitra–*Notices*–VI P. 22–No. 20015.
(vii) Cf—*Kīrtipatākā*—Rāuta Rajdeva was my ancestor.

87. Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*—XIX. 4. Kalīdāsa says that the king, after having consigned his work to the care of his minister, solely devoted himself to the service of young women.

88. *PP*—13.

89. *Ibid*—37.
C. *PP*—(Pāthaka)–22, 84 ; 24, 38, 43, 45. Ministers were appointed by the king–Cf. P. 165, 168 ; for kings and ministers, P. 166, 198, 207.

90. Cf. Manu–VII. 30–31 ; Yājñavalkya–*BK*—I ; *Aś*—I. XV ; *Vīramitrodaya*—P. 14 ; *Śukra*—II. 5–6. ; K. P. Jayaswal–*Hindu Polity*—II. 118.

91. *Śukra*—II. 1–8.

Only persons proficient in the science of polity should be appointed as ministers because only such persons will regard the king as *Daṇḍadhara* (sceptre-bearer) and dare not offend him. Śivasiṁha's chief minister was well versed in *nīti* (polity) and was always ready to help the Brāhmaṇas in distress.[92] Mithilā had a long tradition of scholar ministers. According to Vidyāpati, work, character and merit were alone to be respected. All important matters were decided in the council and the council-chamber had a special significance in the administrative set-up.[93] Generally the meetting of the council used to be held in the palace[94]. According to Caṇḍeśwara, important decisions in the council should be taken either in the afternoon or in the midnight. While arriving at any important decision, both the king and the councillors should have free and open mind and at the time they should try to keep themselves free from all types of bad thought and feeling[95]. All secret policies should be discussed but they should not be made public.[96] If any policy is decided upon without due deliberations, that is just like a burning fire.[97] There were various ministers besides the chief. The importance of the offices of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika, Mahāmudrādhikṛta, Mahāsarvādhikṛta, Mahādharmādhyakṣa, Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, Prādvivāka, Dharmādhikaraṇika, Purohita,* etc. had sufficiently increased. Besides these, there were *Senāpati, Dūrgapāla, Sāmanta* and *Dūta.* The *VR*[98] mentions the following—*Maṇḍalika, Sāmanta, Senāpati, Purāpati, Mantri, Purohita Dharmādhikaraṇe, Sāndhivigrahika, Mahāmattak, Pratibala, Karṇādhyakṣa,*

92. Cf. Vidyāpati—नीति निपुण गुण नाह अंक में अतिशय आगर
× × × × ×
विप्र दीन अति दुखी सबहुँ कौं विपति छोड़ाविअ।

93. *PP*—Tale-5, 6, 9.

94. *Ibid*—Tale-9—Vidyāpati calls *Mudrārākṣasa* as the masterpiece of Polity.

95. *RR*—27.

96. *Ibid*—28.

97. *Ibid.*

98. *VR*—P. 8.

Śāntikarṇika, Sthānāntarika[99]. We find frequent mention of a large number of officers in the contemporary records, both literary and otherwise. The powers and responsibilities were vested in the council of which king was the head. The contemporary sources further reveal to us that the powerful chief ministers also presided over the meetings of the council.[100] All matters were brought before the council for discussion. The chamberlain had also an important place in the administrative machinery. Promotion to this office was regarded as a great honour and only acute and intelligent persons were appointed to this[101] post.

Administrative Department

The administrative departments were not few and far between and all of them were under the charge of respective ministers. The Department of peace and war was under the charge of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*. The history of this department can be traced back to the Gupta age[102]. According to Mitākṣarā, a Sāndhivigrahika could also issue royal grants. During our period, the meaning and significance of the term did not change and the importance of the office does not seem to have been minimised. Caṇḍeśwara, himself, held the portfolio of this department, which was held earlier by his father and grandfather. Caṇḍeśwara also held the office of the chief

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99. This Department of transfer seems to have been a unique innovation of the Maithilas who realised its importance even before Shershah. Jayaswal, in his his introduction to the *RR*, has given a long list of such officers.

100. Cf. *Sugati-Sopāna*—Introductory Verse 5—...महामत्तक महाराजा-—धिराजो महासामन्ताधिपति.....चक्रे मैथिलभूमिनाथपतिभिःसप्ताङ्गराज्य स्थिति (भू).....

Also—महाराजाधिराजस्य महासामन्तपालिनो महामत्तकेशस्य श्रीगणेश्वर सूनुना :—;

Also—पण्डित महामत्तक महासामन्ताधिपति—etc.

101. *PP*—Tale 9.

102. Cf. *Viṣṇudharmottara*—II. 24, 17 ; Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya —I. 320 ; *EI* II. 309 ; Cf. *Ambarnāth inscription* of Śaka 782—, *JBBRAS*—IX. 219 ; R. K. Choudhary—*Select Inscriptions of Bihar*—Pala Inc– ; Cf. the *Praśasti* of Samudragupta.

judge[103]. During the stormy days, when Mithilā was in the throes of upheavel, Anand Khan was the Sandhivigrahika.[104] Since this department was of immense importance to the State, only responsible and thoroughly trustworthy persons were appointed. All matters relating to war and peace were under the care of this department. The Department of Law and justice was yet another important element under the control of two chief officers, *viz, Prādvivāka*[105] and *Dharmādhikāraṇa* the former being called the chief judge while the latter simply stood for a judge. The Brāhamaṇas were preferably appointed to the post of a chief judge. We have a long list of chief judges and judges in Mithilā during our period. When Vīrasimha and Kīrtisimha were at Jaunpur, Harihar was the *Dharmādhyakṣa* of Mithila.[106] He was the grandfather of Murāri. Jayadhara Lāḍha was the chief Judge of Mithilā in the reign of Bhavasimha. The chief Jurist, during our period, was Dharmādhikaraṇika Vardhamāna,[107] who flourished under Bhairavasimhadeva. He wrote *Daṇḍaviveka* which relates to the topic of positive law or *Vyavahāra*. It is a penal code dealing with the offences and their punishment. Another important work of immense legal importance is the *Vivādachintāmani*[108] of Vacaspatimiśra. He held the office of a *Pariṣat*

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103. Cf. Mitra–*Notices*–VI. 66—
निर्णाय व्यवहार-सागमदृशः यः प्राड्विवाकः·····विचारचारुधिषणोधर्मं नयत्युन्नतिम् । तेनायं गुरु संधि विग्रह ।
Also—विचारचतुरो मंत्री चण्डेश्वरः । Cf. *Vivādaratnākara*

104. *Kīrtilatā*—72.

105. Cf. Manu—VIII. 9 ; IX. 234; *Yaj*—II. 3 ; Kātyāyaṇa—67 ; Śūkra—IV. 5. 14.

106. Cf. *JASB*—XI. (N. S.)–417. Cf. *Kīrtilatā*—72.

107. In his work, Vardhamāna has leargely drawn upon the *Vivādaratnākara* of Chaṇḍeśwara. Both Chaṇḍeśwara and Vardhamāna have dealt with the problems connected with criminal law.

108. There are various editions of *Vivādachintāmaṇi*. It was published by Ramchandra Vidyāvāgish in Calcutta in 1837 ; then there is one published by Khemraja Shrikrishnadas of Bombay in 1898. Readings of these two edition entirely differ.

(member of council) in the reign of Bhairavasimha and Rāmabhadra. In the Mithila school of Hindu Law, this work is said to be of paramount authority. It has been recognised by the High Courts in India and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a work of parmamount authority. Another important work, dealing with law, by the same author is the *Vyavahārachiṅtāmaṇi*.[109] It is a book on Hindu legal procedure. A versatile scholar, Vacaspatimiśra was the foremost *Nibandh* writer of Mithila during our period. It deals with the substantive law. Two authors[110] only can be said to have composed separate works on both substantive and adjective Law. They are Caṇḍeśwara in the *Vivādaratnākar* and *Vyavahāraratnākara* and Vacaspati in the *Vivāda* and *Vyavaharachintāmani*.

IV

Administration of Law and Justice

Through these works we can have a glimpse of the administration of law and justice in Mithilā. The *Daṇḍaviveka*[111], based on old ideas, is divided into seven chapters, *viz* - Introductory, murder, theft, rape, defamation, assault and miscellaneous. In his enumeration of punishment, he quotes a text from Bṛhaspati which deals with the fourfold punishment[112], *i. e.*, admonition, reproof, fine and corporeal. It should be

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There is yet another edition of it published by Pandit Laxmikant Jha (Patna–1937). A critical edition of this book was brought out by Mahāmahopādhyāya Ganganath Jha (Baroda-1942). It was translated into English by Prasanna Kumar Tagore in 1863 and then by Ganganath Jha. In this work, he has quoted from *Halāyudha, Nārada, Chaṇḍeśwara, Pārijāta, Ratnākara, Smritisāra, Kalpataru, Hārita, Vyāsa, Yājñavalkya*, Viṣṇu, *Kātyāyana, Lakṣmidhara, Prakāśa, Mitākṣarā*, etc.

109. Edited by Ludo Rocher (Gent–1956).

110. *Ibid*–P. 31.

111. Published by Gaekawad Oriental Series—*Vol. Lii*—(Baroda–1931)

112. Cf. वाग्धिक् धनं वधश्चैव चतुर्द्धा कथितोदमः ।
पुरुषं विभवं दोषं ज्ञात्वा तं कल्पयेत् ॥

meted out by considering the offender, his pecuniary condition and the particular crime committed by him. He suggests that before inflicting punishment, the following points should be taken into account[113].

(i) caste of the offender
(ii) subject of offence–
(iii) amount of punishment
(iv) application of punishment
(v) the connection of the offender with august persons and castes like kings, Brāhmaṇas and those associated with gods.
(vi) age of the offender
(vii) Pecuniary condition of the offender–
(viii) merits of the offender
(ix) Locale of the offence
(x) Time of the offence—etc.

He admits that all kinds of civil disputes arise from greed or ignorance.[114] According to Vardhamāna, the primary purpose of punishment is deterring the individual from the further commission of such crimes but if that is not checked by mild treatment, aggravation of punishment should be the proper remedy to root out criminal propensities[115]. The award of punishment varies in accordance with the five causes—

(i) absolute immunity
(ii) mitigation
(iii) equability
(iv) aggravation of punishment
(v) special treatment.[116]

Preceptors, officiating priest, *Brahmachārina,* kings, children, old persons, lunatics etc, enjoyed absolute immunity. Of the three kinds of corporeal punishment, the Brāhmaṇas are

113. *DV*—P. 36—जातिर्द्रव्यं परिमाणं विनियोगः परिग्रहः ।
वयः शक्तिर्गुणोदेशः कालोदोषश्च हेतवः ॥

114. *Ibid*--P 32.

115. *Ibid*--XI.

116. *Ibid*--X.

honourably exempted from mutilation and death. The Brāhmaṇas, as a caste, enjoy the following privileges—

(i) they must be allowed passage while going
(ii) they can enter other persons dwelling houses for alms
(iii) they can take fuel, flower and *Kuśa* grass from other's premises.
(iv) they can speak to other's wives.[117]

The traditional eighteen titles[118] of civil cases are also mentioned. State offences included deviation from the right path of all classes of men[119], transgression from the orders of the king[120] (amounting to contempt of court), causing discruption among the subjects of the city, causing disaffection among the subjects and upsetting the code of conduct of the dissenting communities like the Buddhists and that of the merchants (amounting to sedition).[121] A judge should be honest, thoughtful, impartial, critical and free from[122] avarice. During the period under review, the feudal exploitation had reached its high water mark. It is an axiomatic truth that *crime is an outcome of definite social conditions and Vardhamāna rightly subscribes to this view. Crime is conditioned by social surrounding, underfeeding and in the sense of despair produced by the denial of justice and last but not the least in the overweening insolence of social superiority.* We can easily scan the pages of the *DV* and find the confirmation of our point of view. Even an unlawful taking of other men's thing was declared by Vardhamāna[123] as theft. He has further

117. *Ibid*—
118. *Ibid*—XIX.
119. *Ibid*—XXI.
120. Cf—Section 228 of the Indian Penal Code—; On P. 135—he names a work "*Bālabhūṣaṇa*" by Chaṇḍeśwara.
121. Cf—Section 124A of the *I. P. C.*; Cf *DV*—P. 270; Cf *PP* (Pathak)—116.
122. *Ibid*—P. 12; Cf. P. 32 for Civil Dispute, P. 36, etc.
123. He has classsfied the stealers of moveable property as—
(i) साहसकृत (robbers), (ii) प्रकाशतस्कर (cheats), अप्रकाश-तस्कार (Thieves)

recommended that artisans and other technical workers should not be deprived of their tools. In the *DV*, there are references to unnatural offences and also to three distinct types of defamation.[124] A person sentenced to death can requite his sentence[125] by the payment of a hundred gold coins; one sentenced to mutilation by fifty gold coins; one sentenced to transportation by twenty five gold coins. Fines, if not realised, should be commuted into terms of imprisonment but here it may be noted that this rule applies only to the three lower castes. The Brāhmaṇas were at liberty to pay their fines in instalments.[126]

The *Vivādachiṅtāmaṇi*[127] of Vacaspati also deals with eighteen titles of law as described in the *Manusmṛti*.[128] Vacaspati

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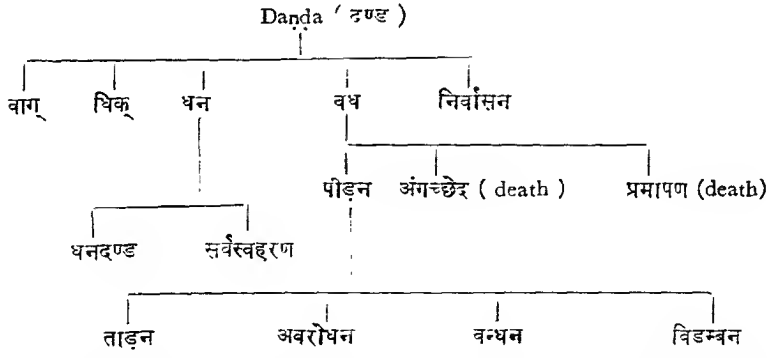
124. निष्ठुर (cruel), अश्लील (obscene) and तीव्र (severe)

125. *Ibid*—xii, Cf. P. 5—Where a king is regarded as the wielder of *Daṇḍa*, P. 13 about witnesses—, P. 57—for various kinds of *Daṇḍa*, P. 80-88—recovery of lost articles, P. 101-13 for dealers in various kinds of metals; P. 154 for adultery, P. 163 for treatment with the Brāhmaṇas,

126. Daṇḍa has been described by Vardhamāna in the following manner.



—For death sentence, Aiso cf. *PP* (Pāthāk)—138, 183.

127. Edited by Ganganath Jha—

128. Manu—XVIII.

has certain peculiarities of his own. According to this Maithila Lawgiver, the *Smriti* principles regulating the case or *Vyavahāra* are based on reason and not on *Śruti*.[129] His views soon came to be recognised as authoritative in different parts of the country. Vacaspati was a versatille scholar and his *Vivādachintāmaṇi* and *Vyavahārachintāmaṇi* are the two famous legal works of immense importance. The following topics have been dealt with in the *Vivādachintamaṇi*—

(i) Debt
(ii) Deposits
(iii) Joint concerns
(iv) Resumption of Gifts
(v) Laws relating to Servants
(vi) Rules relating to the owner and keeper of cattle
(vii) Breach of customs and conventions
(viii) Rescission of Sale
(ix) Boundary Disputes
(x) Verbal Assault (abuse and defamation)
(xi) Assault and Hurt
(xii) Theft and Robbery
(xiii) Act of Violence and Crime–
(xiv) Adultery
(xv) Inheritance ; etc.

According to Vācaspati, a king alone is authorised to punish the offender.[130] His responsibility in administrating punishment is admitted here.[131] Those who rob king's treasury should be punished in several ways.[132] A king shall make good the loss if anything is stolen in his kingdom.[133] A king should punish those who are entrusted with the guarding of the realm if they remain neutral during raid against thieves.[134] A king shall decide the case at his own discretion

129. *VC.*—*I*ntroduetion—XXI.
130, *Ibid.* 317–318.
131. *Ibid.* 318–19.
132. *Ibid.* 143.
133. *Ibid.* 135. Cf. *Dv.*—
134. *Ibid.* 133. Cf. Manu.

where[135] there is no evidence. A king is not only the head of the executive but also of the judiciary. He should be modestly dressed in order not to intimidate the litigants.[136] The object of the legal procedure is to arrive at the truth.[137] The assistance of *Vṛṣalas* is excluded in the investigation of law suits. It is difficult to know whether Vacaspati considered *Vṛṣalas* to be different from the Śūdras. According to S. K. Bose, the term *Vṛṣalas* denoted a person of any caste "who neither performed Brāhmanic rites nor respected the priests who championed the orthodox[138] religion" and ultimately came to be identified with the Śūdras. According to Vacaspati and other Maithila Lawgivers, the main quality of the chief judge is his actual capability of conducting legal procedures. The Maithila Lawgiver recognised the traditional four feet of law—Sacred Law, Positive Law, Custom and the Royal decree.[139] Each following one overrules the one preceeding it. It may be borne in mind here that the Maithila Lawgivers laboured hard to produce volumes of the Dharmaśātra literature with a view to protect themselves from the onslaughts of the heretical thoughts. Since the Dharmaśāstra treated life or society as one organic[140] whole, the Maithila law-books deal with all aspects of human life. Vacaspati also wrote *Nitichintāmaṇi* and *Vivādanirṇaya* dealing with the polity and Law respectively.

The legal procedure finds its fullest expression in the writings of these law givers. The legal procedure was divided into four parts—(i) Plaint, (ii) Reply, (iii) Trial and (iv) Decision. Due importance has been attached to the words of experts. Experts in legal matters are to be respected and each

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135. *Ibid.* 47.

136. P. V. Kane—*History of the Dharmaśāstra*—III. 836-41.

137. G. N. Jha—*Hindu Law in its Sources*—P. 167.

138. *Ibid.* 173 ; also *fn.*

139. Cf. *Yājñavalkya*—I. 7—श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारः'''' Manu 1. 108—आचारः परमोधर्मः ; Vaśiṣṭha—VI. 1. तद्लाभे शिष्टाचारः प्रमाणम्—

140. Cf. Manu—1. 118—देशधर्मान् जातिधर्मान् कुलधर्मांश्च शाश्वतान् ; Vaśiṣṭha—1. 8.—यस्मिन् देशे ये धर्मा ये चाचारः ते सर्वत्र प्रत्येतव्याः ।

and every case must be decided in association with persons who are well adept in it. Cases of ascetics are to be tried by persons versed in the vedas. The following cases have been declared barred—

(i) The case that has been rejected by the king,
(ii) The one directed against the citizens of a town, the whole kingdom or the elements of state.
(iii) All others which are directed against towns, villages or great men.

In case of wrong investigation, one has a right to another investigation by a proper authority. Since the Maithila lawgivers were either logicians themselves or were influenced by the Naiyāyikas, their definition of a plaint is unique. The plaint has been treated by them as a logical inference which takes the form of three syllogism. At one place Vācaspati says that the duties of men are[141] called "debts" in the sense that it is necessary to perform them and he, thereby, repeats the contention once held by Gotama, the Logician. The plaint should be *Lokasiddha*, explicit and free from doubts. Its reply should also be well-defined. All kinds of criminal cases should be duly enquired into. The king should conduct legal procedure in accordance with the truth and reject sophistry. The validity of former judgments in cases of similar nature is also recommended. A provision for the review of cases has also been made.

Caṇḍeśwara has also referred to the post of a *Prādviyāka* or the Lord chief justice.[142] He should be fully acquainted with legal matters and should possess not only a strong presence of mind but should also be a man of legal acumen and critical wit. His chapter on *Daṇḍa* in the RR[143] is an excellent one. He believes that it is the deterrant punishment that keeps the subject disciplined. Punishment is considered necessary

141. Cf. *VC.* (Bombay edition) P. 2—न्यायचतुर्थाध्यायव्यक्तम्— referring to the *Nyāyasūtra* (IV. i—56-60) of Gotama.
142. *RR.* 16-17.
143. *Ibid.* 62-65.

because it keeps people disciplined, makes irresponsible responsibe, unconscious conscious and makes one lead the righteous path of life. His *Vivādaratnākara* deals with different aspects of Law. In every city or town there was an officer known as *"Sarvārthachintakaṁ"* who was to those village officers as *Rāhu* is to the planets.[144] It has been suggested that this officer corresponds to some law-giving authority or justice of the modern times and his very presence struck terror into the hearts of wrong doers. In the present state of our knowledge, it is very difficult to agree with the above view. To me it seems that the *Sarvārthachintakaṁ* was a powerful welfare officer who looked to the welfare of the people. Since he must have been acting with severity and because of his position and power, he has been compared to a terrible planet. Since he dealt with anti-social elements severely, he has been so described by Caṇḍeśwara. The administration of Law and justice was highly organised under a separate department of justice. The whole of *Daṇḍaviveka* is a good treatise on criminal law and the works of Caṇḍeśwara, Vācaspati and Vidyāpati reflect the ideals of Civil Law. Crimes were hauled before a court of justice and punishment was inflicted after a proper trial. Methods of trial are also indicated. The social inequality was the root cause of all crimes. Vidyāpati also refers to thieves and swindlers.[145] He is of opinion that poverty is the root cause of all trouble.[146] Jyotirīśwar details a long list of criminal tribes[147] and to *Vyāvahārika*[148] (Lawyer). Vidyāpati also wrote some *Smṛti* works which deal with different aspects of religious and legal rights and duties. His *Vibhāsāgara* is a very important law book and is regarded as an authoritative work on the *Dāyabhāga* school of Hindu Law and he has largely drawn upon the ancient *Smṛtikāras*. His work formed the basis of later *Smṛiti* writers of Mithila. The emphasis on the study

144. *Ibid.* 61 ; cf. *TM.* 354.
145. *PP*—Tale 5.
146. *Ibid.*
147. *VR*—P. 1.
148. *Ibid.* P. 10.

of the *Smṛtis* and the vastness of *nibaṇḍha* literature point to the existence of an organised legal system in Mithila.[149]

The contemporary muslim theorists hold that a king can not carry on his government without punishment, for if he were not an avenger, God knows what evils would arise from the insurrections of the disaffected and how many crimes would be committed by his subjects. Under the following seven circumstances, punishment is approved.[150]

(i) Apostasy for true religion.
(ii) Wilful murder.
(iii) Adultery of a married man with another's wife.
(iv) Conspiracy against the king.
(v) Heading of a revolt or assisting rebels.
(vi) Joining the enemies or abetting them in any way.
(vii) Disobedience to king, vice-regent of God.

It was the duty of the king to institute diligent enquiries and looking to the comforts of his subjects by punishing the offenders.[151] During the period, under review, the Department of police was thoroughly organised.

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149. Cf. S. N. Thākur—*Mahakavi Vidyāpati Thakur*—P, 64. he has tried to prove the influence of *Smriti* on the *padāvali* of Vidyāpati—The following lines are quoted from his above work—

अपन अपन पहु सबहुं जेमाओलि
भूखल तुअ जजमान ।
त्रिवली तरंग सितासित संगम
उरज सम्भु निरमान ।
आरति पति मंगइछ परतिग्रह
करुधनि सरवस दान ॥

Vibhāgasāgara is sometimes spelt as *Bibhāgasāra*—Hence both the forms have been given here and there.

150. *ED*—III. 254-255.

151. *PIHC*—VI. 236-37—Among the important duties of a king, were (i) to make towns, habitable, bridge and frontier walls, (ii) to establish safety of the roads and (iii) to remove tho wants of faquirs and beggars.

Department of Police

The chief of the Department of Police was known as "Inspector of Others' Conduct." For the maintenance of peace and tranquility in every nook and corner, Rāmasiṁha of the Karṇāṭa dynasty had instituted the Department of Police in Mithila and the system continued till the time of the Oinwāras. A Police officer was appointed for every village. He had to make daily report of all occurrences to the village headman. The system of espionage was also there. The duty of a spy was to make a thorough investigation of every occurrence and submit a detailed report to the king.[152] The *PP* throws a flood of light on this aspect. Crimes proper were those which were reported to the king by his spies and in which offenders were brought to book by the tribunals concerned. The tribunals were appointed by the king. From the writings of Vidyāpati, Vardhamāna and other contemporary *nibandhakāras*, it is evident that theft was a common crime. It is amply illustrated by the fact that the *DV* has devoted a separate chapter on theft. The frequent occurrence of theft is an indirect proof of the fact that the *Kotwālas* were not very serious about their duties.[153] Though there are large number of watchmen, there is no dearth of wicked persons.[154] Theft seems to have been a common phenomenon in the society.[155] The office of the

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152. *PP*—Tale 5 ; Cf. *PP*—by Chandrakant Pāthak (Bombay-Śaka 1849)—PP. 203-204.

153. *MM.*

No. 589—राति अंधार गाम बड़ चोर
× × × × × × × ×
भरमहु भोरि ने देअ कोतावर

for an act of theft—Cf. *PP* (Pāthak)—166.

No. 886—सपनेहु नहि पुर भम कोटवार—

154. *Ibid.*

No. 336—कत नहिं दुरजन कत जामिक जन ।

Cf. No. 29—घरे घरे पे हरि गेलंच्ह जोहि—

referring to watchmen

155. *PP* (Pathak)—P. 49-50.

Kotwāla was a very old one but it had a wider significance in the Hindu period. In the muslim polity, Kotwāla was head of the Department of Police.[156] He was responsible for the maintenance of peace in his area. Kotwāla, originally *Koṭṭapāla*, is a word of Hindu derivation, and it signifies "guardian or defender of the fort."[157] During our period, the routine duties of the department of police were carried on by the Kotawāla. His force patrolled the city at night and guarded the thoroughfares. The Kotowāla acted in co-operation with the inhabitants. He took cognisance of every new arrival and departure. Vidyāpati's description of Kotawāla tallies with the contemporary muslim records. The Kotwālas played a very important role in the then polity, Towns, cities and villages were filled with thieves, pick-pockets, gamblers, adulterers, outlaws, beggars, mendicants, yogins. It was the duty of the Kotwāla to maintain law and order in the city along with his contingent of men.[158] People lived in want. Crime was the result of want and we know that once Firuz Shāh instructed his Kotwāla to bring the unemployed persons to his presence, which was instantaneously done.[159] Vardhamāna has defined theft as an "unlawful taking of other men's things." The Kotwālas had to remain cautious during the nights to

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156. Cf.—Hasan Nizami-Tāj-u'l-ma'āthir—wherein it is stated that Qutubuddin Aibak established garrisons under Kotwāls in India, and these Kotwāls, later on, came to be known as Fauzdārs—

157. Cf. *Nalanda plate of Devapāla* and *Bhagalpur plate of Narayanpāl*—R. K. Choudhary—*Select Inscriptions*.

158. Cf, the criminal classes of *VR*—; and the state of society mentioned in the *Dhūrtasamāgamanāṭaka* by the same author ; Cf.—Afif-*TFS*—334-36,

Cf. also—*MM*. No. 91—पुरलपुर पुरजन पिसुने ;
No. 589—अधिपन कर अपराधहुं साति
S. Jha—No. 121—दुरजन दुरनए बोल अपवाद
No. 169—साजन-पिसुन वचन देहे कान
No. 214—घरे घरे पहरी गेलअछ जोहि ।

159. Afif. *TFS*—334-336.

protect the people against thieves and robbers. The contemporary literature gives us an evidence of the fact that with the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, the administrative machinery became weak and flexible and even the rulers became careless. The Kotwālas also took advantage of their masters' slackness and became negligent of their duties.[160] When the protectors, themselves, turned a deaf ear, there was no way out. That is why the subordinates did not conform to the ordinary rules of decency and decorum and neglected their duties.[161] Such instances in history are not lacking. While no positive effort was made to weed out the economic inequality, the volume of crime increased by leaps and bounds in so much so as to force the compilation of a big treatise on criminal Law. The nobles forsook their morality.[162] The night rangers were freely moving.[163] On account of the severe darkness, thieves frequented the village. The watchmen hardly gave a round and even if the thieves were arrested, they were not tried.[164]

Even in matters of judicial administration, caste consideration had its upper hand. The Brāhmaṇas and preceptors enjoyed, sometimes, absolute immunity from punishment. While as a caste, the Brāhmaṇas enjoyed special privilege,

160. *MM.* Nos—91, 589.
Vidyāpati holds that theft was committed on account of poverty—Cf. *PP.* (Pathak) 52—All bad works emanated from poverty which was worse than death—*Ibid*, 72, 153, 184.

161. *Ibid.* No. 46—जे पतिपालक से भेलपावक इथी कि बोलत आन ।

162. S. Jha—No. 233 ; 214.

163. *Ibid.* No. 186.
For thieves–consult–*VR*—P. 66—
चौरवर्णना, चरण, पावक, हस्तक, वज्रप्राय,
एवम्विध सर्वगुणसम्पन्न चोर—

164. *Ibid.* No. 81—जागह पथिक जाइ जनुभोर ; राति अन्धार गाम बड़ चोर सपनेहु भाओर ने देअ कोटवार, पओलहु लोने न करए विचार ।
Cf. *Ibid.* Nos. 51, 52, 103,122, 234, 237–etc.–for thieves etc–

they were honourably exempted from mutilation and death sentence. Since the slaves were exclusively under the control of their masters and had no property of their own, they were exempted from fines. Similar was the case with women but certainly opulent women were exceptions. The conservatism had gone so far as to forbid the king to realise fines from the untouchables, *mlechas* etc. Various types of punishment were inflicted on them but fines were not imposed as that would defile the king. Fines, if not realised, were commuted into terms of imprisonment. This rule applied to only three lower castes and there was a concession to the Brāhmāṇas in this respect too. This conservatism and partiality in matters of judicial administration proved a deadweight on our progress. The general rule was to inflict punishment upon the culprit in proportion to the magnitude of the crime.[165] It should be in accordance with the degree of hurt caused to the other.[166] Punishment was prescribed even for-offending against a Brāhmaṇa by a lower caste,[167] for striking a king[168] and for reviling the king etc.[169] A Brāhmaṇa should be fined for compelling a twice born do servile work against his will.[170]

V

Military Administration

Since feudalism was the basis of social and political organisation, the status of a man was generally determined by the quantity of land he owned. Hereditary army (*maula*) has therefore, been considered as the main prop of the king. We have a reference to this type of army in the writings of all the political thinkers beginning from Kautilya[171] to Caṇḍeśwara. According to Kane, the *maula* probably consisted of persons whose ancestors got tax free lands in lieu of services of military

165. *VC*—137. Cf. *PP*—140,41,42,45,46,61,62,67,316,317 etc.
166. *Ibid.* 113.
167. *Ibid.* 113.
168. *Ibid.* 113.
169. *Ibid.* 108.
170. *Ibid.* 74 ; Cf. *PP.* (Pāthak)—103 for a reference to Jail.
171. *AŚ.* IX. 2.

nature,[172] Caṇḍeśwara did not prefer the *Śreṇibala* because they received payment for their services and fled away from battle field whenever they found their life in danger. He defines *aribala* as troops that come after leaving the enemy and a king should accept such troops but should not place any confidence in them.[173] Relying on Manu (VII. 193), Caṇḍeśwara has also recommended that soldiers from Kurukṣetra, Matsya Surasena and Panchāla should be placed in the vanguard of the army as they were noted for their bravery.[174] Somadeva, in his *Yaśasatilaka*, has given a marvellous description of dress weapons and habits of the soldiers of Tirhut, who were also expert in naval combats.[175]

The conventional four-fold constituents of the army, *viz.* infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots, have also been recommended by the Maithila writers. Vidyāpati, in his *Kirtilatā*, has also recommended the *Chaturaṅga* and also to the use of *Singini* (horn for storing powder) besides the spear and the sword.[176] In the *Kīrtipatākā*, there is a reference to the fugitive army[177] and he further tells us what the Sultan thought of Tirhut's army and what it turned out to be. Army's beasts of burden included mule, ass, bullock, buffalo and *bheri*, *Kahal, Dhola, Tablā, Tamburi, Siṅgha* were army's musical instruments.[178] Horses of different qualities were imported for the army.[179] The fifth *Kallola* of the *VR* gives a fairly long

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172. *HDS.* III. 200.
173. *RR*—35.
174. *Ibid.* 35.
175. Cf. Handiqui—*Yaśasatilaka and Indian Culture*—60.
176. *Kīrtipatākā* (Allhabad–1960)—P. 15.
177. *Ibid.* P. 15, 21.
178. *BTA.* 406.
179. *VR*—P. 30. ; Cf—Song No. 71 of the *Pārijataharaṇanāṭaka*—

एरावत असवार पुरन्दर धन भूखन धनहाथे
सहस तुरग रथ चढल धनुर्धर नयन जयन्तक साथे ॥
भाई भाई रन मेल भयंकर गर्जब गरुड़ डरन्ता ।
अचरज देखय देवगण आएले गिरिस गौरिय गन्ता ॥
सारंगसर सुरपति उरवेधल गांडिय पाणि जयन्ता
ठामहि ठोर ठोक विनता सुत भाउल दिग्गजदन्ता ॥

Cf—Battle Scenes in Vidyāpatiś *Kīrtilata.*

account of the march of conquest of a king; the various kinds of horses, of elephants, of troops in general, the arms and accoutrements of men and animals, and the sights and sounds on the march and the general state of things as a consequence.[180] Elephants of eight kinds and horses of twenty four breeds are mentioned.[181] The *RR* refers to chariots.[182] On the authorities of earlier thinkers, Caṇḍeśwara has tried to show that on the flank, horses should be kept, then the chariots then elephants and then the infantry.[183] Commenting on the battle order or the *Vyuhas*, it has been observed that whereas the love of *Vyuhas* committed the armies to a cult of position and defensive tactis, the Hindus regarded it as fundamental proposition of warfare that offence was better than defence and that the sword was better than the shield.[184] Following Manu, Caṇḍeśwara further states that a king should not resort to concealed weapons.[185]

The military organisation was under the direct control of the *Senapati* or the commender-in-chief. He should be the leader of his army. As implements of war, bows and arrows have also been recommended.[186] Good horses for the purposes of war should be imported from Kurukṣetra, Matsyadeśa and Mathurā.[187] Caṇḍeśwara recommends *Saṅdhi, Vigraha, Yāna, Āsana, Dwaidhibhāva* and *Saṅśraya* to the king for the protection of his kingdom.[188] A king should, first, try to bring his enemy under control by anyone of the above means. If the enemy refuses to come to terms, then the king should declare war unhesitatingly.[189] A suceessful ruler should aim at inscreasing the number of his friends. Before declaring

180. *Ibid.* XXVIII.
181. *Ibid.* 30.
182. *RR*—40.
183. *Ibid*—40.
184. P. C. Chakravarti—*Art af war in ancient Indian*—P. 195.
185. *RR*—40. (Cf—Manu-VII. 87-93).
186. *Ibid.* 36.
187. *Ibid.*
188. *Ibid.* 56.
189. *Ibid.* 59.

war, a king should take into consideration the pros and cons of the situation. If a king is surrounded by his enemies he should adopt the tactis of a hare[190] and by hoodwinking his enemies, he should take shelter under a stronger monarch. It was incumbent upon the ruler to root out the opponent within his territory just as an agriculturist roots out the worthless grass from his field.[191] Before declaring war, a king should try to assess the real strength of his enemy. In course of war, the enemy should be made to stop at a particular point and attempt should be made to deprive enemy's armies of their food and equipments. Enemy's forts should be destroyed and attempts should be made to apprehend them in the night.[192] An attempt should be made to isolate the enemy as far as practicable[193] and when the enemy is defeated, a victor should offer prayers to deities and Brāhmaṇas. On such auspicious occasions, remission should be made in respect of taxes and prisoners be released as a mark of victory and he should also try to fulfil the desires of his ministers and even of his enemies.[194] The *Sandhivigrahika* was responsible for the military adminstration and the Department was under the control of the Senāpati and there were separate officers under him incharge of infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots. It is very difficult to say whether there was any separation of civil and military[195] functions as we find in the *Kirtilatā* and the *Kirtipatakā*, *Quāzi*, *Khwājā*, *Makhdum* and other participating in battles.

According to Vidyāpati, a king should excel both in love and war on this earth. The extant *MSS* of the *Kirtipataka* begins with the details of battle in which Śivasiṁha is shown fighting. The report of the plight of the muslim army to the Sultan arouses latter's anger and then the Sultan takes arms and the poets describe the greatness of his preparations and the beauty of his shining arms and weapons. The actual battle

190. *Ibid.*—It reflects the position of his *Oinwāra* master.

191. *Ibid.* 69.

192. *Ibid.* 37.

193. *Ibid.* 38.

194. *Ibid.* 38.

195. *Kirtiputākā*—the poet refers to the sentiment of war and chivalry.

is, then, described in the most vivacious and poetic diction.[196] Elephants, chariots, horses were made ready and bows, arrows, spears, mace etc, were brought into use. *Vajraghaṇṭā* was used to make the Sultan conscious of the situation. Various kinds of swords were used. Nāgārā was used. The Maithila army felt that it was too small and too ill-equipped. Actual fighting has also been described.[197] In this battle the following persons are named—Commander Suraja, Rājanandana, Haradatta, Bhikhu, Puṇḍamalla, Gopālamallick, Jayasiṁha, Harihar, Rajadeva, Kedāradāsa, Sohana, Prince Murari, Rāmasiṁha, Prthvisiṁha, Vidu, Damodara, Courtier Janaranjan, Treasurer Sone, Vidyādhara, Kamlākara, son of Ranadhiradeva, Śrīrāma, Śri Śakho Sanehi Jha. Puṇḍamalla was expert in archery[198] and same was the case with Gopālamallick. Rajadeva (Raut) was a

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196. *Ibid.* P. 14—description of arms—and armies—

—तोवि ताम फेनि वूह हाथि जूह धाअ देण्डे चामे चाम वीर गज्ज रद वज्ज सज्ज होन्ते साहि वाण विज्ज नामि चाप सं च खमेन नाभि मुं च वले भाल भाल मल्ल मल्ल खग्ग खग्ग कुन्त कुन्त अस्सवार अस्सवार पति पति मारि होन्त पाअ पाअ आगु जाए धाअ धानि वीवरुच्च देन्ते देन्ते न उमार……।

P. 15—Śivaraṁha is shown fighting—घत वज्जिअ, रणभूनरराअ सिवसिंघ मारि करु, कोट सहस्स धाइलकेस्स जनि विकसि पुञ्जरि तरुरीह।

—Army of the Sultan is aroused as the sleeping wasps are aroused—सुतल विरनी ददायई जागली पाञ्छल जूझ खाउखिरेस चेत।

P. 15—तुरतानिठो आनो हाँकि धीटि वज्रक्रमोआ—

P. 16—सुरतान सनागिअ सज्जभई, हथे पक्खर रद्दर खग्ग नहिं
सरसल्ल सनाह चमक्क तहाँ, झनच्छड्डिय तारावे जोनि जहाँ

197. *Ibid.* P. 17—for the inspiring words of Śivasiṁha—

P. 18—for actual fighting—

—P. 21—What the Sultan's army thought of Tirhut army is well brought out in the following lines—

आँतरे आँतरे टाका तपाइ असनाह पोखर सैनमाल नालदवने जानकाइ छलि पलियाई……कासुन्दि हाथे धरि निरहुनि आवोल शतनिष्ट विसुम तापा तहो डाहो बोलिच्छाग करावरत……।

198. *Ibid.* P. 19—राजदेव वल तासु तुना नहि नहइकेव तहलि वारधो—

Cf. *PP.* (Pataka) 97.

matchless warrior.[199] Bengal variety swords were used by the Maithilas in this battle.[200] Jyotiriśwara has given a list of thirty six kinds of weapons used in the war, e. g., *Śara, Śura, Śella, Parigha, Paraśu, Pāśa, Paṭṭiśa, Khaḍga, Bhuśuṇḍi, Yaṣṭi, Mūśala, Kuṭhāra, Chakra, Tomara, Kadaṇḍa, Gadā, Chchurika, Pākhāna, Karpatra, Aṅkuśa, Tarvari*, etc.[201]

When Vidyāpati, along with Virasiṁha an Kīrtisiṁha, requested Ibrāhim Shāh, of Jaunpur, to suppress the upstart Arslān in Mithila, Ibrāhim Shah complied with. In his campaign against Tirhut, Ibrāhim was helped by Manohararājā whose army marched towards Tirhut.[202] Qāzi Khwāja and Makhdum were also fighting on behalf of the Shārquis[203] and it was under Malik Mohammed Gani that Sharqui army crossed the Gaṇḍaka and the two armies met in the field of Raipur.[204] The *Kīrtilatā* contains a good deal of information about the war and throws a flood of light on the morality of the muslim soldiers, and also on the movement of king's army.[205] From

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199. *Ibid.* ; ancestor of the present writer.

200. *Ibid.* P. 21.

201. *VR*—P. 61.

202. *Kīrtilatā*—PP. 76-80

203. *Ibid.*

204. *Ibid.* PP. 100-102.

205. *Ibid.* P. 41—गिरि टरइ महि पड़इ नाग मन कंपिआ
तरणि रथ गगन पथ धूलि भरे झंपिआ
तलब शतबाज कत भेरि भरे फुक्किआ
प्रलय घाण सद्ध हुअ णरख लुक्किआ ।

Also Cf.—तुरुक्के तुरुक्के अनेको सलामो—
× × × ×
P. 40—अवे वे भणन्ता सरावा पिवन्ता
कलीमा कहन्ता कला में जीअन्ता—
PP. 42-43—वाट जाइत वेगारधर—

For a detailed study of the problem-also Cf.—the poetry of Mukundarāma—His poetry in Bengali is an encyclopaedia of social history of the 15th-16th century A. D.—

Cf.—*Kīrtipatākā*—P. 21—गारि पानि गौरवा प्रेरन्ते—Inspiring his soldiers by means of abuses—

Vidyāpati's accounts, it appears that the code of behaviour of the muslim army was different from that of the Hindu army. In the wake of their victorious march, they forgot even the minimum decency and decorum of human sentiment. Among the important officers of the army, Vidyāpati mentions *Senāpati, Dalpati, Raut,* etc.[206] Rājputas constituted the core of the army.[207] The strength of a king lay in his army.[208] Vidyāpati has also referred to various types of arms and shields.[209] Thus an overall survey of the military deparment goes to show all possible measures were envisaged for safe-guarding the kingdom from the apprehended invasions of enemies.

VI

Diplomacy and legal status af feudatories

It will not be out of place here to say a few words about the principles of diplomacy, enunciated by our thinkers, and also about the legal status of the feudatories. The fate of the country was linked up with the ruling sovereign. It has been rightly held, therefore, by the political thinkers of Mithila, that a king, strong in four-fold army, is powerful according to time and place if he succeeds his own time and place then doth he become the victor.[210] Righteousness was the base of royalty.[211] In accordance with the principles of ancient Indian political thought, Vidyāpati has also enunciated certain fundamental principles about diplomacy and statecraft. He says :—

(i) In every kingly policy is knowledge of true fidings counselled ; for the policy of those whose true condition is known to an enemy never beareth fruit.[212]

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206. Cf. *Likhnāvali*—Letter nos 15, 8, 10.

207. *Ibid.* No.—15 ; Cf. the *Kirtipatākā* ; and *VR*—for details see—*infra.*

208. *PP*—(Pāthaka)-15, 31, 43.

209. *Ibid.* 19,27 ; Cf. *RR*—33-38 ; PP. 39-41. for the duties of Senāpati.

210. *PP* (G)—Tale 29 ; 6 and 38.

211. *Ibid.* 32.

212. *Ibid.* 41.

(ii) Enemies, slanderers and diseases are by their natures dealers of disasters. If measures be not taken against them, step by step they ruin cause.

(iii) In the face of an irresistible calamity resignation verily is wholesome, but, if he has power to resist, a wise man cometh to action, nor wasteth he one moment in delay.[213]

(iv) When a man's treasury had become exhausted, when the army had been defeated and servants have become disloyal, then friendship with one well-born is to him as it were a wishing tree of paradise.[214]

(v) If a weakling be conquered in a battle by a stronger foe, then skilled agents should he employ to sow dissensions in others' hosts.[215]

(vi) No profit cometh from alliance with or from conflict with men who possess not authority.[216]

(vii) The strength of a king lay in elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry.

(viii) Fair is it that the equal should fight with equal, for then the victory is a thing of doubt; but they, who with a stronger foe contend, are but moths that fall into a flame.[217]

Inspired by Kautilya and Śūkra,[218] Vidyāpati also prescribed the four-fold principles, *viz*, *Sāma* (Peace), *Dana* (Purchase), *Bheda* (Separation) and *Daṇḍa* (Penalty).[219] Diplomacy, without bravery, according to our poet, was simple timidity; bravery, without politics, resembled the conduct of beasts and hence success ought to be sought by a unified policy

213. *Ibid.* 6—Vidyāpati holds that it is the duty of a king to promote good and destroy evil. The chief possession of a king is his army.

214. *Ibid.* 11.

215. *Ibid.* Cf.—Kautilya's views on Diplomacy.

216. *Ibid.* 41—For principles of Diplomacy—also consult—*Harihar śuktimuktavali*—V. 1–20.

217. *Ibid.* 3; 20—All the principles enumerated above have been detailed here.

218. *Śukra*—IV. I. 51–82. His date is doubtful.

219. *Likhnavali*—Letter No. 48; In Letter No. 47 he refers to friendship between kings.

of the four expedients enumerated above and by striking at the vulnerable points of the enemy.[220] The diplomatic schemes should be secret. The alien enemies are not so difficult to win ; formidable are the internal enemies so should he endeavour to conquer the enemies at home first and then proceed against those abroad. In conformity with the ancient Indian tradition, Caṇḍeśwara has also recommended these four expedients and has suggested that a king should try to bring his enemy under control by anyone of the above means.[221] A real diplomat always aims at increasing the number of his friends. The strength of the enemy should be gauged before any offensive is launched.[222] In this connection, Caṇḍeśwara has defined the duties, function and powers of the *Dūtas*.[223] The *Dutas* should always meet the king in private and tell him everything confidentially.[224] A loyal *Dūta* should be respected. Expert persons should be appointed to the post of a *Dūta*. Unflinching loyalty towards the state should be one of his main qualifications. A loyal *Dūta* should have the following qualities—*Dakṣtā* (efficiency), *Bhadratā* (nobility), *Dṛiḍhatā* (steadfastness), *Kṣānti*, *Kleśa*, *Sahiṣṇutā*, *Saṁtoṣa*, *Śila* and *Utsāha*.[225] If the traditional sources are to be relied upon, Harasiṁhadeva of the Karṇāṭa dynasty was on friendly terms with the Yādava king, Rāmadeva of Devagiri and also with the king of Gorakhapur.[226] *Dūtas* were also sent to negotiate.[227] Fundamental principles of diplomacy are well-preserved in the *PP*.[228]

Dūta

220. Cf. Commentary on the *Raghūvaṁsam*—XI. 55.

221. *RR*—56–58 ; 59 illustration of an intelligence of hare is cited.

222. *Ibid*. 37–38.

223. *Ibid*. 42–43.

224. *Ibid*. 50.

225. *Ibid*. 47—Caṇḍeśwara has prescribed certain minimum court etiquettes and decorum for the royal court, nobles and officials—Cf. *Ibid*, 48—51.

226. Cf. *JOT*—Vol. I. No. 2. my article on the *Puruṣaparikṣā*.

227. *PP* (Pathak)—15, 27.

228. *Ibid*. 15, 24, 25, 26, 29, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 202; for *Daṇḍanīti*, see 139 and 225.

To play tricks was also one of the important aspects of diplomacy.[229] According to Vidyāpati, he, who tolerates, is great.[230] A wise man always takes into consideration the possibilities and impossibilites of a situation.[231] He, who does not work after taking the consequences into consideration before hand, has to repent afterwards.[232] The man who can differentiate between iron and gold is wise.[233] What is the consequence of blocking the course of water that has flown away or of a gift that is presented.[234] Man as you are, please be mindful of your promise.[235] Timely action accrues a lac fold profit.[236] Words of a good man are like engravings over a stone. If the master himself does a wrong, there is no relief.[237] One should not offend a great personality in his talk.[238] So long as one has his property in his own hands, he is honoured while nobody cares for the unfortunate poor.[239] On account of adversity, even fortune sometimes emits fire but that does not always remain constant and, therefore, a great man is he who has patience in affluence as well as in adversity.[240] One has to enjoy or suffer the consequences of his own action as the course of destiny knows no obstuction.

Principles of Nīti

According to a contemporary muslim source (*Sirāt-i-Firuz Shāhi*), expedition against enemies must not be undertaken

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229. S. Jha—124.
230. *Ibid.* 156—जे सह से बड़ ।
231. *Ibid.* 218—अगमन गमन बुझए मतिमान ।
232. *Ibid.* 5—बायु गुनि जे काजन करए पाछे हो पचताओ—
233. *Ibid.* 19—बायु पुरुष बिचेरबन बोलिअ जे चिन्ह आएस होम—
234. *Ibid.* 25—गेला नीर निरोधक की फल, अवसर बतला दान ।
235. *Ibid.* 48—पुरुष वचन हो अवधान
236. *Ibid.* 79—अवसर लाख लहए उपकार

× × × ×

सपुरुष वचन पषान करेह ।

237. *Ibid.* 117—पधिपक अनुचिते किछु ने गोहारि ।
238. *Ibid.* 122—गोलिन करिअ बड़ा कौं दोष ।
239. *Ibid.* 132.
240. *Ibid.* 172.

for self applause or acquisition of wealth. The soldiery need be provided with requisite food and provisions and be treated with care and sincerity so that they may engage themselves with heart and soul in duties entrusted to them. Soldiery brings profitable returns. Covenants made with the nobles, landlords, farmers, generals and feudatories should be strictly observed. In times of war, soldiers should be encamped at a distance of one day's march from the enemy camp.[241]

Legal status of the Feudatories

The legal status of the feudatories has been thoroughly discussed by Caṇḍeśwara, a feudatory himself. The obligation of vassals to pay tributes to the king is evident from the writings of Caṇḍeśwara[242] and Vidyāpati. Caṇḍeśwara advises a king not to place any confidence in the *aribala*.[243] It was expedient for a king to take stock of the existing situation before embarking on any aggressive policy. Sense of chivalry also permeated through this political life, since feudalism was its core.[244] Treachery and cowardice were not uncommon features in those days[245] and the political thinkers did take into consideration all these factors. Jyotirīśwara also categorises certain elements of diplomacy in his usual characteristic manner. He uses the term *'Rājanīti'* for politics and those who administer it are called *Tattvajña*.[246] A king should be well versed in *nitijñāna*. In his description of the *kuṭṭaṇi*, he has brought to light certain typical traits

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241. *PHC*—VI. 237-38.

242. *RR*—4-5.

243. *Ibid.* 35 ; Cf. *PP* (Pathak)—2, 31.

244. *PP* (Pathak)—21, 34, 4.

245. *Ibid.* 18, 45, 166 (*Śvāmidroha*).

246. *VR*—P. 3—मंत्रगोपन, भृत्यभरण, देशरक्षा, बलाबलज्ञान, कोषसंचय, व्युहरचना, व्युहप्रवेश, व्युहभंग, संशय—ये राजनीतिक ताक तत्वश्च

Also Cf.—*P.* 10 ; Cf. *PP* (Pāthaka)—115 for *Viṣakanyā* (Poison-girl)

of a *kuṭila*.[247] He refers to the various qualities of a hero[248] and enumerates eight worldly attainments in this connection. While enumerating eighty four kinds of kingly devoirs and polity, he has also detailed matters relating to diplomacy and statecraft.[249] In one of his letters[250], Vidyāpati has given us a draft wherein the *Mahāsandhivigrahika* requests the king to arrange for the signing of a peace treaty. The poet himself played an impotant part in the then politics and as such he wrote everything mainly out of his own experince. There is a reference to loyalty of officers to Virasiṁha and Kīrtisiṁha in the *Kirtilatā* and also a reference to the fact that Amṛtakara went on a political mission on behalf of Śivasiṁha.[251]

VII

Official Receptions, State celebrations and Philanthrophy of kings and ministers

The Hindu princes, sometimes, added festal knots and festal urns or strings of mango sprouts to the decoration of arches and announced the arrival of the guest of honour by a flourish of trumpets.[252] The Hindu manners were sweet and informal. A guest was welcomed with special form of betel leaf and flowers were offered to the visitors.[253] In case of a distinguished visitor, a platform was raised, flowers were strewn over it and sandalwood paste was held in readiness to

247. *Ibid.* P. 27—कुटिलमति ; नारदक सहोदर अइसन घटक, विष्णुमाया अइसन संघटक × – × ।
Cf—A similar Gujrati work—*Varṇaka-Samuchchaya* and also a similar work in Sanskrit—*Mānaśollāsa.*

248. *Ibid. Kallola*–2.

249. *Ibid.* P. 3–4.

250. *Likhnavali*—No. 48 ; In No. 47, there is a reference to this aspect.

251. Cf. Narendra Nath Das—*Vidyāpati Kavyāloka* ; S. N. Thakur—*Mahakavi Vidyāpati Thakur* ; Umesh Miśra—*Vidyāpāti Thakur.*

252. Coomarswamy and Sen—*Padāvali Bangiya*—CXXVII.

253. *Ibid.* LXIX.—Also-Cf. *PP* (Pathak)—170, 176, 181.

rub on the forehead. *Ārti* was also performed to remove the possible effects of the evil eye.[254] Dancing was very much popular and the cult of Kṛṣna, as propounded by Vidyāpati, had greatly stimulated it. Men and women danced together, sometimes with bells tied to their feet.[255] A king is endowed with mercy, charity, friendliness and all other qualities of the cultured folk.[256] Shampooing was an important feature of the royal court.[257] Two expert barbers massage his feet. A respectable guest was offered water for washing his feet.[258] Dancing and music, which were so prominent during the early period, began to degenerate mainly through assigning a special caste for them and by confining the scope of their development to the amusement of the upper classes and exclusive service of religion. The Kṛṣna cult, no doubt, rescued the dramatic art from further degeneration into vulgar tricks of buffoons and professional jestlers.

Fireworks formed an important part of the state celebrations. The *Śivarātri* festival was celebrated with fire-works by the common people, while the more sober and religious minded kept the night vigil.[259] After the customary worship of the goddess Lakṣmi, people used to whirl round torches and burning sticks or fire-brands. Firebrand was an ancient and familiar boys, game played by whirling a burning stick swiftly through the air and thus producing the impression of a circle of fire. The bonfire on the occasion of the *Holi* festival was another important feature. People took omen from it for the prospects of the neat harvest.[260]

254. *Ibid.* CCC.

255. *Ibid.* LXXXII—Also Cf. *PP* (Pathak)—132.

256. *VR—Kallola* 2.

257. *Ibid. Kallola* 3; 36 kinds of Shampooing are mentioned.

258. S. Jha—58—चरणपखालन (कए) आसन दान, मधुरइ वचने करिअ समधान ।

259. Nerukar—135—for a celebration of *Śivarātri* by the soldiers of Laksmanasena. Also Cf. Carpentier—*op. cit.* P. 306, for description of a firebrand.

260. W. Crooke—*Popular Religion*—P. 343.

Dipāwalī was rightly designed as the festival of light. It is mentioned in connection with the connubial love by Vidyāpati. It was thought lucky to be with the husband on that day [261] or to win a man's embrace on this Night of Bliss.[262] There was a flood of illumination all over.[263] Vidyāpati,[264] in his poems, has referred to fireworks. The night vigil and fireworks are elements common to both to *Śivarātri* and *Shab-e-Barāt*, which is probably a copy from the former Hindu festival.[265] *Shabe-e-Barāt* has been described as the "Guy Fawkes day of Islam."[266] On this auspicious occasion, fireworks were extensively used and homes and mosques were illuminated.[267] Muslim populations, all over India, took active part in this celebrations and Firuz Shāh Tugluq is said to have celebrated it for four days.[268] It is not possible to state specifically, in the present state of our knowledge, whether fire-arms were used in battles and wars by the Hindus. The Hindus were acquainted with the use of flaming shafts but its use was denounced on moral grounds. Śūkra refers to *Nālikās* and *Sataghnas*[269] and he

261. *PP* (G) Tale—38—Cf. *PP* (Pāthak), 199, 222.

262. *Ibid.* 43.

263. Crooke—*op. cit.* 346 ; Cf. John Frampton—*Marco Polo* (London 1929) P. 42 for description.

264. *MM* No. 818—घृत मधु दुधए नेने वाती कए चोदिस देलक जियमाला ।
819—से न करिअ जे पर उपहास धाए मरिअ बरु आनी ।
821—ते नहि माने अनल पजारह, अजेहे मिझाइअ पानी ।

265. Cf. Major—*India in the 15th century* (London—1857) —Wherein it has been shown that fireworks were also used in the Hindu festival of Mahānadi in the south.

266. E. Donison Ross—*Hindu—Muhammadan feasts* (Calcutta—1914)—P. 111–112.

267. Amir Khusrav found the young urchins of Delhi playing with fireworks and making the city a virtual "blazing hell of Abraham's legend." He also refers to the illumination of mosques—Cf—K. M. Ashraf—*op.cit.*—P. 301.

268. *TFS*—365–367.

269. Śūkra—IV. 7. 192–208. ; Cf—It may be noted here that Chand Bardayi has used *Tupak* for small guns.

also refers to the gunpowder. According to Dikshitar, *ayaḥ, kaṇapa, tulā-guda, aurava, nālika, nārachs, agnivāna* nad *sataghni* were all fire arms.[270] The soldiers seem to have used some sort of flaming shafts on the occasion of Dipāwali also known as *Sukharātri*[271] Though these formed parts of state festivals and state celebrations, it is difficult to say whether these were used in war on not.

The philanthropic activity of the kings and ministers also formed an important part of the royal court. Such philanthropic works were guided by the philosophy of *Dāna.* The *Dānaratnākar* of Caṇḍeśwara deals with (i) the meaning of *Dana,* (ii) fit objects of charity, (iii) *mahādāna* , (iv) gifts appropriate to certain months, *nakṣatra* and *tithis,* dedicating of wells, tanks for public use and planting of trees etc. In the *Dānaratnākara,* we are told that Caṇḍeśwara made a gift of *Tulādāna,* on the bank of the river Bāgmati.[272] Caṇḍeśwara is also called the giver of man's weight gift[273]. Vacaspati Misra has also dwelt at length of the necessity and the utility of *Dana.* In his *Mahādānanirnaya,* he deals with the sixteen great gifts. These ministers were feudal barons and wielded immense political power.[274] Their position enabled them to make princely gifts and construct monuments and palaces. The Oinwara rulers have left valuable records of gifts. Devasimha gave away innumerable gifts to the Brāhmaṇs, performed *Tulāpuruṣadāna* and got dug a large tank at *Śakkuri* (modern Sakari junction of the North-eastern railway in the district of Darbhanga).[275] Śivasiṁha was a liberal king and

270. Dikhistar—*War in Ancient India* 102–109 ; Cf. P. C. Chakravarti—*op. cit.* 173–74. J.C. Ray—*Ancient Indian life*—160 61.
271. *PP* (Pathak)—198–99,
272. R. Mitra—*Notes*—VI. 194.
273. *RR*—15.
274. Cf. H. P. Sastri—*Nepal Catalogue*—I. 136.
275. Mitra—VI. 3—Introductory verse 4 of the *Śaivasarvasvasāra.*

दत्तं येन द्विजेभ्यो द्विरदरथ महादानमन्यैरशक्यं,
का वार्ता त्वन्यदाने कनकमयतुलापुरुषो येन दत्तः ।
यस्य क्रीड़ा तड़ागस्तुलयति सक्कुरीशासने वारिराशिं,
देवोऽसौ देवसिंहः क्षितिपतिपालकः कस्य न स्यान्नमस्यः ।

Cf. *PP*—Final verse 2—सक्कुरीपुरसरोवरकर्त्ता हेमहस्तिरथ दान विदग्धः ॥

noted for his charitable disposition. He also got dug a large number of tanks and well for public utility and undertook various welfare projects for the benefit of his subjects. He not only constructed roads and dams but also founded new cities in in different parts of his kingdom.[276] He is said to have granted some acres of land to a muslin saint, Makhdum Shah, for the maintenace of Khankāh.[277] Dhīrasiṁha is said to have followed suit and given away gifts to the Brāhmanas a large number horses, cows, gold and silver.[278] Bhairavasiṁha is said to have dug out hundreds of tanks, gave away towns and *pattanas* (hamlets) and performed the *Tulāpuruṣadāna*.[279] All these were undertaken by the rulers as part of state activities and these institutions, to that extent, were praiseworthy. These big wells and tanks served not only the purpose of water supply but also of irrigation which was essential for the agricultural devolopment of the kingdom. The remains of these tanks and wells, though devastated by annual visitation of floods etc., are there in different parts of Mithila and their number is greater even today than in any other part of Bihar. Studied from the cultural point of view the philanthropic activities of the Oinwara kings are remarkable in their own way and these were actively carried on by the kings and minister.[280]

Vidyāpati has attached due importance to gifts and charity. Philanthropy was considered to be the best among all types of

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276. R. B. Das—*Mithilā Darpana*—67.
—पोखर रजौखर और सब पोखरा, राजा शिवैसिंह और सभ छोकरा।
ताल तो भूपाल ताल और सब तलैया, राजा तो शिवैसिंह और सभ रजैया॥

277. Bihari Lal—*Ain-i-Tirhut*—83 ; Recently, Prof. S. H. Askari has also published a document from Hajipur which contains an information about Śivasiṁha's Liberality towards the muslims ; Cf. *BPP* (1946-48) ; *Current Studies*—1954.

278. *India Office Cat.* P. 1006—No. 3004.

279. Introductory verse 7 of the *Mahadānanirṇaya*—Cf. *Nepal cat* P. 112.

280. *VR*—P. 21—reference to 16 *Mahadānas*—तुलापुरुष, ब्रह्माण्ड, पृथ्वी, विश्वचक्र, हिरण्यगर्भा, सप्तसागर, पञ्चलाँगल, महाभूत घट, कल्पवृक्ष, कल्पलता, कामधेनु, हैमहस्तिरथ, हिरण्याश्व, गोसहस्र, अश्वरथ, रत्नधेनु—

public work.[281] A religious belief soon began to prevail among the people that every gift of charity in this world is rewarded ten times its value in the next.[282] The reasons for this ethical and moral development are not far to seek. They are to be found in the economic basis of the social classes. There was a superfluity of wealth among the upper classes and a chronic poverty and need among the lower. This inequality was a social menace. The extreme poverty of the vast masses created a psychology and nervousness among the rich and generosity thus came to their aid as an insurance policy. Attempts were made to relieve their poverty with gifts[283] and not by doing away with the cause of poverty. According to Vidyāpati, one should carry on philanthropic work openheartedly and even be ready to incur some loss on that account.[284] While the rich had the liberty rather right to exploit and accumulate riches,[285] the ordinary people were advised not to be greedy and to remain satisfied with their lot.[286] In conformity with the orthodox views of his predecesors, Vidyāpati, at the instance of Dhīrmati, wife of Narasiṁhadeva, wrote *Dānavākyāvali*, a book on religions gifts, and that is even now regarded as an authoritative work. Lived as he in an age of feudalism in Mithilā,

Why insistence on charity

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281. *MM*—No. 49—सब तह बड़ थिक पर उपकार ।
No. 122—सुपुरुष दाने अधिक फल होय ।
No. 226—साजन ताक जीवन थीक सार ।
जेमन दए कर पर उपकार ।
No. 403—निअ क्षति बिनु परहित नहिं होय—
Also Cf.—अक्सर थोड़ेहु बहुत उपकार
× × × × × × × ×
थिर जनु जानह ई संसार, एक पय थिर रह पर उपकार
भनहि विद्यापति सखि कह सार, से जीवन जे पर उपकार

282. Nerukar—23 ; *PP* (Pāthak)—7, 9, 78, 157, 160, 80, 229 for *dāna* and charity etc.

283. *PP* (G)—P. 25.

284. *MM*—No. 403.

285. *PP* (Pāthak)—78, 189,—

286. *MM*—No. 48—एत कन्हाइ परधन लोभ, जे नहिं सुबुध सेहे पर लोभ ।

he had to certify everything feudal as good and worthy. All gifts of every denomination were considered sacrosanct and it was urged upon the king to give religious colour to all philanthropic works of public utility.

Every bit of human life was regulated strictly in accordance with the religious codes and local usages and any break with the past was looked with suspicion and frowning eyes. Charity, gifts and other philanthropic works were regarded as parts of royal religious rites. The influence of the Brāhmaṇs made them all the more strict. The huge compilations of the *Smṛti* literature during the period bears ample testimony to this fact. Righteousness was defined as the performance of duties such as liberality, study of the scriptures and the like in accordance with the precepts of the vedas. Such performance accomplished what a man desired for himself. Righteousness consisted in the remote consequences of this performance. In other words, an abode in paradise was the result of good deeds.[287] Good reputation and the acquirement of merit came through generosity.[288] All these speak for themselves the true meaning and significance of charity, gift, righteousness and generosity. Viewed from the religious standpoint, generosity and benevolent acts were as good as passport to heaven, but viewed from economic point of view, they acted as shields against the recurring disturbances of the people. The whole thing, if not put in a religious colour, would hardly have been acceptable to the suffering common man whose only recourse was fate and nothing else. The emphasis on loyalty and cult of *Bhakti* succeeded immensely in securing the abject submission of the people. This detraction of the people from the stark reality of the situation was an indiret aid to the despotism of the king. During our period, the philosophy of gift became more popular. Gift was the main source of income for such Brāhmaṇas as were poor and destitutes. Majority of

287. *PP* (G)—P. 125.

288. *Ibid*. Tale 34.

the Brāhmaṇas lived on the charity of others and they, in return, repaid their debt by expounding legal theories in support of king's power, prestige and the maintenance of the *Varṇāśrāmadharma*. Harihara of the sixteenth century A. D. has emphasised the necessity of such gift[289] to the Brāhmaṇas.

VIII

Treasury, Defence and fortifications

The *Koṣa* or treasury has been considered to be an important element of state since its very inception. According to Caṇḍeśwara, a king should try to keep it full to the brim by legal and moral means. Without caring even a fig for his personal interest, he should set apart some good and fertile land and a good piece of pasture ground for the purpose.[290] *Koṣāgāra* is the life-blood of a State and hence only such persons should be appointed to this post as are adept in the art of increasing the volume of the treasury.[291] He should see that money is not spent on worthless causes. He should save the treasury from being depleted.[292] Under the Karnātas, Jaṭeśwara was the keeper of the treasury. *Mudrāhastaka* was an important officer connected with the treasury.[293] Sometimes, a king resorted to illegal taxation with a view to filling up the treasury.[294] It has been prescibed by Vācaspati that the king shall strike with various

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289. Cf. *Hariharaśuktimuktāvali*—IV. 10.
Also—Cf. Ram Ekbal Singh, Rakesh—
Maithili Lokegeet—P. 109.
देवउ हे ब्राह्मण अन धन लक्ष्मी
और सहस्र धेनु गाय यो—

290. *RR*—32.

291. *Ibid.* 53.—Cf. *Likhanāvali*—No. 46.

292. *Ibid.* 54.

293. *Likhanāvali*—No. 46.

294. *PP* (Pāthak)—166—Cf. *Gorakṣavijaya*—P. 9.
धरम राखि धन भरिअ भण्डार ।

forms of punishment at those who rob king's treasury.[295] Following Viṣṇu, Vācaspati says that a king shall have the tenth part as customs duty and twentieth part on those commodities imported from foreign lands.[296] He is normally entitled to receive sixth part. Among the sources of in come to the State were mines, treasure-troves, heirless property, customs and excise. It was a part of muslim polity, during the period under review, to keep the Hindus in poverty by excessive taxation and exorbitant demands of the kings.[297] There was a change in the outlook in so far as the conception of State is concerned. According Caṇḍeśwara,[298] the ordinary rule of division and succession can not apply to a kingdom since royal property is owned by the whole people and all have a share in it. Since the period, under review, was an abnormal one, it led Caṇḍeśwara to explain away the *Ṣaḍabhāga* as a merely figurative term and he recom mended levying of such amount as would be found necessary to meet the requirement of Government. He was opposed to oppressive taxation on any score.[299] Jayaswal has rightly pointed out that in the *RR*, there is no lack of interest and no total surrender of reason.[300]

Fortifications

The rulers of Tirhut attached due importance to the forts in so far as the defence of the kingdom was concerned. A Tibetan traveller of the thirteenth century A. D., Dharmaśwāmi,[301] has left ths following account of the fortifications of Tirhut in the following words..."there was a town called Pa-ta which had some 600,000 houses and was surrounded by seven walls. The height of these walls was about equal

295. *VC*—143.

296. *Ibid.* 122.

297. *ED*—III. 230-31.

298. *RR.* 72—राजधने दीनानाथादि सकल प्राणीनामं शित्वं बहुनायक त्वाद्राज्य विनाशश्चेति.....

299. *Ibid.* 55.

300. *Ibid.* Introduction—P. 29.

301. *Biography of Dharmaśwāmi*—G. Roerich (Patna-1959)—

to that of a Tibetan fort. Outside of the town walls stood the Rājā's palace which had eleven large gates and was surrounded by twenty one ditches filled with water and rows of trees. There were three gates facing each direction, east, west and south, and the two gates facing north. I did not see the two northern gates, but the others had bridges in front of them. In front of the bridges guards were stationed, more than ten archers at each bridge. These protective measures were due to the fear of the *Turuṣka*.....It was also said that there were three men expert in swordsmanship".[302] The *Mithilamahātmyakhaṇḍa* of the *Bṛhadviṣṇupurāna* also refers to fortifications[303] in Mithilā. Jyotirīśwara in his *Dūrgavarṇanā*, gives an elaborate account of the surrounding of a fort.[304] There is a lot of reference to fort, fortifications and *Pururakṣaka, Purpati* and Dūrgapāla in the *VR*[305] and Vidyāpati.[306]. While discussiug the different component parts of the army Caṇḍeśwara has also envisaged certain measures for safeguarding the kingdom.[307] He has categorically emphasised the importance of Dūrga.[308] According to Caṇḍeśwara, a king should fortify his kingdom and he should keep his *Koṣa* within the fortified area. A fort should

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302. *Ibid.* P. 58.

303. *Mithilāmahātmya*—PP 70–75 Cf. my article—*Mithila as gleaned through Mithilāmahātmya*—in the *Prāchya Bharti.*

304. *VR*—PP. 66–67 ; वेंत, वाँस, काष्ट, विनयो, वेगवन्त, शुष्मदर्शी, वेष्ठित, वयाखोल, नदी, वापी, विजहरी, कओसिम, अर्थसञ्चय, जलसञ्चय, अन्न सञ्चय,.....कुशलाह, चक्र, असन, गोकर्ण, मुकुलादि अनेक दण्डायुध संयुक्ताहे—अनेक भार्गव तें मण्डित, गढ़, गौरी, भैरव, गणपति, महिषासुर, कुमार विजय, रनरङ्गा, दुर्गासिंह, वार्त्तारत, जयमंगलादि अनेक सयुक्त यन्त्र, द्वार, आद्वार, अपसरण तें मण्डित, हाथि, घोल, नौका, पदाति, चतुरंग सैन्यसंयुक्त अभेद्य विपुल विश्व विजयी गढ़ देषु—

305. *Ibid.* P. 3—refers to *Durgarakṣā, Durgapraveśa ; Vyuharachnā, Vyuhapraveśa ;* P. 8 refers to *Purapati.*

306. *PP* (Pāthak)—25, 31, 49, 50, 51, 95, 211.

307. *RR*—33–38.

308. *Ibid.* 24.

be constructed at a place which is surrounded by water and grassfields and a king should have his palace within the fort. Caṇḍeśwara mentions, (i) *Dhanadūrga,* (ii) *Mahidūrga,* (iii) *Jaladūrga,* (iv) *Vārkṣyadūrga,* (v) *Nṛdūrga,* (vi) *Giridūrga,* and in the midst of all these *dūrgas,* a special fort should built be for the residence of the king.[309] These forts should provide space for domesticated and wild animals as they are considered to be an important means of defence.[310] These forts should always remain well-equipped. Food, weapons of war, army, learned men should also be there. Some of the specific features of fortifications are outlined below—

(i) Forts surrounded by uplands of which five *Yojanās* should be waterless.

(ii) Forts made of stone or bricks, meant exclusively for fighting purposes, should be well-equipped with war materials and be prepared to undertake operations any moment.

(iii) Forts surrounded on all sides by unfathomable water are very necessary for defence.

(iv) There should be forts surrounded, on all sides, by thorny jungles and trees.

(v) These forts should be of such height as might not be scaled by a man and all these forts should be surrounded on all sides by the four fold army of the State.

Forts, like the *Koṣa,* constituted an important element of State. For the rulers of Mithila, they were all the more important as there were enemies on all sides. The Mithila rulers, therefore, paid special attention to the construction of forts in different parts of their territory. The fort at Simaraongarh, as attested now by the Tibetan traveller, was supported by stone pillars and surrounded on all sides by water. The ruins at Bhitbhagawanpur and Andhrathārti give an indication of the existence of forts and similar indications are available from the recent unscientific excavations at Bahera.

309. *Ibid.* 25.

310. *Ibid.* 26.

Feristha informs us that the fort of the king of Tirhut was surrounded by seven ditches, full of water and a high wall and the Tugluq king took three weeks to destroy them.[311] The existence of a strong fort at Tirhut is further supported by an unpublished Persian *MSS, Basātinuluns,* now preserved in the British Museum and Leningrad museum. The *Purpatis* of the *VR* or the *Dūrgapālas* or the *Dūrgarakṣa* of the *PP* were the officers in charge of the forts and fortification. We learn from *verse* 7 of the *Kṛtyaratnākara* that Vireśwara, after having stormed the enemy fort, constructed a very high palace. Most of the ruins of fortifications in Mithilā have, by now, vanished either on account of the ravages of the uncontrolled rivers or levelled down by the cultivators.

IX

Village administration :—

As in other parts of India, the village, being the lowest unit of administration, remained practically unaffected by the innumerable changes brought about by the muslim conquest and subsequent dynastic upheavals in Mithilā. The village was, to all intents and purposes, left undisturbed so long as it did not prove recalcitrant. The whole territory of Tirhut seems to have been under the control of one single unit and the village was the lowest ring of the administrative ladder. The revenue collection was done through *Grāmapati* and *Daśagrāmika.* Caṇḍeśwara throws a very interesting light on the working of the village administration. A *Gulma*[312] consisted of three to five villages. The village officials were (i) *Grāmapati,* (ii) *Grāmādhipati,* (iii) *Daśagrāmapati,* (iv) *Viṁśatiṁśagrāmapati,* (v) *Sahasragrāmapati Rāṣṭra* etc.[313] Every village had its own Headman.

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311. Briggs—*History of the rise of Muhammadan power in India*—Vol. I. 406-7.
Cf. *Riyaz-us-salatin*—P. 91 Fn.

312. For a discussion on *Gulma*, see my paper on feudalism referred to above.

313. *RR*—60.

The village heads were appointed in order of merit and efficiency.[314] It is very difficult to say whether they were elected or appointed. The whole system of administration depended solely on the stability and integrity of the village system. All matters of the villages concerned, social, political, economic, legal and cultural, were solved by the villagers themselves. All matters were reported to the village headman, who, if unable to settle the matter amicably or if he failed to do so in any way, was duty bound to report the same to the higher authority, *that is*, the head of Ten villages, and the process went on, in case of failure at all lower stages, till it was presented before the *Rāṣṭra*.[315] The village headman formed the core of the lowest adminstrative unit and the village administrative system was the bedrock of the entire political system of Mithilā. All categories of village officials were paid by the king and it varied according to their rank and position. The modes of payment, as prescribed by Caṇḍeśwara, were as follows[316] :—

(i) *Daśesa*—as much land as he could cultivate with one plough.

(ii) *Viṁśatiśa*—as much land as he could plough with four ploughs.

(iii) *Śateśa*—got one full village.

(iv) *Sahsrādhipati*—was given a city or a town and was entitled to have the benefit of a *Pura*.[317]

The contact with the village administration was regularly maintained through an officer called *Snigdha*, signifying a

314. *Ibid.*

315. *Ibid,*

316. *Ibid.* 61.

317. *Ibid.*—Village headman was also known as *Muqaddam* and it seems that in Mithila, *Muqaddam* was a very popular term. *Letter* No. 64'65 of the *Likhanāvali* refers to *Mokaddam* Śri Murārikaih. The use of the term *Mukaddam* for village headman is a direct result of the influence of Muslim thought on Hindu polity. For various officers in Mithilā during the time of Śivasimha, also Cf—the *Kirtipatākā*.

minister close to the king. He was possibly of the rank of a secretary to the village affairs or rural department. The meaning of the word "*Snigdha*" is not yet very clear but it may be presumed that he belonged to the royal family. His main duty was to look after the various grades of village officers and also to supervise their work. He made known to the villages the royal policy and also brought to the royal court all important news about the village officers. Ordinarily he should be taken as the Liasion officer between the villages on the one hand and royal government on the other. Caṇḍeśwara has made provision for a ministry of rural affairs under a full-fledged minister. The main purpose behind this ministry was to integrate the working of the village administration with the central authority and also to look to the needs of the villages.[318] Though the meaning of the word *Tantritah*, in this connection, is not very clear, it may be conjectured that the minister in-charge of the rural affairs enjoyed absolute power in the sphere of his activity. The words "*Snigdha*" and "*Sarvārthachintakaṁ* have been translated as royal supervisior and high officer respectively by a recent writer. [319] *Sarvārthachintakaṁ* was functioning in every city or town and he was to the village officers as *Rāhu* is to the planets. He seems to have been a very powerful welfare officer and since he used to be a man of integrity, his very presence struck terror into the hearts of dishonest persons. [320] Caṇḍeśwara has himself, at one place, suggested that such persons, officers, and other servants of the state as collect oppressive taxes surreptitiousley or purely out of selfish motive, should be immediately turned out of the state. Thus it is evident that *Sarvārthachintakaṁ* was a terror to such persons as it was the duty of this officer to look to the welfare of all people within the kingdom. Since he must have been acting with severity and dealing harshly with the anti-social elements of the time, he has been so described by Caṇḍeśwara. He had to look to an allround development of the people, living in towns

318. *RR*—61.

319. *BTA*—406—Cf. *TM*. 354; *RR*—61.

320. *RR*—60.

and villages. The scheme of village administration, as envisaged in the *RR*, goes to show that the king used to take keen interest in the efficient running of the village system.

Even for the revenue purposes, village was the lowest unit of administration. For an efficient administration of the revenue department, the whole kingdom seems to have been divided into a number of fiscal areas, known as *Parganā*, *Tappā* and *Grāma* [321] etc. So long as they paid revenue regularly, there was nothing to disturb them. To collect the revenue, a *Choudhary* was appointed to each *Parganā* and the village revenue officer was known as *Patwārī*. The village accounts were meticulously maintained and the public accounts were kept with thorough accuracy. The *Patwāris* were also known as village accountants. [322] They were paid out of the village fund at the fixed rate. To enforce the regular realisation of revenue, village police officers were appointed every-where and they had to make daily report of all occurrences to the village headman or to the *Choudhary*. From the mode of payment to the various categories of village officers, it appears that there was much of feudal element in it. The village headman enjoyed jāgir, no doubt, but it would be going out of limits to compare this mode of payment with the *Mansabadari* system of the great Mughals as a recent writer on the subject has suggested.[323] During the period, under review, we see that the official recognition for the purposes of a grant was withdrawn from the lower social groups and accorded to the Brāhmaṇas who were also the cultivating classes and thereby implying the introduction of an economic basis in the distribution of the village people. It is the Brāhmaṇa minister who now makes land grants and not *vice-versa*. The question of the occupational basis of the society was no longer there. The landowning aristocracy wielded both political and economic powers from the lowest to the highest level and the *Sarvārthachintakam*, if he was actually a terror, was a *Rāhu* for those who wanted to upset the *status quo*.

321. Cf. the *Likhanāvali*—58, 55 and 59 for *Tappā* and *Grāma*.

322. *ST*—62.

323. *TM*—353.

The village administration was run on the basis of a *Panchāyat* system. There was a *Panchāyat* in every village and the oft-quoted *Panch-Parmeśwara* is reminiscient of the old system.[324] The *Panchāyat* managed all local officers, executive and judicial and it continued to function without any interference. It had its own laws. All disputes were locally settled. Mithila had a distinctive local and rural administration consisting of *Gulma* and *Rāṣtra* and the rates of payment to village headman varied according to categoies. The villagers lived peacefully and amicably. Every village had it headman, watchman and revenue officer. The villages arranged their own watch and ward, elementary education and sanitation. The village headman acted as both committing and trying magistrate of the crimes committed in the village and Caṇḍeśwara has referred to the fact that disputes, if unsettled, were referred to the higher authority for decision. The Panchayat was elected on democratic basis. The system continued for a considerably long period and continued unabated till the advent of the Britishers. These *Panchayatas* were held responsible for maintenance of peace and tranquility in every nook and corner of the kingdom. Vidyāpati has referred to an officer designated as *Śāntikaraṇika*.[325] The scope of the government embraced not only the secular affairs but even extended to moral and religious affairs. The officers of the state looked to the maintenance of the rules of caste and religious orders in strict conformity to the holy scriptures. An officer was appointed in each village to adjudicate upon all questions arising from the working of the canons of conduct. The state brought within its compass every aspect of the life of the citizen. In so far as the administrative system is concerned, medieval Mithila did not lag behind. There was a well organised administrative system modified to suit the changes caused by the then political turmoil.

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324. Cf.—Ram Naresh Tripathi—*Kabita Kaumudi*—P. 56.
जहं पंच तह परमेसर भाई... ...

325. Cf. *Likhanāvali*—No. 11.

X

Summary and conclusions

A study of the Mithilā polity clearly reveals to us that feudalism was the basis of political organisation and the feudal structure is apparent when we look to the epithets used by the ministers. Though the king was at the head of the Government, the feudatories seem to have enjoyed the real power and the baronial council had a greater say in the administrative master. They monopolised all posts of ministerial ranks. These lords were invariably Brāhmanas. They also acted as *aide-camp* (*Rājaballabha*—a term used by Jyotiriśwara) and we find that Bhavāditya, a brother of Devāditya, was a *"Rājaballabha"*. Since the effective control of the barons made the king a virtual puppet in their hands, caste in politics had lost all meaning for Caṇḍeśwara. Sovereign may be of any caste but it should be his primary duty to protect his subjects in accordance with the sacred precepts. To maintain their hold on the people and the government, Chaṇḍeśwara made provisions for the ministry of religion (*Purohitāditarañgāḥ*) and the appointment of a new king was confirmed by this ministry which performed the ceremony according to the Vedic rites. The hold of religion on politics seems to be a reality.[326] There does not seem to be any remarkable or revolutionary change in the state policy and the rulers simply followed the time-honoured precepts and conventions. Rules were framed for the guidance of the people in their religious and social observances. The mention of of a separate department of transfer in 14th-15th century Mithilā is indicative of the fact that these feudal barons did not like to fix any officer at a particular place for an indefinite period as that would jeopardise the interest of the barons themselves. Mithilā, in this respect, was a precursor of Shershah. There is also a reference to the system of espionage in the *Puruṣaparikṣā* and other contemporary works. We come across a long list of officials and administrative terms in

326. *RR.*—70–74. For the duties and functions of the *Grāmpanchayata* in Mithila, see-*Appendix*—a medieval *MSS* in Maithili language dealing with its function.

the contemporary literary writings, the details of which are given below—

(i) *Bhūpāla—VR*—lord of the Earth.

(ii) *Māṇḍalika—VR*—officer-in-charge of a *Maṇḍala. Panchobh CP.*

(iii) *Sāmanta—VR-RR—Vidyāpati* and in other *MSS* and inscriptions.

(iv) *Senāpati—VR, RR, Likhaṇāvali, PP*

(v) *Purapati—VR-RR-PP—*

(vi) *Mantri—VR-RR-* Vidyāpati's writings, *Dhūrtasamāgamnātaka*—and in various other *MSS.*

(vii) *Purohita—VR-RR-PP.*

(viii) *Dharmādhikaraṇa—VR-DV—*

(ix) *Sāndhivigrahika—VR-RR, Likhanāvali* —and in various other *MSS*

(x) *Mahāmattaka—Likhanāvali, VR,* etc—

(xi) *Pratibalakaraṇadhyakṣa*—Possibly the officer combined in himself some military functions and those of the chief of a secretariat. } These two Offices were manned by the Karanakāyasthas of Mithilā

(xii) *Śāntikaraṇika—VR* and *Likhanāvali*

(xiii) *Rajaguru—VR—*

(xiv) *Dūrgapāla—VR-RR*

(xv) *Thakkūra—MṢṢ* and *Likhnāvali*

(xvi) *Snigdha*—RR

(xvii) *Sarvārthachiñtakaṁ—RR*

(xviii) *Dūta—RR*—According to Caṇḍeśwara, he should be well-versed in all branches of literature, talented, tolerant and patient. (*PP*–42–54)

(xix) *Gulma—RR* (P. 60)—It ordinarily means a wood, fort, and a police station. Fleet translated *Gulmika* as a "Superintendent of wood and forests" (*CII*–III. 52–fn. 4). Dr. U. N. Ghoshal takes *Gulmika* as collector of custom duties and refers to "*Gulmadeya*" of the *Arthaśāstra* in support of his news (Cf–*Hindu Revenue System*—P. 292). *Gulma* has been taken by Caṇḍeśwara to mean a group of three to five villages.

It seems that the *Gulma* indicated a small administrative centre of a group of three or five villages in Mithila during the period, under review, or might have been the centre of a police station. There is a reference to *Gulmapati* in the *Panchobh CP* signifying the officer commanding a *Gulma* squadron.

(xx) *Mahāpilupati* — *Panchobh CP* — (Chief trainer of elephants)

(xxi) *Mahāsādhanika* — Do – (Superintendent of military supplies)

(xxii) *Mahākṣapatalika*— Do – (Incharge of accounts and record departments)

(xxiii) *Mahādharmādhikaṛṇika*— Do—(Chief justice)
(xxiv) *Mahākaṛṇādhyaṇkṣa*— Do—(Chief or the Secretariat)
} Manned by the Karanakāyasthas of Mithilā as would be evident from the Panji records.

(xxv) *Vārtinaibandhika*— Do— (Digest writers) or Intelligence Officer-Cf *Likhanāvali*

(xxvi) *Mahāvārtikanaibandhika—Likhanāvali—*

(xxvii) *Mahouthitthatāsanika* (?)—*Panchobh CP-*

(xxviii) *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*—Do and *DV*-and other *MSS.*

(xxix) *Mahāsāmantarāṇaka*-Do—

(xxx) *Khaṇḍapālā*—Do- (U.N. Ghoshal regards it as a military official-Cf *IHQ*-XIV. 839. Other scholars regard it as custom Inspector or Superintendent of police, or even as the Superintendent of municipal arms).

(xxxi) *Mahāvyuhapati* — Do – Chief master of military arrays—

(xxxii) *Mahādhikārika*—Do-Chief Superintendent of offices

(xxxiii) *Mahāmudrādhikāri*—Do-Keeper of the royal seal.

(xxxiv) *Ghaṭṭapāla*—Keeper of the mountain pass.

(xxxv) *Mudrāhastaka—Likhanāvali*

The *Likhnāvali* gives a list of the following officers :—

(i) *Mahāpatnika Thakkura—*

(ii) *Mahāmattaka Thakkura*

(iii) *Mahāsupakārapati*
(iv) *Mahāpārṇāgārika Thakkura*
(v) *Svasrāgārika*
(vi) *Pāniyāgārika*
(vii) *Mahādeśanaibandhika Thakkura*
(viii) *Mahādevāgārika Thakkura*
(ix) *Koṣāgāra*
(x) *Mahābhānugārika*
(xi) *Dalpati*
(xii) *Rāut*
(xiii) *Kāryi*
(xiv) *Osathi*
(xv) *Moqaddam*

Besides these, the poet refers to the following—

(i) *Janapada*—
(ii) *Paura Janapada* (Cf—*Kirtilatā*)
(iii) *Pargana*
(iv) *Tappā*
(v) *Grāma*

It may be pointed out here that the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol VI, published by the Bhārtiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, dealing with the period, under review, does not contain even a single line on the pattern of administration as envisaged by Caṇḍeśwara. It may be noticed here that the Oinwāra rulers were, to a great extent, independent and they had their own administrative system, of which Caṇḍeśwara was the political theorist. Mithila, then, was decidedly not governed by muslim rules and regulations and as such a study of the Maithila political institutions should have found a place in that book. Keeping in view the needs of the time, Caṇḍeśwara introduced a new branch of literature known as *Rājniti*.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

I

Mithilā, during the period under review, was a feudal state and her entire social structure was based on feudal pattern, though not exactly of the western type. A feudal society is fundamentally determined by the relations between a landowning military aristoracy on the one hand and a vast class of peasant producers on the the other. The landowners were militarily an extremely powerful class of which the king was the most eminent. The king along with the feudal barons had all the means of coercion in society. Their sustenance as a non-producing class depended on the transfer to themselves of the surplus produced by the peasants.[1] Śrīdharadāsa, in his anthology, *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, has collected a few poems relating to this aspect of social life.[2] In a feudal society ordinary folks were condemned to lead a life of poverty. Wealth was monopolised by aristocracy consisting of three tiers landed, official and mercantile. Śrīdharadāsa has depicted the pitiable condition of a poor householder.[3] *Stanza* No. 1175 of the *Subhāsitaratnakoṣa* (*HOS*-42) depicts the merciless oppression of villages whose consequent desolation is emphasised by the cooing of doves in the orchard. D.D. Kosambi says—"Indeed, poverty—of his particular class-seems to be the only reality with which the poet of the classical period came to grips.....the famished householder says to his wife, be patient till the rains, then the pumpkins we can grow without labour by our hovel

Feudal basis of the social organisation

1. Cf.—Jack Lindsay — *Byzantium in Europe* (London. 1952) PP. 453–54. Also Cf. my paper on *Feudalism*—referred to above ; R. S. Sharma—'*Indian Feudalism*' (Calcutta 1965).
2. *Saduktikarnāmṛta*—V. 48–3 P. 309.
3. *Ibid.*—; for a more pitiable picture of the poverty stricken people; Cf. R.N. Tripāthi–*Kabita Kaumudi*–Vol. III. P. 15 ff.

will feed us as well as any king.....Nor does starvation force upon the penurious intellectual the slighest idea of going out to earn something by his labour, the society of the day had conditioned his mentality and that of his fellows.....There is no land...the entire family lives just in one room...[4]...The people generally depicted here combine infinite leisure with a full measure of wealth[5]...the lower classes remained where they were [6]..."

The inevitability of caste was the common bond that helped the formation of a coherent society and the class structure was maintained by the association of the nobles with the armed retainers. It was ordained that everybody should earn his livelihood according to his caste. [7] Even the social reformers failed to modify the caste-structure. From the Buddha to Chaitanya, the reformers tried to enlighten the inner elements through such emotional appeals as *Ahiṁśa, Bhakti* and love but failed to deliver the goods in so far as their economic life was concerned. Chaitanya did nothing to remove the caste barriers. [8] *Bhakti*, in the practical sense, looked like a homage to a lord. At first flush, people accepted the new faith with the zeal of a convert, breaking the chains of intricate social system, but as soon as they discovered that even these expounders of the new faith did not actually mean what they propagated, they used to get disappointed and reverted back to their original social way of thinking amounting to fatalism. Mithilā, in the age of Vidyāpati, was the homeland of a host of refugee scholars from all over the country. It has been held that Mithilā emerged as the acknowledge head both secular and religious of all

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4. *HOS*—42—P. XLIII—also Cf.—*NOS*—1190, 318. 1178, 1182, 314, 204, 307-9, 242, 305, 1316, 1305, 1314, 1318, 1306, 1315, 1310, 1317, 1311, 1220, 385, 614.
5. *Ibid.*—XLVI.
6. *Ibid.*—LVI,
7. Cf. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*—P. 230, 244 (Gītā Press Edition).
8. S. K. *De*—*Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement* (Calcutta-1942). P.P. 80, 81, 394 Kṛṣna was a shepherd and not a politician.

the regions north and east of Saraju and had the privilege of being the centre of Sanskrit learning in the east. [9] The circumstances of other social forces of the age kept the mental curiosity of our poet busy in thinking of the nothingness of human life and in trying to realise the glories of the beatific vision. The devotional songs have pictured the gloom which had so long prevailed in the social and political surroundings of Mithilā. Though the picture of feudal society is evident from his writings, [10] Vidyāpati boasts of the proved merits of the Maithilas.[11] In the *Varṇanaratnākara,* we are told about the luxury and appalling poverty, the old and established notions about various institutions, the oddities and frivolities and the social inequalities and so on. [12] Times without number we find our poet bewailing at the growing inequality in the society through his *Maheśavāṇīs,* which depict the life of the common folk. The ordinary man is described as nothing more than a fallen creature [13] and he is always an object of pity. [14]

II

The *Kulinism* [15] constitutes an important landmark in the history of Mithilā. Why and how this system came to be

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9. Cf—Jayaswal—*Mithila MSS*—Vol. I—Introduction-P. VIII
10. *PP*—Tale 5, 35.
11. *Ibid.*—Cf. *Gītividyakathā*—अहो तीरभुक्तियाः स्वभावाद् गुणगर्विणः भवन्तिः ।
12. *VR*—introduction—
13. *MM*—*NOS* 774-75—हम नर अधम परम पतिता। हम निरदीस अनाथे।
14. *Ibid.*—No. 350—निधन का जऔं धन किछु होए । करए चाह उछाह ।
15. For refernce—Cf. Parmeswar Jha—*Mithila-Tattva-Vimarśa*,; R. B. Das—*Mithila Darparna*, R. N. Jha—*Alayikulaprakāśa* and *Harihārasuktimuktāvali*, S. T., *TM*; Ghanānanda Jha—*Ghaṭakarāja*; Mukunda Jha Bakshi—*Mithilābhūṣāmaya Itihāsa*; O'Malley — *Indian Caste Customs*. A traditional verse in Mithilā ascribes its origin to Harasiṁhadeva of the Karṇāṭa dynasty (Cf.—My Paper the "*Karnāṭas of Mithila*"—in the *ABORI*-XXXV—91 ff)—
शाके श्री हरिसिंह देव नृपते भूपार्क तुल्ये जनिः ।

established in Mithilā is yet a mystery? It is a fact that the muslim impact had necessitated the hardening of caste-rules to an extreme degree. On account of the geographical factors the *maithilas* had already acquired insular habits. They kept themselves isolated and their emphasis on the *Smrtic* studies enabled them to solidify their conservative outlook. The idea of maintaining the pristine purity of their race and culture lay at the root of the social reorganisation, based on old ideals. The aim of this social reorganisation was to conserve the purity and uphold the distinctive marks of culture and as a result of which, it is believed by some, new social values came to be established. By its insistence on the purity of lineage, it gave prominence to birth, accomplishment and character. From the language of the traditional verse, it appears that Harasiṁhadeva simply systematised and helped in the compilation of the *Pañjis*, the roots of which were already there. The history of *Kulinism* in Mithila is yet an unexplored field and it would be profitable to go into the details [16] of the system at some length here.

Kulinism and its effects—

While editing the *Bangaon CP*, [17] Dr. D. C. Sircar has rightly observed—"Another intersting fact revealed by the Bangaon plate is the great importance attached by the local Brāhmaṇas of North Bihar to their relation with a Brāhmaṇa of *Kolāñcha*,.....one of the most renowned sets of the learned

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तस्माद्दन्त मितेऽब्द के द्विजगणेः पञ्जी प्रबन्धः कृतः ॥
तस्माद्दौ द्विज वीमि वंश कलितं यद्विश्व चक्रे पुरा ।
तद्विप्राय समर्पितं सुकृति मे शान्ताय सवार्थि ने ॥
ब्राह्मणानां समुत्पत्तिं सद्विजि कथनं तथा ।
करोति रघुदेवाख्या पाण्डु पञ्जि विनिस्वयम् ।

It appears that *Panjis* were compiled in Śaka 1216 = 1294–95 A. D. In the *Ghaṭakarāja* (P. 14), the date is given as Śaka 1232—1310 A. D.; Cf—R. K. Choudhary—*History of Maithili Literature*.

16. Cf. *TM*. 278—describes Harasiṁha as "the greatest social reformer who organised Maithila society in a new set-up which is yet extant despite its adverse effects."
17. *EI*—XXIX. PP. 52–54.

Brāhmaṇas...Equally interesting is the fact that the reverential attitude of the east Indian Brāhmaṇs towards the Brāhmaṇas of *Kolāñcha*, seems to have been an important factor in the growth of the peculiar social institution, known as *Kulinism*, in north Bihar and Bengal." The *Bangaon CP* stands further supported by the *Panchobh CP*, discovered from the heart of Mithlā in so far as the respect for *Kolāñcha* Brāhmaṇa is concerned. [18] It is believed that a king, named Ādiśūra, invited a number of Brāhmanas, well-versed in the Vedas. Dr. Sircar says—"...no geniune ruler named Ādiśūra is known from the Bengal sources."' [19] The great scholar of Mithilā, Vācaspati Miśra, refers to a ruler Ādiśūra, who flourished in the middle of the 9th century [20] A. D. According to Dr. Sircar this Ādiśūra became famous in the legends regarding thesettlement of *Kolāñcha* Brāhmaṇas in Bengal. He further asserts that the institution of *Kulinism* was borrowed from north Bihar. [21]

The tradition of the five Brāhmaṇas, invited from the sacred land of *Kolañcha*, is the starting point of Kulinism is eastern India. In so far as Mithilā is concerned, the Brāhmaṇas formed a category by themselves and they are said to have migrated to

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18. R. K. Chaudhary—*Select Inscriptions of Bihar.*

19. Sircar—Op. *Cit*—

20. Vacaspati Miśra. *Nyāyakaṇika*—(Benares edition—P. 290—निअ भुज वीर्यमास्थायशूरानादिशूरो जयति—Cf. my *Presidential speech to the first All India Mithila writers' Conference*, Darbhanga—1956—History Section.
Cf.—*Vangiya Sahitya Parishat Parika*—Vol. LVII—P. 68; Vacaspati's known date is V. S. 898—841 A. D.; For Ādiśūra—also Cf. — *History of Bengal* (edited by R. C. Majumdar)— PP. 210-211, Cf.—S. C. Vidyathusanha—*History of Indian Logic*—P. 133—for Vacaspati Miśra, for Śāka Era-etc—Cf.—*JGN JRI.* II. 349-53;

21. Sircar—Op. *Cit*, *Cf*—*PIHRC*—1942; Cf—Risley—*People of India*—P. 215. Cf N. N. Vasu—*Social history of Kāmrupa*—3 vols.; Cf. *HB.* I—635-37.

Assam as early as the Sixth Century A. D. [22] When the Brāhmanas were possibly annoyed at the predominance of the Buddhists in Mithilā, they migrated to Purnea and Assam. The Vaidika *Sampradāyikas* were the earliest Brāhmaṇa settlers of Assam and they are said to have migrated from Mithilā. They still follow the *smrti* rites of Mithlā school in preference to Bengal School. The traditional accounts maintain that a King of Tripura brought five *Vaidika* Brāhmaṇas from Mithilā to assist him in the performance of a *yajña.*[23] The Brāhmaṇas of Mithilā kept alive the orthodox tradition of castes and prided themselves on their purity and claimed to be free from the Buddhistic influence. They looked upon the people of Magadha as impure and when some of the Magadhan social practices and customs crept in, it seems that Ādiśūra, who was ruling somewhere in Mithilā, invited the Brāhmaṇas from the traditional *Kolāncha* and made rigorous rules for the protection of Brāhmanism. Except in cases of religions *Yātrā* or pilgrimage across the Ganges, fresh initiation was necessary. After the institution of *Kulinism* was founded by Ādiśūra, it was thought proper to make grants to the Brāhmanas, who either hailed from *Kolāñcha* or were related to them. Thus the institution of *Kulinism* in Mithilā can be traced to Ādiśura, if not earlier, and it was later systematised by the Karṇāṭas in Mithila and the Senas in

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22. *EI*—XIX. 117-124; Cf. *EI*—II—330 for the Śākadiwipi Brāhmanas and Gayāwala. Also Cf. *EI*-XXI. 219.
Also Cf.—*Vanger Jātiya Itihāsa* (Rājanyakhaṇḍa) P. 95; N. N. Vasa—*Social history of Kāmrupa*—Vol I. P. 117 says—"Ādiśūra or Rāḍha worsted *Śri* Harṣa."

23. Cf. my paper—A *Critical revaluation of the Niddhanpur Cps*—in the *PIHC*—XXII P. 493 ff. Cf. Radhakrishna Choudhary—मिथिलाक संस्कृतिक इतिहास—
Also Cf. N. N. Vasu—*Op. Cit.* III. 63; *EI*—XII. 65 ff; The Nāgara Brāhmanas of Assam are said to have been a section of the Mithila Brāhmanas—
Cf. Risley—*op. cit.* 163; N. N. Vasu—*Vivaakoṣa*—XV. 405 *IHQ*—VII. 743 ff; Vasu—*Kamrupa*—III—81 ff—He gives a long list and detailed history.

Bengal. The *Pañjis* of Mithilā go back to the time of Nānyadeva. [24]

Varṇāśramadharma was, no doubt, the order of the day. Caste system is one of the oldest heritage that has come down to us. The fluidity of the early period ultimately gave way to its crystallisation during the period under review. It is curious that inspite of repeated warnings and successive movements against the rigidity of caste system and priestcraft, the system has grown, spread and has caught napping pratically every aspect of our life in its strangling grip and it appears, as if, it were the inevitable course of destiny. All movements against the system, *Jainism, Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavism,* originated and developed independently but ultimately came to be overpowered by the evils of the system. There is no doubt that caste system is an anachronism in our society. Its rise and development may be traced to the development of the economic system of the country and it has persisted, as such, through the ages. Not only Mithilā, but Bengal, Assam and Orissa have also their own system of *Kulinsm* and all these states were socially and culturally integrated for a greater period in the middle ages. The system of *Panjis,* in one form or the other, exists in all these states even today and a study of these records is yet a desideratum. The mythical hero, Ādiśūra, is equally claimed by all as the real originator of *Kulinism* in their respective states. Since the great philosopher, Vācaspati Miśra, is a Maithila and he lived at the court of Ādiśūra, who seems to have ruled at the north-eastern portion of Mithilā, it may be suggested that he laid the foundation of *Kulinism* in his territory and from there it spread to Bengal and other parts. The Brāhmaṇas in Mithilā were already grouped according to their *gotra* and *pravara* and after the system was organised on sound lines by Ādiśura, the skeleton genealogy came to be maintained as we know that the earliest *Pāñji* goes back to the time of Nānyadeva. Ballālasena in Bengal and Harasimha in Mithila are credited with having

24. *Patna University Journal*—Vol I. No. 2 (1945) P. II, Cf *STA*—424.

organised the system scientifically. [25] According to O'malley, Harasiṁhadeva settled the respective ranks of the three sections of the Maithila subcastes of Brāhmaṇas and made marriage rules for them. [26] It has been held that Harasimha's intention was to encourage religious observancy among the people of his own land [27] and also to manintain the purity of blood by avoiding the forbidden degress of relationship and marriages in strict conformity with the *Śāstric* [28] injunctions.

The Brāhmanas were divided into four subcastes—(i) *Śrotriyas*, (ii) *yogyas*, (iii) *Pañjibadhas* and (iv) the *Jaibāras*. [29] It has been pointed out that "birth, accomplishments and character were the only factors which decided the issue of a social status" [30] and the society adjudged the position of a Maithila Brāhmana on the basis of the approved professions prescribed for them. By its insisternce on the purity of lineage, it was but natural to have emphasised on the importance of birth and personal accomplishment of character. Since Harasimhadeva reorganised the society, he is credited with having laid the foundation of *Maithila Kulinism* with the help of his minister, Suryakara Thākur, [31] known as *Lekhi* in the

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25. Cf. *MD* I. 64; *MTV*—136–143; *MD* I. 184; N. N. Vasu—*op. cit.*—II. 162–63, J. H. Hutton — *Caste in India*—(O. U. P. 1951)

26. Cf. *Indian Caste Customs*–P. 57, Cf. Wilson–*Indian Caste* II. 206. Risley—*Castes and Tribes of Bengal*—Introduction : E. A. H. Blunt—*The Caste System of Northern India* (1931) P. 45; and Also Risley—*Ethnographic Appendices* P. 176

27. *JBORS*—III. 516; Cf. *PUJ*—I (No. 2.)—P. 11.

28. *JBRS*—XXXIII. 55, Cf. *TM.* 357 ff, *ST*—63, For mythical stories etc—Cf. *Ghaṭakarāja*—P. 14 ff.

29. Cf. *Ghatakarāja*—P. 17 ff—for details

30. *Hariharasuktimuktavali*—PP. 32. Cf. *Mithilānka*—PP. 69, 151

31. N. N. Vasu—*op. cit.* (Kamrupa. II–158 ff) has dwelt at length the history of the family of Śridharadās. The account given here is thoroughly confusing and can not be relied upon because the Mithila *Panjis* of the Karanakāyasthas maintain a true picture of his familiy. Sri Bhola Lal Das has

Mithilā *Pañji* (indicating an officer). According to N.N. Vasu, he was the chief minister of Harasiṁhadeva and was well-known to all students of the social history of Mithilā. The custom of recording genealogical accounts and measures

given a fitting reply to the points raised by N. N. Vasu. The main points raised by N. N. Vasu are :—

(i) Batudāsa was appointed the Viccroy of East Bengal by Ballālasena (P. 159).

(—Cf. बटु गेल वल्लाल पक्षे—Dhakur by Kāsidasa).

(ii) Śridharadāsa, youngest son of Batudas, acquired fame by compiling *Suktikarṇāmṛta*—

—Vasu ditinguisthes between Śridhardāsa and Śridhara Thakur but that runs counter to the Maithila *Paṇji* versions—

(iii) Vijayasena gave Nānyadeva the army with help of which he occupied the territory of Mithila. Nānyadeva was accompanied by the brave warrior Śridhara Thākur (P. 160). He interprets the Andhrathārhi inscription in his own way and translates the second line as... "by Śridhara thc effulgent sun among the lotus like Kshatriyas of Bengal—" (P. 161).

(iv) Bodhidāsa (a great poet and a sage, referred to by Vidyāpati in his *PP*) is shown here as a son of Śridharadāsa (P. 162)—his son is shown as Ānandakara sad his son as Śuryakara.

(v) Suryakara, succeeded by Pritikara Laksminātha whose son was Amṛtakara, minister of Sivasiṁha—(P. 164.) Amṛtakara had two sons—Vijayakara and Nityakara. Vijayakara's grandson Kṛṣṇakara Thākur was the minister of Kaṁsanārāyaṇa. Of the two sons of Nityakara, Narhari Dāsa was a Śākta and used to visit Kāmākhya—

(vi) Rājā Viśwasiṁha (of Kāmrupa) is said to have brought a scholarly Brāhmana, Sarvabhauma Thākur, to his court. At the instance of Sarvabhauma Thākur Viśwasiṁha brought Narahari to Kāmrupa and appointed him as chief minister (P. 165). Narahari had

to preserve them were instituted. The task of keeping the records of the Brāhmaṇa families and those of the Karaṇa Kāyasthas of Mithilā were entrusted to scholarly Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas respectively. Such persons are even today honoured and respected as *Pañjikāras*. The names of Raghudeva Jha and Suryakara Thākur will go down in the social history of Mithilā for their immense contribution to the systematisation of *Kulinism*. It is a curious phenomenon that the social heirarchy with its carefully regulated marks of honour apportioned to each family prevails even today among the Brāhmanas and the Kāyasthas. The two *"mulas"*, *Balāin* (Saptā Derā) and *"Biarasaṅ"* (Kharajpura Dera) are still held in high esteem among the Kāyasthas as are the *Śrotiya* and *Yogyas* in the *Brāhmaṇ* social heirarchy. [32] Śri Ghanānand Jha has given a long list of the Brāhmaṇas' social heirarchy according to the *Gotra*, *Pravara* and *Mūla*. Under (i) Śāṇḍilya Gotra, there are 42 *mūlas*; (ii) Kāśyapagotra, there are 29, (iii) Vatsagotra, 36; (iv) Śāvarṇyagotra, 5; (v) Kātyāyanagotra, 4; (vi) Parāsaragotra

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two sons *viz.*, Rāmadāsa and Payonidhi. Rāmadāsa remained in the State service of Mithila (p. 166) while Payonidhi had two sons at Kāmrupa *viz.*, Kavikarnapura and Kavindrapatra.

(vii) Kavindrapatra caused fourteen Kāyastha families to be brought from Mithila (P. 167),—reconstructed the society on the lines of Maithila Kulinism at Kāmrupa (P. 168)

—As I have pointed out earlier these names usually run counter to the ones maintained in the *Pañjis* of Mithila. About seven decades ago, the grandfather of the writer of these lines, Late Shyamlal Choudhary, travelled all over Bengal, Assam and Orissa and collected and collated the details regarding the *Panjis* of the *Karana* Kayasthas, but unfortunately for us those records are now missing, though the genealogical list of the writer of these lines is yet preserved. For the Kāyāstha's, account consult *op. cit.* Vol I–P. 179 ff.

32. Cf. *Alayikulaprakāśa*, *Ghatakaraja* etc–; *MD* and *MTV* for details.

11; (vii) Bhārdwājagotra, 9; (viii) Gautamagotra, 8; (ix) Gārgyagotra, 3; (x) Kauśikagotra, 1; (xi) Kṛṣṇātreyagotra, 3; (xii) Vasiṣṭhagotra, 3; (xiii) Kauṇḍiyagotra, 1; (xiv) Viṣṇubridhigotra, 1; (xv) Maudgalyagotra, 5; (xvi) Alaṁbukākṣa, 2; (xvii) Upamanyu, 1; (xviii) Taṇḍigotra, 2 and (xix) Kapilagotra, 1 *mūlas*.[33] Among the important Brāhmaṇa *mulas* are (i) Dighwai, (ii) Sarisave, (iii) Pagulavāra, (iv) Khaḍaure; (v) Gangaulivāra; (vi) Yajuāḍe; (vii) Dahibhata, (viii) Sodarapur, (ix) Chativana, (x) Hariamaya, (xi) Takabālley, (xii) Ghusaute; (xiii) Palivāra, (xiv) Tisaute; (xv) Fannaivāra, (xvi) Karamahe, (xvii) Sakarivāra; (xviii) Oinwāra; (xix) Khauvāḍe, (xx) Bahaḍivāra; (xxi) Darihare, (xxii) Belouṅche, (xxiii) Budhavāḍa, (xxiv) Kusumāre; (xxv) Jajjuāle, (xxvi) Ekhare; (xxvii) Paḍue; (xxviii) Uchitavāḍe, (xxix) Valiyāse, (xxx) Jalaivāra; (xxxi) Maḍare; (xxxii) Satalakhe; (xxxiii) Bisaivāra; (xxxiv) Aḍaivāra, (xxxv) Pañchobhei; (xxxvi) Nikutavāra; (xxxvii) Sarouni, (xxxviii) Naroune; (xxxix) Naravale; (xl) Kujoulivāra; (xli) Vasahai; (xlii) Suragaṇaya; (xliii) Siṅghasane: (xliv) Bhaḍarisame and (xlv) Sakune etc.[34] Among the Maithilā Karaṇakāyasthas, the main gotra is Kāśyapa and among the important *mūlas* [35] are (i) Balāin; (ii) Bıara; (iii) Śīśava; (iv) Koṭhīpāla; (v) Naurańgavālī, (vi) Paklī; (vii) Vattikavāla; (viii) Mahuni; (ix) Mānadichcha; (x) Basantapura, (xi) Aṭahara; (xii) Gaḍhakaba; (xiii) Oya, (xiv) Gaḍhanidhi—all in order of social heirarchy set up in Mithilā by Harasiṁhadeva. Among the Kāyasthas, these are classed as *Śrotiyamulas*; the same mulas are again classed as *Jaibāra* mulas and there was third section also. They were generally classed as *Bhalamānuṣa* and *Gṛhasthas*. It is further believed that *Vaiśyas* also had their own *Pañjis* and some such *Vaiśyas* are said to be yet extant near the Rahariyā (a railway station in the district of Saharsa). Their (these Vaisyas') *Aśvajanapatras* are written on the *Marwā* at the time of marriage. It is further believed that the system

33. *Ghatakarāja*—18—23.

34. *Ibid*—28 38.

35. Ibid—39 ff;—Cf *MD*—Parts I and II;

of Kulinism was also adopted by the Ksatriyas and Rājaputas of Mithilā. [36] The Gopas are also said to have adopted it during the time of Harasiṁhadeva.[37]

This system was followed with strict accuracy since its inception and anybody could improve his social status by establishing marital relationship with the upper class *mulas* (known as *Pātas* in colloquial terminology). Mm. Pandit Hari Miśra and Vacaspati Miśra have duly laid emphasis on the *kuladharma* and *kulina* aspect of the society. Those who fail to establish marital relationship with the *mulas* of equal status for at least three generations came to be downgraded either in maternal or paternal side and ultimately came to be reckoned as a *Gṛhastha* or fallen from the original track. If a man of the lower *mula* continued to establish marriage relations with the upper class *mulas*, his social status came to be upgraded in due course and this could be done through a system known as *Vyavasthā* or the price paid for either coming down or going up in the inverse ratio or even *vice-versa*. The custom of the *Siddhānta* ceremony is still prevalent amongst the Brāhmaṇas and Kayasthas of Mithilā. Sabhāgāchi marriages are yet in vogue. The *Paṅjikāras* issue the *Aśwajanapatras* to the contracting parties. They maintain the genealogical tables of each and every family and before the marriage negotiations are finalised, they consult the *Pañjikaras* and when the clearance certificate is given out, only then the negotiations are finalised. In the case of the Brāhmanas, the marriage permit was to be signed by the ruling authority, *i. e.*, the Śrotriya ruler of Mithilā. [38] Thakur's suggestions that the same *mūlas* were thrust upon the Kāyasthas do not stand in view of the facts stated above.[39]

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36. *Ibid*. 45–46—The book is said to have been in possession of Babu Narasiṁha Prasād Śimha of Bhaddi-Durgapur, Pathar ghat, (Saharsa) from where it was taken away by Shyam Sundar Mahārāja, a Bhāṭa, of Ālamanagar, Saharsa.

37. *Ibid*—47.

38. *JBORS*—III. 516 ff—for details.

39. *TM*—362.

The system, thus organised, introduced the system of *mula* in Tirhut. *Mula* indicated either the original homeland or the territorial unit of the *Bijipuruṣa*. It is doubtful, if anyone else except the Brāhmaṇa had his specific gotra at that time. Other castes adopted the *gotras* either of the family priests or the *gotras* were thrust upon to bring them under the Brahmanical scheme. Territorial names for the exogamus sections are curiously mixed up with the names preserving the memory of a chief who founded the section within the historic times. *Kula* and *Mula* express a circle of agnatic descent, and a man of the same *mula* was not allowed to marry a girl of his own *mula*. Risley has pointed out that wherever exogamy based on *mula* conflicts with that based on *gotra*, the *mula* prevailed over the *gotra*. [40]

40. Risley—*op. Cit*,—Lii-Lviii—; Risley says—"....the ancestors from whom the members of the *Kula* are supposed to be descended is much less remote in point of time than the mythic progenitor of the Brāhmanical gotra, or semihistoric eponym of the Rājput clan (P. Lvi)... Similar groups exist under the name of *mula* among the *Baes*, a cultivating caste of North Bhagalpur,... these groups are small and very numerous in relation to the size of the caste. A *Panjiār* of the *Bais* claims to have in his possession registers recording the alliances of three hundred families—" (Lvii) —; Cf P. xlix—relating to marriage etc.—

Cf, Wilson—*op. cit.* ; O'Malley—*op. cit.*

Risley has pointed out though a chart Proposita herself does not belong to any of the three *mulas A, B, D* which are barred on the man's side but her maternal grand father belonged to the *D mula*, which is barred for Propositus—; consequently marriage can not take place. The *mula* of *Propositaś* maternal grandfather is not taken into account—

Paternal	Paternal	Maternal	Maternal
Grandfather	*Grandmother*	*Grandfather*	*Grandmother*
A	D	E	D
Father	Mother	Father	Mother
A	B	P	E
→ Propositus ←		→ Proposita ←	
A		P	

(*Ibid* P. lvii) Also—Cf. *Ghatakarāja*—

Among the Karaṇa Kāyasthas of Mithilā, the gotra being the same (Kāśyapagotra), *Samula* marriage is strictly prohibited. Since the introduction of this system marriages came to be performed within the forbidden degrees of relationship and it was obligatory for every person to get a certificate of non-relationship (*Aśwajanapatra*) between the two contracting parties from the *Pañjikāras*. This led to the institution of a class of *Ghaṭakas* or marriage negotiators, [41] who had little scruples in indulging in unfair means. Since the keeping of the family genealogies (*Pañjis*) assumed gigantic proportions, the influence of the *Panjikāras* increased immensely and they too, like the *Ghaṭakas*, indulged in extorting money. A critical and scientific study of these *Pañjis*, yet a desideratum, will reveal to us many relevant points relating to the history of Mithilā. Grierson consider the *Panji* records as one of the most extraordinary series in existence. [42] The *Ghatakas*, no doubt, play a very prominent part in the marriage negotiations and they have rightly received a funny place in Maithili literature even in modern times. [43]

The system of Kulinism had its evil effects on the maithila society. It helped the growth of conservative outlook and retarded the social progress to an extent that even today Mithilā has not been able to free herself from its baneful influence. Having no prospect of any political progress, the maithila mind was diverted towards the purity of race and culture and the system, in question, afforded good food for their intellectual diversions. Risley has rightly called the Maithila *Kulinas* as

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41. Cf. *VR*—P. 27—नारदक सहोदर अइसनि घटक
Cf. *VR*-P. 64—विवाह वर्णना—गोत्रमेलापकमउ पूगयज्ञोपवीत द्वान निर्व्वहु—आठहुका योनमध्य उतमयोन निर्वहु——तदनन्तर गोत्रप्रवरक अनुगति अग्निसन्धाने सदक्षिण कन्यादान निर्व्वहु । —It indicates that the genealogical *Panjis* were highly valued. In his *Dhūrtasamāgama*, he mentions about himself as "पल्लीजन्म भूमिना"

42. *IA*—1885 (July). P. 187,

43. Cf. Baidyanath Misra "Yātrī" (Popularily known as Nagarjuna) —*Buḍhabara.*

"*Bikauā*" or vendors who married sometimes as many as fifty wives. [44] The *Kulinas* married only for the sake of the girl of lower families and this ultimately led to the emergence of a worst type of polygamy. Daughters of the *Gṛhastas* were sold away for monetary gains and most of them turned widows in no time. The system gave impetus to child marriage and the whole of maithili literature is replete with such references. [45] At that time there was a regular contact between Mithilā and Bengal and Chaitanyadeva's second wife was a maithila lady. The Bengali titles, *Bhāduri* and *Ganguli*, are said to have been derived from the Maithila *mulas*. [46]

Vidyāpati's View

Vidyāpati was a strong supporter of the system of Kulinism. He was opposed to intercaste marriage or such marriage alliances as ran counter to the established principles of the land. [47] His strict attitude on the rigidity of the social system is clearly perceptible in his poetry and other works. '*Akulina*' deserves no sympathy and even the beauty was the preserve of the rich and the honoured class. [48] Caste was the determining factor in all aspects of social life. According to Vidyāpati, a man born of infamous lineage was bound to turn out evil minded sneak. [49] According to our poet, a country, where caste rules are not observed, is a *mlechcha* country. [50] His encyclopaedic writings are the mirrors of the Maithila social life. The most important and the baneful effect of *Kulinism* was that it killed the initiative of

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44. Risley—*op. cit.*—Vol I. P. 440.

45. Cf. Ram Ekbal Singh Rakesh—*Maithili Lokegeet*; Cf. Lakhima's view—in chapter on "Literature."

46. Gf.—*Ghatakarāja*; *MTV*—for details.

47. Cf. *Kirtilatā*—P. 16—जाति अजातिक विवाह अधम उत्तम काँ पारक

48. Cf. *MM*—No, 459—कवहु न होअए जाति व्यभिचार
No. 458—अकुलिन सयं यदि कए सदभाव
Cf. *PP*—Tale 6.
Also Cf. S.N. Thakur—*Nos* 4, 40, 43—

49. *PP*—Tale 13;

50. *Dānvākyāvali*. PP. 10–11.

the large mass of populace whose interest now lay not in the society as a whole but in their own sections.

The system, as a whole, had staggering effects on the society of Mithila though we have three divergent views on the subject by three Maithila scholars of our time. Dr. Jayakant Miśra says—"The *Panji-prabandha* is one of the most important forces in Maithila life..... A sympathetic appreciation of the old custom, which has in the past played an important part in preserving social order and encouraged a healthy rivalry for virtuous and noble life, should, however, prevent us from merely condemning it blindly." [51] Prof. Ramānāth Jha observes—,. "(It) constitutes an important landmark in the history of Mithilā. It was primarily a measure of social re-organisation designed to conserve the purity of the Maithila race and to uphold the distinctive characteristic of Maithila culture, but it set up such new standards of social values that in effect it revolutionised the entire outlook of society and shaped the future destiny of Mithilā. . . . it has weathered—all the storms that have blown over Mithilā without its roots being shaken, much less uprooted." [52] Upendra Thakur [53] says—"...(it) instead of proving a boon spelt severe curses on the society and caused devastating impact on the morale of the people.—..."

"(i) disintegrated it (society) to the core, fostered bitter jealousy and hatred amongst the newly constituted sub-classes within a class...

(ii) matrimonial alliances turned into monetary alliances.

(iii) Growing demoralisation and the more and more hatred of one section against another infested the very soul of the society."

There can be hardly any ground for any doubt that the propounder of the system was a zealous reformer. His reforms, then no doubt, saved the Maithila society from being polluted by

51. *HML*—I. 31.

52. *Hariharasuktamuktāvali*—P. 30,

53. *TM*—362–364.—For a clear and class enunciation of this system, see an article in the *JBORS*—III—by the late Maharājādhirāja of Darbhanga, Sir Rameśwara Simha.

the foreigners who were frequenting Mithilā from every nook and corner. The system had, no doubt, its good points but the time and circumstances combined to degrade it to a status from where it was impossible to rise up. There were already class and caste divisions and the system further created classes within class. Since the king was both the religious and secular head, his pleasure and displeasure could account for the degradation or elevation of any one. His kindness to the Brāhmanas is evident from a number of sources.[53a] Though drinking of wine was not allowed to the Brāhmaṇas, it was laid down that he would suffer no loss of caste or position if drinking was necessary for saving his life.[54] According to a muslim source, the Brāhmaṇas were the very keys of the chamber of idolatory.[55] The traditional love for Vedic injunctions was emphasised.[56] Like all other traditional thinkers, Vidyāpati believed in the maintenance of social status quo and advised persons to stick to his own vocation.[57] Purely scriptural arguments were put forward for this social inequality.[58] The earlier flexibility of *kulinism* disappeared in no time and exaggerated importance came to attached to person born in high *mulas*. This was bound to result in rivalry among the various groups and this continues even to this day in some form or other and its degeneration came to be discerned in all walks of life and are perceptible even today.

The system of *Kulinism* had a wider appeal at its very start. It was borrowed and strictly adopted by the peoples of Bengal and Assam, though Risley believes that only the Brāhmaṇas borrowed it in Bengal.[59] The Bengāli *Kulapanjikā* texts are

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53a. Cf. *RR*—61.

54. Cf. *PP*.—Tale, 17.

55. Cf. *ED*—III. 366.

56. Cf. Umāpati—*Pārijātaharaṇanātaka*—P. 30 (Grierson's edition)

57. *MM* No 45—कएलेधन्धेधरम दुर जाए—Cf. *PP*.—P. 63—"Not by error should there be association of the good with the wicked."

58. Nerukar—111; Cf. Carpentier—*op. cit.*—P. 321.

59. Risley—*op. cit.* I. 215; Also Cf. Girindanath Datta—The *Kāyasthas and Brāhmaṇas of Bengal* (1906) for details.

indebted to the rules prescibed by Hari Miśra and Vacaspati Miśra. [60] Their indebtedness to Maithila *Smriti* rites is evident from the influence that Mithila excercised over Bengal. [61] Bengal *kulaji* texts came to be compiled after the second half of the 15th century A. D., while the Maithila compilation took place in the early years of the 14th century A. D., if not earlier. The system of keeping genealogical records among the kāyastha of Assam was borrowed from Mithilā.[62] It was Kavindrapatra (a Maithila) who reconstructed the *Panji* of the Kāyasthas of Kāmrupa and Kayastha titles of these two regions also tally to a great extent. It is believed that the *Panjis* were in existence in Mithilā during the days of Nānyadeva and if the ascription has any value, then the legendary ascription of Kulinism to Ballālasena does not stand. According to J. K. Miśra[63]— "It may be pointed out that the text on which Bengali tradition makes Ballālasena distinguish persons as *Kulinas* is that of Vacaspati Miśra who flourished in about the 15th century and thus further confuses the early origin of Bengal Kulinism. It is not known when exactly kulinism went to Bengal, but from what we know of the relations of Bengal and Mithilā during the 14th—16th centuries, it seems possible that it went there when the Bengali Scholars used to haunt Mithilā....." It may be mentioned here that names of the women do not occur, though in some of the Brāhmana *Panjis*, the daughters are recorded not in the families of their birth but in those of their marriages. The Mahārājādhirāja of Darbhanga had a religious sanctity and he was called a *Mithileśa* and he could make any Brāhmaṇa a Śrotriya by virtue of the authority vested in him. It is not yet clear when the present grouping actually came into being. The *Paṅjis* simply indicated a line to be followed and gradually complications grew. The original *panjis* are now hardly available and even if they are, they are so techincally written that

60. For relevant quotations regarding *Vara-Kanyā*—see *Ghatakarāja*—PP. 47–48.

61. *HB*—I. 624–25.

62. N. N. vasu—*op. Cit.* II. 168.

63. *HML*—I—28. *Fn.* 78.

they practically prove to be a sealed book for a lay man. With the preponderance of the *Pañjikāras* and the *Ghatakas* (rightly compared to Nārada), the *Pañji* literature, enormous in size and content, has been made more and more intricate. This intricate system is now rapidly growing out of date, though the Sabhāgāchi negotiations are still extant. Custom dies hard and in case of Mithilā it dies harder still.

The Kulinism in Mithilā led to excessive orthodoxy and empty formalism. Distinctions created a barrier between a man and a man and a violation of the new social rules led to social ostracism. The newly created class prided itself on its purity. Except for the purposes of *Piṇḍadāna*, going southward across the Ganges came to be regarded as low and impure. If such journey ever occurred, fresh initiation was necessary. The Brāhmaṇa law-givers wrote various gloss on the *Smritis* containing rules with a view to tightening the social system. Relation between castes and various other social groups came to be governed by the rules of endogamy. Acceptance of cooked food from other caste groups was interdicted and pursuit of hereditary profession was insisted upon. Even different castes were discouraged from living together. Over and above these stringent social regulations, wealth was the criterion of social status and prestige. [64]. According to Vidyāpati, it was in money alone that a household hath its roots. [65] Wealth determined the wisdom of a man [66] and with its disappearance, vanished all the good qualities of a human being. [67] The villains, serfs and rustics could not distinguish between gold, diamond and glass. [68] It hints at the ignorance of the village folks. It was the wealth and wealth alone that made the life of a man success ful. The traditional idealised contented poverty of the Brāh-

64. Cf. *MM*—No. 460—धनिक क आदर सबका होए
निरधनवापुर पुछय न कोए

65. *PP.* Tale 6—Cf. जावे धनरह अपना हाथ, तावे आदर कर संग साथ ।—
Cf, *PP.* (Pāthak) 86-7.

66. *MM*—No. 494—वैभवगेला रहत विवेक, तैसन पुरुष लाखे माहएक ।

67. *Ibid*—No. 461—वैभवगेले भलाहुमंदि भास, आपन पराभव पर उपहास ।

68. Cf. कांच कनक लए गांथगमार—

maṇas did not find favour during the period under review as we see that they enjoyed immense power and pelf and controlled the destiny of the kingdom in Mithilā. They constituted a a small section of the society and for them wealth constituted a major success in life. In that respect, materialism was gaining ground and under its influence the puritanic indifference towards wealth gave place to a love for the same. In this scheme, Bhavanātha Miśra Ayāchi was an exception to the general [69] rule. Mm. Harihara, deviating from the traditional ideal, states categorically that riches alone make the life of a man successful here on the earth. [70] Without wealth, the full enjoyment of life was impossible. [71] Vidyāpati further gives a note of caution and says that one should not cast greedy look over others' wealth as greedy persons fail to command respect in the society. [72]

III

Evils of Poverty

In his writings, our poet has rightly emphasised the evils of poverty in the society. The two main classes in the society were the rich and the poor. Poverty was one of the main causes of economic troubles and social immorality and our poet bears ample testimony to this fact.[73] According to Vidyāpati, poverty brings in its train the following evils in the society :—

69: *Hariharasuktimuktāvali*—XII. 25

70. *Ibid*—P. 37 (Introduction)

71. *MM*—*No.* 267—एहि महो आधे अथिर जीवन
जउवन अलप काल
इथि जत जतन विलसि अ
सेरह हृदय साल

72. *Ibid*—No. 48—एतकन्हाइ पर धन लोभ
जेनहिं लुबुध सेहेपय सोभ ।

73. *PP*—Tales 5, 35.—Politics and economics were closely interlinked and both influenced each other in the then situation. Political conditions had repercussions on the socio–econonic life.

(i) It yoketh men to sin
(ii) maketh men commit theft
(iii) teacheth knavery
(iv) hunger
(v) desire for the unobtained
(vi) complaining language
(vii) garrulity
(viii) unreasonable awkwardness.

Vidyāpati's writings owed their origin to the social needs of the people of Mithilā. His *Maheśavāṇīs* and other songs depict the life of the common folk. The depiction of the life of a Mahā deva is nothing but a fine representation of the life of a poor common householder of Mithilā. [74] The condition of a common man of Mithilā. as described by Vidyāpati in the 15th century, holds good even today. [75] A poor man lived in broken thatched houses, mostly in delapidated condition, and there was hardly any certainty about his two meals. The neighbours were so crude as not to lend even a pie. There was no way

74. Cf. Narendranath Das—*Vidyāpati Kāvyāloka*—PP. 29–30.

टुटले फुटले मड़ैया अधिक सोहाओन हे ।
ताहि पर बैसलि गौरी मनहिमन झांखति हे ।
मांगि चांगि लएला महादेव तमा दुई धान हे ।
× × ×
अधहन देलनि चढ़ाय पैंच जोहय गेली हे ।
एहन नगर के लोक पैंचो नहिं दिअय हे ।
× × ×

Cf. *MM*—No. 594–टाट टुटल आंगन, बेकतसवे परदा राख
—Arrangements were made so that the rich may sleep secure within their place. Vidyāpati has rightly asserted that nobody was above temptation—Cf—कनक कमल हेरि काहि न लोभ ।

75. For a similar study—Cf—R. S. Tiwary—"*Soeial pieture in the Satsai of Bihārilāl*"—in the *JASB* (Letters)—XXIV. No. 1–PP. 13–19.

Cf. *MM* No. 777—कखन हरब दुख मोर हें भोलानाथ,
दुखहि जनम भेल दुखहि गमायब
सुख सपनेहु नहि भेल हे भोलानाथ ।

out but to curse the lot and to pray to god for an early deliverance from this curse. The initiative to revolt against the unjust exploitation was skilfully diverted towards God, who, it was made to believe, could alone relieve them from distress. The economic divisions in the society were attributed to fate.[76] It need hardly be emphasised that our poet was pained to see the glaring social inequalities and his pathetic lines show the extent of misery that a common man had to experience while the rich persons were rolling in wealth. There was no end to peoples' misery.[77] The poor people were subjected to all kinds of extortion and exploitation. At times they were even deprived of their vocations or means of maintenance. The social ine-

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76. केओ सुखे सुतैये केओ दुखे जाग।
अपन अपन धिक भिन भिन भाग॥

77. Cf. *MM* No. 726—सखि हे, हमर दुखक नहिं ओर।
Cf. Ram Ekbal Singh Rakesh–*Maithili Lokegeet*–PP. 161–62
कहलो न जाइछह भोला विपतिक हाल
× × ×
माय बाप धए गेलक फिकिर जंजाल—
× × ×
एकटा पुतर छिका तिनि जेहेन काल
राजा नगर से त दिहलन निकाल
रोजी पूजी छीन लेलक घर धन माल
× × ×
सुनि तेरो नाम जसदिन प्रतिपाल
तोहरे चरन पर टेकब कपाल
भनहि विद्यापति सुनु हे कंगाल
एक बेरि भोला हेरथुन होजएब निहाल
Cf—*Kavita Kaunmudi*–P. 855.
हे भोला बाबा केहन कयलौ दीन
खेती पथारी भोला सेहो लेलौ छीन
भाई सहोदर सेहो भगेल भीन
घर में न खरची बाहर न मिले रीन
गांव के मालिक न पड़ैदहय नीन
एकगो लोटा छलइ भाई भेलइ तीन
पनिया पिवइत काल होइयै छीना छीन—
× × ×

quality can be gleaned through the mass of contemporary vernacular literature. Beggary was an important social evil and Mahādeva was the greatest beggar. The social attitude is reflected in Gauris's request to Mahādeva for giving up this bad habit as there was no respect for poor man in the society. [78]

In the face of such an economic equilibrium, the potentialities in an ordinary human being remained unexploited. The diversion of such huge potentialities towards other end stood in the way of balanced social development. In a poverty-stricken, undoubtedly man-made, society, an ordinary human being was nothing more than a fallen [79] creature and if he, at all, wanted to rise above this state of affairs, he should turn his attention towards God. While the wealthy persons tried to preserve what they had, the poor became an object of pity. [80] While the rich persons had finer cots, the poor had to remain content with a mat. [81] Persons of means were advised not to have associations with the poor as the latter was devoid of wisdom. [82] It was through the idea of *Dharma* that a general contentment was seen prevailing among the people whose initiative was not allowed to take shape and the poor people were advised

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78. Cf. *MM*—No. 38–आसा लुबुधल न तेज ए रे, कृपन क पाछु भिखारि
Gouri's request–No. 797–निरधन जनबोलि सबे उपहासए, नहिं आदर अनुकम्पा

79. *Ibid*—No. 774–हम नर अधम परम पतिता
No. 775–हम निरदीस अनाथे ।

80. *Ibid*—No. 350–निधन कां जओं धन किछु होए, करए चाह उछाह ।

81. *Ibid*–No. 56-आएल बइसलि पाव पोआर, सेजक कहिनी पुछए विचार ॥
ओछाओन खण्डतरि पलिया चाह, आओर कहब कत अहिरिनि नाह ॥

82. *Ibid*–No, 117–पसु क संगहुन जनम गमाओल सेकि बुझथि रतिरंग
मधुजामिनी मोर आज विफलगेल, गोप गमारक संग
No. 660–जाति गोआलिन हीन मतिहीन, कुजनक पिरीत मरन अधीन
हाहा विहिमोर एत दुख देल, लाभक लागि मूल डुबि गेल ।
कवि विद्यापति इह अनुमान, कुकुरक लांगुल न होए समान ॥
Cf. *PP* (G)–P. 63
Also Cf.–No. 361—गामक वसले बोलिय गमार, नगरहु नागर बोलिअ असार

to stand by their *Dharma* or duty.[83] The king was the upholder of the previlaing socio-economic system. Provisions were made secure for monarchy without any right of rebellion on the part of the subjects against him if he turned otherwise. The only consolation to the people was that if he violated *Dharma*, the outraged law would avenge itself on a tyrant in a second and inevitable birth.[84] That is why the political thinkers attached so much importance to non-violence.[85] Social stigma was attached to every act in Mithilā. The *VR* tells us about the luxury and poverty, the old and established notions and institutions, the oddities and frivolities. the social inequality and so on. The chief possession of a poor man was his misery.[86] The lower social classes were despised and looked down upon. Forced by the circumstances and the pressure of poverty, the lower classes took recourse to bad means of living. This economic inequality led to the establishment of a resigned social attitude and it came to be embedded in the daily life of an ordinary Maithila. That aspect is perceptible in the vast mass of folk literature and is in keeping with the tradition of the age of Vidyāpati.[87]

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83. *Ibid*—No. 45—कतबेर साजनि कि कहब बुझाए, कएले धन्धे धरम दुर जाए।
Cf. Carpentier-*op. cit*—P. 321; *PP* (N)-111;-

84. Nerukar-115—Plotting against king was considered a sin.
—Cf. F. W. Thomas-*op. cit.*—PP. 9—10.

85. Nerukar-112—For sentiments of Vidyāpati on non-Violetnce.
Cf. Amir Khusro-*KK*-709 for Hindu sentiments on non-Violenee.

86. *PP*—Tale 13.

87. Cf. *JBRS*—XXXIII-62-63.
—कोकटीक धोती पटुआ साग। तिरहुति गीत बड़ए अनुराग।
सुन्दर अमओट फोका मखान। खिरसा केर लडुवी पकवान।
जड़ी इसरगत कर में वान्ह। अपना अपनी कुल अभिमान।
देवी उपासन सभ केओ जान। पाबनि सराही चौठी चान।
कदली थम्हक भोजन पात। क्रिया कर्म में उज्ज्वल हात।
दही क सौखी सकलो देश। धर्म कर्म रत रहए नरेश।
गप्पक रसिया कर एन कार। सब दुखक औषध फलहार।
भाव भरल पर तरुणी रूप। एतवे तिरहुत होइछ अनुप।

IV

The strength and weakness of the Maithila culture, nay of entire Indian culture, in its social aspect can, at best, be studied through the institutions of castes and subcastes.

Castes and Professions

The system engendered snobbishness and pride among the higher castes and, at the same time it induced a spirit of inferiority and servility among the lower castes. On the national plane, it hindered the development of a common humanity. During the period, under review, the system came to be more and more crystallised and the only guarantee for social stability. Men were often to suffer present evil for the hope of future gain and the institution of caste held out such hopes both here and hereafter. This aspect is present in almost all the writings of our poet and other contemporary writers of the period. It may be borne in mind here that the traditional theory relating to the professions was not strictly adhered to, as was envisaged in the system. During our period, numerous castes and subcastes existed and, like their predecessors in the field, the Maithila *Nibandhakāras* tried to fit in these numerous castes within the framework of the traditional four *varṇas*. Relying on the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Vidyapati has pointed out that a country is a *mlecha* country where the caste rules are not observed. [88] One should follow the path of the Vedas as that was the only way of righteousness. [89]

The social structure, as envisaged in the *Smriti* works of Caṇḍeśwara, Vidyāpati and Vācaspati, consists of the four primary castes, *viz*, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śudras and an indefinite number of despised castes.

Brāhmaṇas

The Brāhmaṇas were the most privileged in the contemporary social heirarchy. They had certain special prerogatives. According to a contemporary muslim authority, the Brāhmaṇas were the very keys of idolatory and the infidels were dependent on them. [90] Drinking of wine amounted to the loss of caste for a Brāhmaṇa, but in case of incurable disease where such drinking was necessary for

88. *Dānavākyāvali*–PP 10–11.; Cf. *PP*–Tales 13, 17, *ED*–III. 366.
89. *Pārijataharaṇa* (Grierson's edition)–p. 30.
90. *ED*—III. 366.

saving Brāhmaṇa's life, it was laid down that he would suffer no loss of caste. [91] Cows and Brāhmaṇas were venerated and if a Brāhmaṇa could save a cow in exchange of his own life, paradise was reserved [92] for him. Caṇḍeśwara says—"From sunrise to sunset a Brāhmaṇa should not remain idle for an instant, and he should devote himself to his compulsory, occasional and optional duties, as well as other blameless occupations." [93] According to the *GR*, [94] one who has studied the whole Veda should repeat the same from the beginning, one who has studied a portion of the Vedas should repeat only the *Puruṣasūkta* (*RV*-X. 90) and similar texts, while one, who has studied only the *Gāyatrī*, should repeat the *Purāṇas*. In Mithilā, the Brāhmaṇas formed a category by themselves and during the period, under review, they were the most powerful feudal-lords. Caṇḍeśwara has quoted a passage from Devala regarding the eight grades of Brāhmaṇas, (cf. the *Dānaratnākara*). He advised consultations with the Brāhmaṇas before taking a decision. The changing situation compelled Caṇḍeśwara, in conformity with the views of Lakṣmīdhara, to concede that no sin was incurred by tilling the soil, if the Brāhmaṇa agriculturist paid one-sixth of the produce as tax to the king, one-twentieth to the Gods, and one-thirtieth to the Brāhmaṇas. [95] Vardhamāna, in his *Daṇḍaviveka* (quoted earlier) has enumerated the privileges enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas. During our period, the Brāhmaṇas also acted as ministers and Commanders-in-Chief. The Oinwāra rulers were themselves Brāhmaṇas.

Kṣatriyas

The *Kṣatriyas* came next in the social heirarchy. They had the right to wield weapons for the purpose of protecting the people. The *Kṣatriyas* came to be identified with the ruling families and the *GR* defines the duties of a *Kṣatriya*. All ruling classes were classed as *Kṣatriyas* [96] and Jyotiriśwara enume-

91. *PP*—Tale 17.
92. *Ibid*—Tale 31.
93. *GR*—134.
94. *Ibid*—249.
95. *Ibid*—430-431.
96. *VR*—61.

rates a long list of Kṣatriyas in his *Rajaputra-kulavarṇanā*—e.g. *Somavaṁśa, Sūryavaṁśa, Ḍoḍa, Chausi, Chola, Sena, Pāla, Yādava, Pāmār, Nanda, Nikumbha, Puṣpabhūti, Śṛṅgāra, Āharāna, Gupajjhajjhar, Suruki, Śiṣara, Vaekavāka, Gānahavāra, Suravāra, Meda, Mahara, Vata, Kūla, Kachchavāha, Vayasa, Karamba, Heyāṇa, Chhevāraka, Chhuriyoja, Bhoṇḍa, Bhīma, Viṅha, Puṇḍiriyāna, Chouhāna. Chhikor, Chaṇḍella, Chānuki. Kāñchiwāla, Rañjakauta, Muṇḍa-uta, Vikaut, Gulahaut, Chāṅgala, Chhabela, Bhaṭi Mandadatta, Siṅghavirabrahma, Pāmāra, Khāti, Vayasa, Raghuvaṁśa, Panihāra, Mūrabhañja, Gomata, Gāndhāra, Vardhana Vachchoma, Viśiṣṭa, Varaāha, Guṭiya, Bhadra* and *Khurasāna.* Almost all the important Rajput names are mentioned here. While Kalhaṇa speaks of only thirty six original Rajputa tribes, [97] Jyotiriśwara gives here a list of seventytwo clans. Vidyāpati also refers to Chaṇḍela and Chouhāna in his *Likhanāvali.* [98] The *Gānahavāra* of thisl ist is to be identified with the *Gaṇḍhavariyā* Rajaputa of Mithilā, whose history is yet to be written. [99] *Gāndhavariyā, Pammāra, Bisaiwāra, Kachhawāha, Chauhāna, Kinawāra, Sakharawāra, Chaṇḍella* etc. are

97. *RT*—VII. 1617-18-Cf. *KSS*—(Tawney's edition) I. 72, 140, 151 etc.

98. Letter No. 15.

99. Cf. The description of the Rājaputa tribes as given by Lāla Kavi of Mithilā—

राऊ राजपूतै सबै सपूतै लखि पुरुभूतै सबल डरैं।
सूर वैश्य बुन्देला धीर चन्देला लसैं बघैला खर्ग धरैं॥
चौहान विशेना सब्बर सेना रायठौर दलवीर भरैं।
हाड़ा कछवाहा लाय शिलाहा हाहा करिकै झुकि परैं॥
दम्भै अरुदम्भा जान निकुम्भा और गन्धवरिया शूरभला।
शेंगर परिवाहा है हरवाहा हैहै वंशी भीम भला॥
गौतम बाजहरिया औ शरवरिया रघुवंशी नरनाह कला।
गौरा वछगोती सुयश सुमोती गढ़वार निज साज दला॥
शिर मोरख कन्दा कौशिक चन्दा वरगैंया कर चोलिया।
जोश गरवार सर्दार सिपाही गौंड़ अमेठी चौधरिया॥
तोमर गहनोता गुजर सनेना राणावंशी सिसौदिया।
मौनस विजहरिया नृपनौपुरिया वर महरौर सनौरिया॥
कर्म्मवार पँवार कठेला कटहरिया सुरनेक सिपाही।
तह लाल महाकवि जान महाछवि अरिगण शिरमें अग्निवाही॥

some of the important Rājaputa tribes of Mithilā. The *Gāndhavariyas* held sway over a greater part of Mithilā in the middle ages and their descendants are still living in the districts of Darbhanga, Saharsa and Purnea. [100] During our period, the Kṣatriyas had lost the prominence they had acquired earlier as we find that the Brāhmaṇas had usurped all political powers. The caste-ridden Hindu society was based on the traditional *Varṇāśramadharma.*

Vaiśyas

The *Vaiśyas* held the third place in the social set up. Their occupation was mainly trade and commerce and also money-lending and agriculture. The *Śūdras*[101] were the lowest in the ladder. Vidyāpati in his *Likhnāvali* has presented modes of addresses for different classes of people. [102] The Brāhmaṇas were the most revered class among the Hindus. They were devoted to teaching and religious duties.

Śūdras

The *Śūdras* were the most despised and exploited and below them were the untouchables. The *VR* refers to the *aniravāsita* (the non-excluded) and the *nirvāsita* (the excluded ones) and it further gives a long list of the *mandajātiya—e.g.—nāgala, toṅgal, tāpasi, Teli, Tāti, Tivara, Turia, Tuluka, Turukaṭārua, Dheola, Dhāṅgala, Dhākala,*

For other details—Cf. *EHI*[3] PP. 322, 409, 413–15; Also Cf. *VR.*—P. 31–डोड, पमार, विन्द, छीकोर, चन्देल, चउहान, चालुकि, रठउल, करचुरि, करम्ब, वुधेल, गुहलउत—Here there is a reference to thirty six Rājaputa clans.

100. Byrne—*Bhagalpur Gazetteer*(old edition) P. 172—"It is alleged that the *Gaṅdhavariyā* Rājaputas still sacrifice fowls in memory of Dai Thakoorani before each marriage."

We learn from *Likhanāvalī* No. 15 that *Chandellas* and *Chauhānas* were successful warriors. Generally *Rājaputas* were employed in the army and they were granted *Jāgirs.* Vidyāpati in one of his songs refers to Vissalladeva Chauhāna.

101. *Likanāvali*—Nos. 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61 etc. about the *Śūdras.*

102. *Ibid*—4th *Śloka*–उच्चैः कक्षमधः कक्षं समकक्षं नरं प्रति ।
नियमे व्यवहारे च लिख्यते लिखनक्रमः ॥

Dhānuka, Dhoāra, Dhuniyā, Dhalikāra, Doṁba, Dovatārua, Khāṅgi, Ṣagāra, Hāḍi, Ḍhāḍhi, Bhala, Chaṇḍāra, Chamāra, Goṇṭha, Gaṅṭhi, Gonti, Goāra, Gāvara, Oḍa, Śuṇḍi, Śāva, Pañcanavāra, Paṭaniyā, Parigaha, Chāvi, Muṇḍavāri, Vinda, Kādava, Nāgara—have been termed as mandajātiya. [103] Vidyāpati also refers to *Goāra*, [104] *Kaivarta, Dhīvara* and a number of lower castes. [105] The *VR* also gives a long list of the criminal tribes, *viz., Lobhī, Lavāta, Lapṭora, Lampāka, Chora, Juāra, Chināra, Lagavāra, Peṭakaṭa, Nākaṭa, Kanakaṭa*, etc.—He further refers to *Malākāra, Gaṅdhavanika, Ratnaparikṣaka, Vanitāpati*, [106] *Sūpakāra*, [107] *Prasādhaka, Gaṅdhakāra Manimarmajña, Lipivāchaka, Śrutidhara, Śastrajña, Vāri, Vārika, Vauriā, Kanvāra*, etc. He further gives us a list of various kinds of vagabonds, mendicants and beggars, *viz.—Jagā, Yogī, Nagari, Bharahara, Bhaṇḍuā, Chatarīyā, Suratariyā* etc.

The society as depicted in the contemporary writings, was neither peaceful nor happy as we know that Mithilā was surrounded on all sides, by the enemies, internal and external. The social relationship, based as it was on the *Varnāśrama* ideal, was also not very happy. The social relationship was determined by economic tenets and while there were all the evils of luxurious courts, the outcry of the shocking poverty was not absent. The criminal classes, referred to by the VR, speak of the tone of the lower cultural ladder. The depressed and backward classes had possibly no say in the social matter and an evidence, in support of my contention, is furnished by the *Likhnāvali*. Since the Brāhmaṇas occupied a prominent place in the society, they were patronised by the ruling authority. [108] They also influenced the king and the royal policy as well. The social picture can be further gleaned through the pages of the *Dhūrtasamāgamanāṭaka* and *Pañchasāyaka* of Jyotiriśwara. The *Śūdras* and the untouchables

103. *VR*—P. 1.
104. S. N. Thakur—*op. cit.* Nos. 3, 8, 20, 27, 35, 49, 73 etc.
105. *Likhnāvalī*—No. 59; Cf. Nos. 55–60.
106. *VR*—P. 8.
107. *Ibid*—P. 2; Cf. *Likhnāvalī*.
108. *RR*—P. 61.

were the worst affected. Those, who caused injury to others, were declared *'bhṛtyas'* by the king. [109] The life of an ordinary farmer is evident from the *Dhūrtasamāgama.* [110] The contemporary evidences reveal to us that highest duty of a *Śūdra* was to serve the Brāhmaṇas as it ensured for him supreme bliss; whereas service to the *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* ensured his occupation. [111] Caṇḍeśwara has prohibited the sale of five specified classes of commodities by the *Śūdras* in normal times. [112] The *Śūdras* donot become an outcaste even by selling meat. According to the *Madanapārijāta* (231), a *Śūdra* is allowed to offer oblations to the ordinary fire. Sometimes laxity of rules is also discernible. According to Caṇḍeśwara, the food of a good *Śūdra* may be taken for the purposes of gaining cows, lands etc. [113] Provisions for emergency have also been made. [114] Even the laws were not favourable to the *Śūdras.* [115] Even if a Brāhmaṇa reduced a *Śūdra* to slavery, the former was exempt from punishment. Vācaspati holds that it is meant simply to deprecate the condition of a Śūdra. [116]

During the period, under review, the Karaṇa-Kāyasthas also played a prominent part in the then social polity. Like the Brāhmaṇas, they were also influenced by the social reorganisation introduced by Harisiṁhadeva. The earliest mention of the Kāyasthas is found in the *Smritis.* [117]

Karaṇa Kāyasthas

The main function of the Kāyasthas was to write and prepare documents of the state under the direct supervision of the ruler. The *Smritis* of Yājñavalkya, Uśanas and Vedavyāsa refer to

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109. *Ibid*—61 for other details.
110. Cf. Act I.
111. Cf. *Parāsara-Mādhava*—I. 418–20; *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa*—III. 4–5; 24–25; 31–32.
112. *GR*—479–80.
113. *Ibid.* 334.
114. *Ibid.* 337.
115. *Vivādaratnākara*—146. } For sale and purchase of the *Śūdras*—
116. *Vivādachintāmaṇi*—68. } Cf. *Likhanāvalī*–No. 60, 55.
117. Kane—*op. cit.*–II. (I) 75–76; *JUPHS*—XIX. 81–82; *EI.* I. 318; III. 344 ff. XI. 95; 25–26; XX. 198; XXI. 171; *IA*—XXV. 207; VI. 192–93 ff. *IHQ.* (1929) P. 40. *DHNI*—II. 849, 865.

Kāyastha as a caste. The Kāyasthas were generally known for their fraudulent nature and oppressive behaviour because of their influence in the royal court. [118] During our period, the Kāyasthas in Mithila came to be recognised as a caste and there is a lot of reference about them in the contemporay literature. In Mithilā, the Karaṇa Kāyasthas dominated the scene. Karaṇa, as a caste, finds mention in the *Smritis*. [119] According to the *Prabandhachintāmani*, the prime minister of Lakṣmanasena, Umāpati, was a Karaṇa Kāyastha. Karaṇa Kāyasthas, believed to have accompanied their Karṇāṭa masters from the south, dominated the scene in the courts of the Senas of Bengal [120] and the Karṇāṭas of Mithilā. Both Baṭudāsa and his son, Śrīdharadāsa, the famous author of *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, were associated with the Sena Court of Bengal. Vidyāpati, in his *PP*, has given a detailed account of the Kāyasthas of Mithilā. A Kāyastha belonged to a scribe caste. Kāyastha, as a caste, also did the teaching work. [121] Kāyasthas, generally, did not enjoy very good reputation and in this connection, Vidyāpati gives an example of Sakṭāra, said to be the minister of a Nanda king of Kusumpura. [122]

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118. Cf. Handiqui's edition of *Naiṣadha charitam*. XIV. 66—where Śrīharṣa traces the origin of Kāyasthas to Chitragupta, the scribe of Yama; *EI*-XXVIII. 100 ff.—the genealogy is traced to Kuśa and his father Kāśyapa; *Ibid*. XXV. 276 ff.-treats Kāyasthas as Kṣatriyas; *Ibid*. XXIV. 198—refers to the origin of Kāyastha from a *Śūdra*; Cf. Kane-*op. cit.*--II (1). 76; Cf. Soḍḍhala *Udayasundarikathā* (GOS)-P. 11; My Paper on feudalism-referred to above. The Chaṇdella inscriptions throw a flood of light on the subject. Cf. an article by Dr. D. C. Sircar in *Bhārtīya Vidyā*—X. 284; Cf. B. P. Majumdar-*op. cit*. P. 97 ff.

119. Gautama-IV. 7; Yājñavalkya. I. 92; Manu-X. 22; Kṣīraśwamin holds the views that Karaṇas were Kāyasthas—Cf. *Bhārtīya Vidyā*. X. 281.

120. Cf. N. R. Ray—*Vāṅgālir Itihās*—P. 319; N. N. Vasu-*op. cit*. *MD*.

121. *PP*. Tale 13.

122. *Ibid*—Tale 19.

Certain good qualities of a Kāyastha have also been brought to light by Vidyāpati in his description of a Kāyastha, named Bodhi Dāsa. Though belonging to a lowly caste, Bodhidāsa, in king's service, never did anything that ran counter to the established rule. [123] We have already seen above the reference to *Lipivāchaka* by Jyotiriśwara. Kāyasthas of Mithila have been frequently mentioned by our poet in *Kirtilatā, Kirtipatākā, Padāvali* and *Likhnāvali*. Some of them, like Amritkara, Amiyakara and others were important men of letters and their place in literary history is as bright as of any other contemporary alumni. Some of the important *MSS* were prepared by the Kāyasthas. From the *Likhanāvali*, we learn that while writing documents, the Kāyasthas charged their usual fees.[124] They were also known as *Thakkuras, Rauta, Datta, Choudhary, Dāsa, Mallick* and even *Majmuladāra*. In the administrative and social set up of Mithila, the Karaṇa Kāyasthas occupied a place second only to the Brāhmaṇas. [125] It may be pointed

123. *Ibid*—Tale 30.

124. Cf. Letter Nos. 58, 59, 56, 57, 55.

125. Cf. the stray accounts in the writings of Vidyāpati, *Mithilā Darpaṇa, MTV*; N.N. Vasu's—*Social History of Kāmrupa* (quoted earlier). It may be mentioned here that Suryakara Thākur was instrumental in bringing about the social reform of Harisiṁhadeva, while the ancestors of the writer of these lines continued to hold the posts of a minister under the rulers of Mithilā and one of my ancestors earned the *Zemindāri* from a Mughal prince. Like Bengal, the Karaṇa Kāyasthas were next only to Brāhmaṇas in matters of scholarship, saintly life and official status. Loknātha of Bengal was a Karaṇa (*HB*. I. 88; 575). There is a reference to Karaṇa-Kāyastha in *Gunaigar CP*; Cf. *IHQ*—VI. 55, 58; Sandhyākara Nandi, author of *Rāmacharita*, was a Karaṇa. Kataṇa-Kāyasthas were also known as *Mahākṣaṭalika* (Phandarkar's *List* No. 84). According to Vaijayantī, Karaṇas and Kāyasthas were synonymous and that view is supported by a Gahaḍawāla grant (*EI*. IV. 104) where Jalhaṇa describes himself as a Kāyastha and *Karaṇa-odgata* (*EI*. VIII. 153) and by the *Ajaygarh Rock Inscription of Bhojavarman* (*EI*. I. 330); Cf. J. N. Bhattacharya—

out that the Karaṇa possibly had the same vocation as the Kāyasthas and by the time the Karṇāṭas came to rule over Mithilā, the Karaṇas merged themselves into the Kāyasthas and came to be known as Karaṇa Kāyasthas. Since they were associated with royal duties and official work of importance, they acquired prominence in the society. They were adept in writing the official document and inscriptions. [126] Because of their high education and culture, they were respected in the society. A Karaṇa Kayastha of Ārā (*a Śāsanika*) wrote *Kālacakratantra* (one of the esoteric schools of later Buddhism), a Tantric text whose painted covers are of considerable significanee to the history of Indian painting. The Karaṇa Kāyastha was a high caste and those belonging to it held important administrative offices since the 6th century A.D. (EI.XV. 301—ff). The professional significance of the term is apparent and even in the middle of the 15th, century it was used

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Hindu Castes and Seets (Calcutta—1896)-PP. 125;—has pointed the existence of a Karaṇa clan of Kāyasthas in North Bihar, *i.e.* Mithilā, PP. 188-90 and that the Uttararārhi of Bengal also claim to be Karaṇas. For the *Kāyasthas*—also Cf. Bhandarkar's *List* No. 34; *EI.* XVIII. 251; XII. 61; *PASB*—1880-P. 78; *EI* XII. 46; XIX. 50; I. 332; XXIV. 101 ff; Beal *Records*-II. 267; *JASB*-VI. 882. S. C. Das *Pag Sam Jon Zang*—Introduction-there is a referenee to Kāyastha; *IA*-LXI. 48; N. Vasu-*Kāyasther Varṇa Nirṇaya*—P. 184; *IHQ*-VI. 60 ff.; Cf. Majumdar and Pusalkar-*The Struggle for Empire*. P. 477; *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*. P. 394.

126. Śridharadāsa composed the Andhrātharhi Inscription of Nānyadeva. The Karaṇa Kāyasthas played a very important role in the history of North India—Cf. for details-*EI.* IV. 250; XXII. 155; XXVIII. 282; II. 309; XI. 146; XVIII. 224-25; IV. 104; XIII. 220; VIII. 100; II. 124; I. 270; XXIII. 6; *DHNI*—I. 5-6; 516, 523; II. 625; 726; 1200; 685—Education was the main peeoccupation of the Karaṇas of Mithlā and their tradition is as old as the 5th.-6th. centuries A. D.—(*JRAS*-1965-P. 103 ff.). The Karaṇa Kayasthas combined administrative duties with that of a scribe.

in this sense. Karaṇa Kayastha implied both caste and profession.

The *VR*[127] gives a further list of forest tribes and other castes.[128] Among the forest tribes were the *Kocha, Kirāta, Kolha, Bhila, Khaṣa, Pulinda, Savara, Chhairaṅga, Mleccha, Goṇṭha, Voṭa, Neṭa, Donvāra.* It may be mentioned here that all these tribes lived in the northern part of Mithilā in the Nepalese territory and it was in the territory of the *Droṇavāra* ruler that Vidyāpati and queen Lakhimā took shelter after the disappearance of Śivasiṁha.[129] The *VR* refers to *Yakṣa, Vidyādhara, Gandharva, Kinnara, Goṇḍa, Patagoṇḍa, Śavara, Kirāta, Vavvara, Bhilla, Pukkassa, Pañchāri, Meda, Maṅgara,* as *mlechha* castes. We have seen above that the chief possession of an ordinary poor man was his misery.[130] Our poet throws sufficient light on the untouchables[131] and the *Śūdras.* It was the duty of the *Śūdras* to serve the rich. He also mentions *Kaivarta* and *Dhīvara.*[132] Vidyāpati's conception about the *Gopa* (or the Yādavas) is typical. He calls Kṛṣṇa a *Gopa* but his attributes are significant when we take into consideration the then social attitude towards this caste.[133] Slaves and untouchables were hated. It was prescribed that fines should not be imposed on untouchables, the *mlecchas,* the cheats, thieves and slaves as their money is derived from bad sources. Slaves, during the period under review, seem to have been completely under the control of their masters. They had nothing of their

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127. *VR*—P. 37. Cf. S. Jha–242 for a class of beggars.

128. *Ibid*—P. 42; Cf. *Likhanāvalī* No. 42 for *Kumbhakāra;* S. Jha–No. 222 for *Telī.*

129. Cf. *Likhanāvali*—this work was written by the poet at the court of Purāditya Dronawāra.

130. *PP*—Tale 13.

131. *MM*—No. 667–पानि पिये पिछे जाति विचार; No. 120—आछे ओ जाति जोलाहा जे ओ; Also Cf. the List of the *VR;* Cf. *Likhanāvalī* Nos. 55–60.

132. *Likhanāvalī*—58, 59, 61, 69 etc.

133. Cf. Thākura—*Visuddha Padāvali–PP* (Pathak)–91; Nos. 3, 8, 20, 27, 35, 49 etc.

own. We learn from the *DV (Supra)* that while the Brāhmaṇas, as a caste, enjoyed all types of privileges, other unfortunate castes had to groan under heavy and unbearable socio-economic restrictions. Times had, nodoubt, changed as we find that contrary to the rule of Manu, both Lakṣmīdhara and Caṇḍeśwara have emphasised that the *Śūdras* committed no sin if they gave rice to a Brāhmaṇa for getting it cooked at the latter's house.[134] Caṇḍeśwara further differs from Baudhāyana when he says that even if the parents become outcastes, they are to be obeyed and served.[135] The lower social classes, harlots and even professional dancers, musicians, and actors were despised and were looked upon as degraded castes in the society. The upper castes combined to exploit the lower castes and classes and naturally the courtier framed regulations that might suit their masters. There were numerous small sects and castes and the economic differentiation was clearly discernible in the daily life of the people. The people were advised to follow the traditional path of unconditional obedience as that attitude alone was considered righteous. The socio-economic differentiation killed the initiative of large mass of workers, whose interest lay not in the society as a whole but in their own section.

Śūdras, slaves & lower orders

The *Gṛhastaratnākara*[136] throws a flood of light on the contemporary castes and professions. The prohibition of the sale of five specified classes of commodities[137] applies to the *Śūdra* in normal times but not in times of distress. The parallel set of prohibition refers to good *Śūdras* and not to condemned ones. Meat selling by a *Śūdra* was not prohibited. The *Madanpārijāta* (231) allows the *Śūdra* to offer oblations in the ordinary fire with only one *mantra* i.e. *namaskāra*. According to Caṇḍeśwara, a Brāhmaṇa could

134. *GR*—P. 336.—Cf. *VR* gives a list of faithful servants viz—गोआर, कोइरि, कुलुवि, रजक—P. 14. also नाउ ।

135. *Ibid*—590–59.

136. *Ibid*—249–about the Brāhmaṇas.

137. *Ibid*—479–80.

eat the food of a good *Śūdra* for gaining cows, lands *etc.*—and not otherwise.[138] Opinions on the *Śūdras* varied from author to author and whereas there is laxity in one, there is extreme rigidity in others.[139] The *Vivādachandra* and the *VC* refer to four classes of slaves, *viz*,—one born in the household, one purchased, one acquired, and one inherited, who are to be released by the master's favour. Slavery seems to have been a recognised institution and we learn from Caṇḍeśwara, Misaru Miśra and Vacaspati that a master begetting a son on his female slave should release them both, when the master has no other son.[140] The position, to which the *Śūdras* and slaves were reduced, is evident from the *Likhnāvali*.[141] Though the traditional professions continued to hold the field, there was a change in outlook and the different castes adopted different professions arising out of the then socio-economic needs. While the Brāhmaṇas had taken to agriculture and cooking, the *Śūdras* had gained the status of making grants to the Brāhmaṇas. Had there been no such change in the contemporary situation, Caṇḍeśwara would have hardly ventured to renounce the importance of caste in politics. The serfs and slaves in Mithilā were known as *Bahiyās*. We learn from the *Kirtilatā* that slavery was an important feature. It has been rightly held that in a slave-holding society the ruling classes get used to highly undemocratic ways of life and it is prejudicial to the social well-being of the society.[142] Slaves were sold and purchased. A slave had nothing which he could claim as his own, even his name or identity. Such an unbalanced social division was, to a great extent, responsible for the downfall of the established institutions. Manual labour became identified with slave labour and hence undignified and discredited.

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138. *Ibid*—334–37.

139. Cf. *Vivādaratnākara*—146; *VC*–68.

140. Cf. *Vivādar*; *Vivādachandra*; the *VC*.

141. Cf. Nos. 55 (for the sale of the *Śūdras*); 56; 58; 59, 60 etc.

142. H. J. Nieboer—*Slavery as an Industrial System* (2nd edition Hague–1910) P. 436. Cf. *Kirtilatā* (Saxena) PP. 47–50–घरीदे घरीदे बहुतो गुलामो ।

The *Śūdras*, slaves and the lower orders constituted the majority. In the middle ages their status had improved in certain respects. Lakṣmīdhara, on whom Caṇḍeśwara has largely depended, has pointed out that a pure-minded *Śūdra* was better than a bad Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya [143] or Vaiśya. It is not possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to agree with the view of Dr. U. N. Ghoshal that the description of the *Śūdra's* occupation and status in the commentaries and digests follows the old *Smriti* lines. [144] Both Medhātithi and Viśwarupa seem to be liberal towards the *Śūdras* and other lower orders. [145] Instances are there to prove that they also took part in battles and acted as soldiers. [146] The reference to sixty-four *Jātis* [147] in the Vaijayantī can favourably compare with the enumeration of castes and classes in the *VR* of Jyotiriśwara. The appellation *'Śūdra'* came to include in the middle ages a large number of lower orders. Śrīdharadāsa's *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* contains a poem composed by Kevaṭṭa Papiha on the sanctity of the river Ganges. [148] If a tradition is to be relied upon, Dhoyi, the court poet of Lakṣmaṇasena, belonged to the community of weavers. The Gopas or Yadavas are said to have composed the famous *Lorika* ballad, the *Dākavachnāmṛta,* the Dusādhas are said to have composed the songs of Salheśa and so on and so forth. We are not very sure about the position of the *Antyaja, Chāṇḍalas* and others. Alberuni says that the *Antyaja* were beyond the four orders of the *Varṇa.* The *Chaṇḍālas* lived outside the village. [149] The great Kashmir engineer, Surya, is said to have belonged to low caste. [150] While the

143. Cf. *Gṛhastakāṇḍa*—P. 427.

144. *HCIP*—V. 475.

145. Cf. Medhātithi on Manu III. 67, 121, 156; X. 127; Viśwarupa on Yājñavalkya—I. 13; Cf. *Niyatakālakāṇḍa* P. 336; *GR*—P. 336.

146. Cf. *EI*–III. 16 ff; VI. 269; XI. 319 ff; XII. 143 ff; etc.

147. R. C. Majumdar—*History of Bengal*–I. 567 ff.

148. P. 28—1. 36. 5.

149. Kane—*op. cit.* II. Part I. P. 81.

150. Cf. *RT*—V. 74–77.

ramifications in the caste system continued in Mithilā, it did not act as a hindrance on the personal achievement of the individual; but the fact remains that all opponents of the orthodox social system were declared as heretics. The differentiation was so marked that even "beauty" was considered to be the chief preserve of the rich and the honoured caste. [151] Even cordial relationship with '*akulina*' was not favoured, and our poet went to the extent of pronouncing the judgement that the '*akulinas*' deserved no sympathy. [152] Thus an overall picture of the society is of the extreme luxury and appalling poverty. Inequality was writ large in the social system of Mithilā. Slaves consisted of those who were reduced to slavery for crimes and debt. The society abounded in large number of persons who belonged to the lower orders, without any guarantee of protection and safety from the ruling classes and lawgivers.

V

Position of Women

The general condition of women in society was almost the same as in the early phases of history. The ancient texts, while showing contemptuous respect for women, declared that the woman, the *Śūdra*, the dog and the cow are falsehood i.e. *anṛta*. [153] The *Śūdras* and women were placed on equal footing and the society had hardly any respect for them. [154] Marriage by purchase was not unknown, while the married women had to contend against the presence of rival wives. It's true that Mithilā produced women like Sitā, Gārgi, Maitreyī, Sulabhā, Lakhīmā, Dhīrmati, Viśwāsadevī, Chandrakalā and others, but they were like oasis in the desert. They

151. *PP*—Tale 6.

152. *MM*—No. 458—अकुलिन सयँ जदिकए सद्भाव / ततकय कतए चतुर पनफाव } Cf. No. 459—also.

153. Cf. *HCIP*—I. 420.

154. *JBRS*—XXXVII. P. 121 ff. (Cf. R. S. Sharma's article); *HCIP* I 420; *Great Women of India*—199–202; Cf. PP. 161–168; P. N. Prabhu—*Hindu Social Organisation*—(2nd Edition)—P. 268 ff.

had acquired important status by their personal achievements. Polygamy was not unknown. It has been clearly stated in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* that even "if there were many wives, one husband is pair with them." [155] It clearly indicates that no woman could have more than one husband. The wealthier classes seem to have maintained a harem. [156] Women were debarred from inheritance. Pardā system was also in vogue and the position of widow was practically the same as it is today. [157] There has hardly been any change in the status of women in Mithilā since time immemorial. The introduction of *Kulinism*, in the fourteenth century A. D. by Harisiṁhadeva, paved the way for further deterioration of the position of women in the Maithila society. The *Bhalamānuṣas* married as many as forty to fifty wives. Polygamy became the order of the day. Daughters came to be sold regularly. [158] There was hardly any departure from Manu's concept of women. [159] Women were so sick of their condemned life that they did not wish to be born again as women and such feelings are extant even today and can be gleaned through the folk songs. [160]

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155. *HOS*—XXV. 196.
156. *ABORI*—XII. 144-48.
157. *AB*—XIII. 13.
158. Cf. *TM*—364—"..... Owing to the exaggerated importance placed on the value of being born in a high *Kula*, they gave up all their sacred practices and adopted marriage as profession instead. .....Though poor, disabled, illiterate and stupid they were yet the *Kulinas* of the society, whereas those of the so-called lower grade were held in low estimation and contempt inspite of their learning and wit .....the condition of women became worse."
159. Manu IX. 3—पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्त्ता रक्षति यौवने ।
रक्षन्ति स्थविरे पुत्रा न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति ॥
160. *Kabitākaumudi*—P. 864—
बेरि बेरि बरजय दीनानाथ हे बाबा तिरिया जनमजनि देहु ।
तिरिया जनम जब देहु हे दीनानाथ, बाबा हे सुरति बहुत जनि देहु ।
सुरति बहुत जब देहु हे दीनानाथ, बाबा हे पुरुष अमरुख जनि देहु ।
पुरुष अमरुख जब देहु हे दीनानाथ, बाबा हे कोखिया बिहुन जनि देहु ॥
कोखिया बिहीन जब देहु हे दीनानाथ, बाबा हे सौतिन सउत जनि देहु ।
Also Cf. *Bhojepuri Lokegeet*—P. 5—
हम अबला नवजौवना रे, कठिन कुटिल संसार ॥

The position of women in a feudal society has been nicely depicted in the writings of Vidyāpati and other writers of Mithilā. According to Vidyāpati, a woman needeth a youth and never refraineth from dependence on another.[161] A woman has been compared to a tender creeper which dries up as soon as it is touched or pressed by an ordinary substance. [162] Women were not active participants in the activities of the state, though we have an example of Lakhimā in the history of Mithilā. Since women were believed to be of weak mind and devoid of all knowledge and wisdom, their social position was one of dependence and pity. [163] Women had practically no social status in the modern sense of the term. Vidyāpati observes—

(i) Chaste women followeth her lord. [164]
(ii) Women live a life of dependence. [165]
(iii) The only refuge of wives is a husband [166]
(iv) It is through the virtues of her son that a woman is light. [167]
(v) (Except wife)..... Other women, like flowers or betel, are but sources of pleasure for a moment. [168]
(vi) ..... in their happy delights doth a woman count upon the kindness of her husband. [169]
(vii) ..... wife is a handmaid of his pleasure. [170]

The function and position of a woman were distinctly subordinate and in the long run came to be understood as the

161. *PP*—Tale 21.
162. *MM*—No. 80—पुरुष केसर जनि दमन लताधनि । छुअइत जा असिलाई ।
163. *Ibid*—No. 679—हम अबला अति अलप गेआन
No. 713—हम अबला मतिबामा, Cf. S. Jha—*op. cit.* Nos. 20, 21, 23, 26, 41; 238, 247, 121, 124, 129 etc.
164. *PP*—Tale 2.
165. *Ibid*—Tale 3.
166. *Ibid*—Tale 8.
167. *Ibid*—Tale 9.
168. *Ibid*—Tale 31.
169. *Ibid*—Tale 41.
170. *Ibid*—; Cf. Coomarswami & Sen—"*Padāvali Baṅgiya*" Rādhā says—"I, a weak girl of scanty wisdom."

service of the male and dependence upon him in every stage of life. Her life was a state of perpetual wardship and social laws and customs stamped her with a sort of mental deficiency. Rādhā's characteristic confession about her own sex is a clear indication of the social status of women. [171] The male began to look upon her as a feeble brain not to be trusted too far or in things that matter. The male welcomed and appreciated her help in domestic affairs. She was strictly confined to home and domestic care. All her dreams were concentrated on proving herself a devoted wife to her husband and in trying to please him. The intellectual culture varied according to class. A few women of the nobility had, nodoubt, all the virtues and such instances have been cited above. They have won their places amongst the scholars of repute, but that does not show the general trend. In the villages, where women formed a part of the rural economy, there was no room for cultural growth. A distinct preference was given to a male over a female. [172]

The elaborate marriage rules have been discussed in details by the Maithila *Nibandhakāras*. [173] Among the forbidden practices of the Kali age are the intercaste marriages among the three upper castes with the clear intention of creating strictly endogamus castes. Caṇḍeśwara observes that girls of other castes may be married by a Brāhmaṇa, one after another in the *anuloma* or regular order. [174] It may be pointed out here that the *Smritis* [175] laid down two duties for the

171. Cf. *Padāvali Baṅgiya.*

172. Rākesha—*Maithili Lokegeet.* P. 188.
धिया क जनम जनि दियह विधाता, धिया डुबथि बीच धार ।
Cf. The *Agnipurāṇa.* 237. 18–19—
स्त्रीभृत्यान् प्रेमदानाभ्यां दाक्षिण्येनेतरं जनम् ।
Cf. *Kabitākaumudi*—P. 139. Slaves and Women have been placed on the same footing.

173. Cf. *Parāśara-Mādhava* I. 123–27; *Madanapārijāta.* 15–16.

174. *GR*—38.

175. For different views—Cf. *Parāśara-Mādhava,* I. 465–66; 493–98; *Madanapārijāta,* 129–33; 133–34. The views of the *Smritis,* both old and contemporary, are conflicting and sometime

married man—(i) Sacrifices can be performed only with a wife of the same caste and (ii) sexual pleasure can be enjoyed with any married wife. The old exogamous rules forbidding marriages on the grounds of sameness of *gotra* and *pravara* as well as *sapiṇḍa* relationship [176] have been repeated and the relationship has been extended to seven degrees on the parent's side—a system made all the more strict after the introduction of the *Pañjī* system in the reign of Harisiṁhadeva. Caṇḍeśwara's views regarding marriage age and rules are, sometimes, confusing and contradictory. He prescribes that the marriage of a girl, twelve or sixteen years old, with a bridegroom of thirty years is commendable [177] but that of a young girl with a bridegroom of thrice her age is still more praiseworthy. In the same vein, he, further, says that the marriage of a *nagnikā* (below ten years) is praiseworthy. [178] Without any comment he quotes a *Purāṇa* text in which the proportion of bride's and

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contradictory. The Brāhmaṇas, even after marriage, may for sexual pleasure marry girls of inferior castes in the prescribed order. *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I. 493-98) has two contradictory views—(i) condoning Brāhmaṇa's union with a *Śūdra* girl & (ii) requiring a Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya to avoid her. The *Likhnāvalī* throws a flood of light on the subject. There was a regular trade of slaves and women for the pleasure of the rich. Such social customs have found mention in the contemporary writings. Slaves and maidservants were attached to the families of the rich persons.

176. Cf. *Madan-Parijāta*, 129-33; *Parāśara-Mādhava*, I. 465-66; *GR*—8-10 and 28-29. Caṇḍeśwara pointedly condemns the marriages with the *mātula-sutā* in course of its explanation of a verse of Manu. It may be mentioned here that while the *Sagotra* marriages are forbidden among the Brāhmaṇas of Mithilā, among the *Karaṇakāyasthas*, Sagotra marriage is valid but *Samūla* marrige is forbidden. The system is in vogue since the days of the *Pañji-prabandha*. All the *Karaṇakāyasthas* of Mithilā have got the *Kāśyapagotra*.

177. *GR*—39.

178. *Ibid*—47.

bridegroom's age is fixed 8 : 24; 12 : 30; 16 : 32 etc. [179] In case the guardian fails to give his daughter in marriage before puberty, she would wait for three years [180] but she should wait only for the expiry of her three menstruation periods in the contrary case and should have the right to choose her husband. Eight forms of marriage have been quoted by Caṇḍeśwara. [181] He is of the opinion that while the girl given away in any one of the first five forms of marriages can be given only [182] once, one taken in marriage in accordance with the three other forms can be given away afresh to a suitable bride-groom. If there is any fault in the selection of bridegroom, the ceremony of selection is considered sufficient. [183] He has quoted, *in extenso*, a text from Nārada relating to the rules about the revocation of marriage and also about the fourteen classes of eunuchs and if any of the defects are known beforehand, Caṇḍeśwara says that the girl should not be married to him (i.e. the defective bridegroom).[184] A chaste and gentle wife should not be abandoned. [185] The superseded wife is entitled to *Strīdhana* to the extent of newly married wife or as much as would make their shares equal. [186] Elsewhere Caṇḍeśwara points out that neither death nor mutilation is to be the lot of the abandoned woman. [187]

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179. *Ibid*—83.

180. *Ibid*—42-43.

181. *Ibid*—55 ff. Cf. *VR*, P. 65 for eight forms of marriages.

182. *Ibid*—48.

183. *Ibid*—54.

184. *Ibid*—33. If the girl is married in ignorance of these defects the bridegroom should be medically treated and the result should be awaited. When the defect is proved to be beyond cure, the girl should be married to another, even though she has been given in marriage to the former.

185. *Ibid*—86.

186. *Ibid*—86; Cf. *Madanpārijāta*-89; Cf. No. 62 of the *Likhanāvalī* for *Strīdhana*.

187. *Vivādaratnākara*-426. According to the *Parāśara-Mādhava*, she should be denied conjugal relations and participation in vedic rites.

The Maithila *nibandhakāras* profusely quote from the older *Smṛtis* supporting the doctrine of perpetual subjection of women and their dependence upon their male relations at successive stages. They propounded their views in a language that looks new though the theme is almost the same. It is the duty of the husband to protect his wife and keep her engaged in the household work. [188] In so far as property rights are concerned, they simply discuss the views of Yājñavalkya (I. 115) and base their arguments on the same. According to Caṇḍeśwara, a father should make his wives equal or unequal sharers. [189] The wife, who has fallen off from her vow, is to get only her maintenance, [190] while the wife of a man dying without son, grandson, and great-grandson takes his property. [191] Caṇḍeśwara refers to the mother and the father as the heirs of a son dying without issue and that applied to one who has left no principal or subsidiary sons and no wife. [192] According to Vācaspati, the widow should perform the first as well as the annual *Śrāddha* for her husband before she is allowed to inherit his whole property. [193] In some of the texts, [194] the father is preferred to the mother in order of succession and in some mother to the father. [195] There is a complete and exhaustive treatment of *stridhana* in our texts. [196] Both Caṇḍeśwara and Vācaspati give a wider meaning of the term *Saudāyika* (dowry) which a daughter receives either before or after marriage at her father's or her husband's residence from her father or mother or their respective families. [197] The limitation of *stridhana*

188. *Vivādaratnākara*—409 ff.; *VC*—189–90.
189. *Ibid*—65.
190. *Vivādachandra*—92–93.
191. *VC*—236.
192. *Vivādaratnākara*—589–93. Caṇḍeśwara depends on Manu.
193. *VC*—237.
194. *Vivādachandra*—93.
195. *Vivādaratnākara*—595; *VC*—241.
196. *Ibid*—511; *VC*—217.
197. *Ibid*—

has been interpreted in various ways, [198] and Caṇḍeśwara has completely relied on the older texts. The wife is free to dispose of her *saudāyika* property or *strīdhana* at her will. [199] The special rule of succession for the *strīdhana* have been framed in accordance with the older texts. [200]

The introduction of *kulinism* gave a great impetus to child and early marriage with the sole aim of preserving the so-called pristine purity of the family and the caste. Marriage, before puberty, became the order of the day. Marriage rules varied according to the caste and the locality. It was incumbent, rather a religious duty, upon every *kulina* family of getting daughters married before puberty. The Śāstric injunctions, however confusing and contradictory they might be, were there in support of early marriage. A *kulina* could marry as many wives as he desired and the natural result was that most of these unfortunate married girls hardly met their husbands and their pangs knew no bounds. The pathos of such a tragic system is discernible in the writings of Vidyāpati and other folk songs. Unequal marriages had come to stay. [201] A girl of twelve was married to a man of eighty. [202] Afif has stated that the poorest married their daughters at a very early stage. [203] Vidyāpati's poetry, in this respect, is self-explanatory and needs no comment. Since women had practically no say in such matters as marriage etc., they resigned themselves to fate and accepted everything as gift either from God

Early marriage

198. *Vivādachandra*—82–83.

199. *Vivādaṭnakara*–511–15; *Vivādachandra*–81; *VC*–218–21.

200. *Ibid*—516–518; *Vivādachandra* 382–84; *VC* 221–224; Also Cf. Śūlapāṇi on Yājñavalkya I. 144–45.

201. *MM*—No. 597–पिया मोर बालक हम तरुनी..... Cf. No. 80–; Cf. *Kabitākaumudi*—P. 139; D. S. Singh, *Bhojepuri Lokegeet*–P. 246; 135 and 347.

202. D. S. Singh, *op. cit.*—बाबा पइसा के लोभे विआह कइले
बारह बरिस के हमरी उमरिया
अस्सी बरिसवा के वर खोंजले × × ×

203. *ED*—III. 344.

or destiny. [204] The system of *kulinism* was largely responsible for unequal marriages and situations arising therefrom. [205] Polygamy, in medieval Mithilā, was also the direct result of this system. The kings, ministers and feudal lords married large number of wives of all ages and they, to all extent and purpose, maintained a harem. The *kulina* Brāhmaṇas also married a large number of wives.

Regarding the posititon of a wife, Vidyāpati is of the view that "taking a second wife is the crime of a man who hath abandoned decency" [206]—As a devoted husband himself Vidyāpati regarded "wife as the partener in all pious acts..... the sharer of evil deeds and merits..... and the cause of all happiness in this world..... what fellowship be there where there be no sharing alike of sorrows [207] and joys." Vidyāpati also refers to the prevalence of *Sati*, a system which has been looked down upon as a relic of the past, of a barbarous past, "as the last proof of perfect unity in body and soul between a wife and a husband." This was considered to be of immense importance by women of the middle ages. [208] Only fortunate and holy women could get good husbands. [209] Vidyāpati's ideal of conjugal life was very high and lofty. [210] A wife

Wife

204. Rakesha, *op. cit.* 60—बिधना छोट बालम लिखि दिहलन,
बहुत दुख पावत हे।

205. *Ibid* 155—मनहि विद्यापति सुनु सखिया
गौरी के लिखल छन्हि अइसन पिया। Cf. PP. 206, 211–12, 228 Also Cf. Bühler, *Laws of Manu.* X. 64; Rose–*Tribes and Castes.* I. 42; Dowson–*Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*—chapters on Manu and Mitākṣarā–for details.

206. *PP* (Grierson)–P. 152.

207. *Ibid*—151.

208. *Nerukar*—13. On the death of Hammiradeva, his women deliberately offered themselves for *Sati* as act befitting true women. Cf. *PP* (Pathak)–16, 19.

209. Thākur's, *Padāvali*— (i) पुने मिले पिया गुणमान।
(ii) सुकृते मिल सुपहु समाज॥

210. जइयो सरोवर हिमवर निअकरे परसए सबहुँ समाने।
कुमुदिनि काँ ससि ससिकाँ कुमुदिनी जीवन के नहिं जाने॥
दम्पति काँ हो अचल पिरीत

should not look into the bad qualities of her husband and should surrender unconditionally.[211] The traditional quarrel between husband's sister and wife has been also nicely depicted by the poet[212] and a reference to the bitter relationship between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is also there. The description about the helplessness of a widow is all the more heartening.[213] All these and various other examples, interspersed here and there in the contemporary writings, are the typical representations of Maithila life and even today these are the stark realities. Practically there has been no change, dynamic or otherwise, in the daily life of the rural areas of Mithilā. The picture of an unequal match, depicted by our poet, is heartening. A young wife was married to a small boy and wherever she went, she was asked about the small boy's identity. She got perplexed and requested her father to send a good milck cow so that she could bring up her husband with intimate care, but the father was too poor to comply with the request of his lovely daughter for the maintenance of his son-in-law.[214]

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211. (i) नागरि सैह जगत गुन आगरि जे क्षमपनि अपराध ।
(ii) धिक त्रिय जेकर प्रिय पर कोप ।
(iii) परगट करब न सुपहुक दोष ।

212. *MM*–No. 16—ननदि रुसिए रहु बस पहु ।
सासुहि न सुझ समाजे ॥ निठुर समाज पुछार उदासीन ।
आओर कि कहब बे आजे ॥ Cf. D. S. Singh, *op. cit* 5. regarding the relationship of wife with other members of her *Sasurāla*. Cf. Tripathi–*op. cit*. PP. 149–153 He quotes the following *Śloka*—
श्वश्रूः पश्यति नैव पश्यति यदि भ्रूभङ्गवक्रेक्षणा
मर्मच्छेद पटु प्रतिक्षणमसौ ब्रूते ननांदा वचः ।
अन्यासामपि किं ब्रवीमि चरितं स्मृत्वा मनो वेपते
कान्तः स्निग्धदृशा विलोकयति मामेतावदागः सखिः ।

213. एकसरि तारा केओ न देख ।
चढ़लि अकास अमंगल लेख । Cf. *PP* (Pathaka)–76, 194.

214. *MM*–No. 597—पिया के देखैत मोर दगध शरीर–– × ×
हटिया के लोग पुछै के लागै नोहार–
× × × ×
कहिहुन्ह बाबा के कोने धेनु गाइ, दुधबा पिआ के पोसता जमाइ
नहिं मोर टाका अछि नहिं धेनु गाइ, कोन विधि से पोसब जमाइ

Marriage was an important social and religious event in the life of a man and woman. Since marriage was also an important *Saṁskāra*, the parents took it to be their direct responsibility and a part of religious duty to perform it. It was not a personal concern either of the bride or of the bride-groom but a responsibility of the entire family. In Mithilā, after the introduction of *kulinism*, the negotiations were settled and finalised by professional marriage negotiators, known as *Ghaṭakas*. Since then they have continued to play an important part in the social history of Mithilā. The system, introduced by Harisiṁhadeva, aimed at preserving the purity of blood, by avoiding the forbidden degrees of relationship and marriages and for that ancestry of every family was correctly recorded and maintained, though the custom of keeping genealogical table is said to be as old as 1100 A. D. The system has since been strictly followed by the Maithila Brāhmaṇas and the Maithila Karaṇakāyasthas. Those very marriage rules still hold good in social life of Mithilā. That system gave rise to two classes of persons known as *Pañjikāras* and *Ghaṭakas*. When the negotiations are finally settled according to the *Śāstric* and *Pañji* injunctions, the *Pañjikāras* are called upon to examine the correctness and purity of the settlement and only then a ceremony, known as *Śiddhānta*, is arranged where both the parties (bride's and bridegroom's) sit together and in that meeting the *Pañjikāras* announce the settlement and issue *Aśwajanapatra* or *Adhikāramāla* and after that *Siddhānta* ceremony is performed. That ceremony is as good as half marriage. Among the Brāhmaṇas, such negotiations are also settled in the *Sabhāgachis*, of which *the Saurāṭha* meeting is yet very important even today. This notion of maintaining the purity of blood was greatly responsible for early marriages in Mithilā. [215]

Marriage rites & Customs

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215. We have given an account of early marriage in the preceding pages. In the feudal age, early marriage was prevalent all over the world—Cf. L. F. Salzmann–*English Life in the Middle ages* (Oxford–1926); For a detailed study of the system as

Vidyāpati's typical description of the *Śiva-Vivāha* is a clear manifestation of the marriage rites then obtaining in Mithilā and there is hardly any change in those rites even today. It may be noted here that no aspect relating to the social and religious customs, connected with the marriage rites in Mithilā, has escaped the notice of our poet. Both Jyotiriśwara and Vidyāpati have dwelt at length on the various ceremonies connected with a wedding. All the formalities mentioned in the *Nacārī*, relating to the marriage of Śiva, are found even today and that shows that there has been a remarkable continuity of culture in so far as the Maithila life is concerned. Besides the *śāstric* injunctions about marriage, there were rites, caused by the local conditions and requirements, to be performed.

The occasion of a marriage ceremony was of great event in the family and it is practically of the same importance even today. Jyotirīśwara has enumerated a number of ceremonies connected with a wedding.[216] Elaborate preparations were made for the *"Lagana"* as soon as the negotiations were made finalised. A *Vivāhamaṇḍapa* was erected for the purpose.[217]

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obtaining in Mithilā, Cf. Grierson—*Bihar Peasant Life*–PP. 374–86; Cf. an article on the Maithila marriage system by Mahārājādhirāja Rāmeśwara Singh in the *JBORS*–III.

For all minutest information regarding the present day marriage rites and customs in the villages of Mithilā, I am indebted to my wife, Smt. Shanti Devi–There are various *paddhatis* of marriage in Mithilā and in one of the *MSS* discovered by me, I have found a very fine representation of the *Marva* (vide plate).

216. *VR*–PP. 64–65—गोत्र मेलापक मउ, पूगयज्ञोपवीत दान निर्व्वहु, द्वादशक, नवपंचक, तृतीयेकादशक, चतुर्दशक, समसप्तक, प्रीतिषड्‌ष्टक, इथि आठहुका योनमध्य उत्तम योन निर्व्वहु, ×—×—×—× तदनन्तर गोत्र प्रवरक अनुगति अग्निसन्धा ने सदक्षिण कन्यादान निर्व्वहु, तदनम्तर **समार्ज्जन, सेचन, उपलेपन, उल्लेषण,** इ पंचभूसंस्कार अग्निस्थापन कए आघ्य वहि, ……×—×—×……

217. *MM*—No. 909–धिया ले मनाइनि मण्डप वइसलि; Cf Grierson–*Bihar Peasant Life*, PP. 374–86.

Kohbara (a house specially meant for the bride-groom and the bride on the occasion of marriage) has acquired a sanctity in the social life of Mithilā. *Kohbara* is made on every such occasion and is decorated with various types of religions and *tantric* paintings. Vidyāpati has also referred to the existence of *Kohbara* in his writings. [218] All religious ceremonies relating to the marriage are performed in the *Kohbara* and for four days complete abstinence is maintained by the newly married couple. Vidyāpati has also referred to the custom of spreading and spraying *Lāvā* (fried rice) and the use of *Sindura* (red vermillion) on this occasion. [219] A *vedi* (sacrificial post) was also constructed for the occasion around which was sprayed a handful of *Lāvā*. According to Jyotirīśwara, *sana, śaṅkha,* and *sona* were necessary for the *Sindura-dāna* ceremony. [221] New earthen pots, with religious and social sanctity attached to them, known as *Purhari* and *Pātila,* were also considered (as it is today) necessary for the purpose. *'Dipa'* (Earthen lamp) was considered to be a sign of happy future conjugal life and all these necessary requisites have been referred to by Vidyāpati. The whole thing was further beautified by a set of varied folk drawings and paintings, popularly known as *Aipana,* which was and is yet regarded as sacred for all auspicious occasions in Mithilā. [222]

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218. *MM*—No. 903–गौरी सहित वर कोबर जाए—*Kohbara* painting is a speciality of Mithilā, though this important folk art is now fast vanishing (vide–*plate*).

219. *Ibid*—No. 231—लावा विथरल वेलिक फूल । केसर कुसुम करु सिन्दुरदान

220. *Ibid*—No. 903–वेदीदेल लवा छिड़ियाय Cf. Rākesh—*op. cit.* for *Marwā.* Cf. *VR*—P. 64. अर्घ, पाद्य, विष्टर, आचमनीय, मधुपर्क्क —× —× —P. 65. करग्रहण, अश्मारोहण, प्रदक्षिण, सप्तपदाक्रमन निर्व्वाहि, आन प्राजापत्य, ब्रह्मदेव पैशाच गान्धर्व्व—आठहुँ विवाहकाँ मध्य सर्व्वजन साधारण यथोचित परिप्राप्त प्राजापत्य विवाह निर्व्वहु ।

221. *Ibid*—P. 65–सन, शंख, सोनलइ सिंदुरदान करु । अलंकार परिच्छद निर्व्वहु ।

222. Cf. *Brahmapurāṇa.* In Sanskrit–*Aipana* is known as आलिम्पन, आलेपन, आर्नपनम् etc. and in Bengāli–अल्पना—

विवाहोत्सवयज्ञेषु प्रतिष्ठादिषु कर्मसु ।
निविघ्वनार्थं मुनिश्रेष्ठ तथोदवेगादभुतेषु च ॥

Every marriage detail from beginning to end has been nicely depicted in the poetry of Vidyāpati. The auspicious day begins with the *Suhāga* songs and as soon as the bridegroom's party (known as *Bariāti*) arrives, the *Parichchana* ceremony takes place. [223] There has been hardly any change in all these customs in the villages of Mithilā so far. This *Parichchana* ceremony is a popular one and a large number young ladies take active part in organising the show. It is a type of religious ceremony intended to welcome the groom's party and the groom-himself when he is taken inside. The participating ladies carry a *Kalaśa, pallava* [224] and a *thāli* full of other items including the *Dipa* and receive the bride groom (and the bride as the case may be) with auspicious incantations. After certain formalities, both the bride and the groom are taken to the *vedi* and then the *Genṭhabandhana* takes place. The latter signified the perpetual and inseparable union and in order to perpetuate the *Suhāga*, the marriage *Dīpa* is kept burning, all through, for four days in the *Kohbara*. The *Chaturthī* (fourth day from the marriage) festival is celebrated with due pomp and eclact and *Sinduradāna* is again made on that day and in the real sense, *Kanyādāna* is said to have reached its fruition on that particular day

वासुदेव कथाभिश्चस्तोत्रैरन्यैश्च वैष्णवः ।
सुभाषितैरिन्द्रजालैः भूमिशोभाभिरेव चः ॥

Cf. *MM*–No. 221—पर्उजनाल अइपन भलभेल
No. 301—उजर एपन मुक्ताहार
No. 761—आलिपन दओव मोतिमहार
No. 909—ऐपन मेटल पुरहर फोरल
No. 364—पीन पयोधर पुरहर मेल Thākur (*Padāvalī*)–Nos. 8, 45 for *Dīpa*, No. 78 for *Aipana*. *Aipana* is considered sacrosanct for every occasion, for which specefic types are there, in Mithilā (Vide–*plate*).

223. *Ibid*—No. 364–नगर निकट हर आएल सुनि पाओल ।
परिछय चलल मनाइन.....

224. *Ibid*—No. 301. पीन पयोधर पुरहर मेल, करस झाफस नवपल्लव देल । Cf. Thākura—No. 78. Cf. S. Jha–P. 34 for *Ghoghaṭa*. It refers to the marriage *Vedi*, *Genṭhabandhana*, *Madhuparka*, *Pāṇigrahaṇa*, *Kalaśa*, *Purahara*, *Aipana*.

when the couple breaks the period of abstinence. *Suhāga* songs are enthusiastically sung on all the first four days. *Nichchāvara* is offered for the health and longevity of the married couple. The marriage ceremony ends with *Dvirāgamana* ceremony—which used to take place after a lapse of some years—*i,e.* the departure of the married couple. [225] The scene of departure has been immortalised in Mithilā by a class of songs known as *Samadauna,* said to have been composed by Vidyāpati and his successive poets and lyricists.

Prostitutes

Prostitution was not unknown. There was no dearth of society girls and prostitutes in the medieval period. It seems that in his description about the prostitutes, Vidyāpati has large drawn upon the writings of Jyotirīśwara, one of the greatest erotic writers of the age. Three types of women have been referred to in the *PP,* [226] *viz.*—(i) one's own; (ii) women belonging to others and (iii) women that are common property. The last one is a harlot and her main desire is to acquire money by any means. She does not show any hatred to a rich man,

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225. *Bihar Peasant Life*—Grierson has brought to light the following terms connected with the wedding ceremony in Mithilā—P. 357 ff.—(i) चुमाओन, (ii) मड़वा (मण्डप), (iii) कोहबर, (iv) वीढ़ारी, (v) मातृकापूजा, (vi) उबटन, (vii) लावाछिटाई, (viii) नहछु, (ix) दुआरलगाई, (x) जनवासा, (xi) मौर, (xii) कन्यादान, (xiii) गैठबन्धन, (xiv) सिन्दुरदान, (xv) दुआरछेकाई, (xvi) चतुर्थी, (xvii) घसकट्टी—*Presents*-सनेस, डाला, दौरा—Cf. *Likhanāvalī*—Vidyāpati, in this work, has prescribed a form of invitation to be issued on the auspicous occasion of the marriage ceremony of a daughter—Cf. *VC*–XXI. The present ceremony known as the *Dwirāgamana* amongst the Maithila is referred to in this book. Vācaspati also refers to the custom of giving some presents to a newly married bride at the time of bowing down to her father-in-law or mother-in-law or to other elders at the time of her first arrival from her father's house. '*Siddhānta*' was, of course, an important ceremony.

226. *PP*—Tale 39.

even if he is worthless, but she shows no affection even to a worthy poor man. There can be hardly any doubt that prostitution was widely prevalent and both the Hindu and Muslim sources testify to this fact. [227] Amir Khusrav's description, of a "lustful wench" and Vidyāpati's description of the harlots as the "highest treasures of passion" and Jāyasi's description of "public women sitting in the balconies" to bewitch the people, point to the existence of an organised system of prostitution in the society. Vidyāpati's description of the stylist public women in the market of Jaunpur is marvellous. [228] Jāyasi also refers to mart of public women who bewitched people by their accomplishments. These public women used to earn their bread by means of bad livelihood. Prostitution seems to have been the legalised social evil. Dancing girls were not unknown. [229]

Jyotirīśwara has given a detailed description of the prostitutes and the like women. [230] He considers Vasantasenā to be best among the prostitutes. It may be noted here that from an account of the gambling house, he passes to an account a *hetaira* (Veśyā) and then gives a description of an old woman acting as go-between in love-intrigues. [231] It may

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227. Nicolo Conti found every street of a town in south India full of courtesans who enticed men "with perfumes and soft annointments and tender age."

228. *Kīrtilatā* (Saxena) P. 34—धन निमिते, घर प्रेम, लोभे विनय, सौभागे का मन। विनुस्वामी सिन्दुर, पर परिचय अपामन·····उभारि उभारि केशपाश बधन्ते। It may be noted here that Allāuddin Khalji had fixed the tariff wages for public women and ordered for its regulation—Cf. *Tarikh-i-Firisthā*. I. 199; Nerukar—*op. cit*. 146.

229. Saxena—*op. cit*. P. 42

230. Cf. *VR*—26-27—निर्लज्ज, आचारहीन, निर्गति, निराश्रय·····शरीरकइ परिष्कार, केशकइ संमार्ज्जन, अलङ्कारक उपनय, दूतीक गतागत, भूजङ्गक आलाप·····शय्याक विन्यास, ताम्बुलक संचय, अङ्गरागक पेषण·····अर्थक ग्रहण·····क्रित्रिम लज्जा, कपटतारुण्य, धनार्थे प्रेम, लोभार्थे विनय, कारणे सौभाग्य, निर्म्मूक्त स्वामिसिन्दूर (Cf. Vidyāpati—*Kirtilatā*–P. 34).

231. Cf. *Ibid*—P. 27—यद्यपि सुधाएल सरोवर अइसन शरीर भए गेलइक, तहुदशारेखरीय अञ्जन शरीर नहाउ × × × ×

be further mentioned here that his *Pañchasāyaka*, in five sections in verse, deals with the preparation of various approdisiacs, drugs, articles of toilets, charms and philtres and describes the different types of women and various types of *nāyikās*.[232] He has described herein the peculiarities of the women of hilly region, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Gauḍa, Madyadeśa, Mālava, Gurjar, Sindh, Draviḍa, Madra, Puṇḍra, Karṇāṭa etc. The story of a fraud lady is the theme of his *Dhūrtasamāgamanāṭaka*. It also contains an account of the prostitute, named Anaṅgasenā.[233] Dancing and singing girls formed an important part of the feudal society. Women used to be in secret love with the persons other than husbands. Bad character women were there in the society and they were sarcastically known as *Kulṭā*.[234] At the time of announcing the arrival of an honoured guest, the display by women attracted a crowd of enterprising jugglers and others. Dancing and singing were universally popular and inspired village minstrels and versifiers. Such occasions gave rise to some very pathetic songs which are even popular today. The Kṛṣṇa-Cult stimulated dancing.[235] The contemporary literary and artistic sources are often full of terms of physical and carnal love which reflect, beyond any shadow of doubt, the general sexual

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Cf. For a similar description—*Śrī Kṛṣṇakirtana* by Chaṇḍidāsa. It may be noted here that Jyotiriśwara enumerates a number of erotic terms (कामावस्थान वर्णना)—10 *dāsās* and 5 arrows of Kāmadeva, 8 *Sātvikadasās*, 4 kinds os *Komalāliṅgana* (embracing) 7 types of *Kaṭhināliṅgana*, 10 kinds of Kissing (नयन, कण्ठ, कपोल, अधर, केशाकर्षण, मुख, स्तन, ललाट, जघन, नाभि, कक्षा) etc. PP. 28–29.

232. A printed edition of the text is with me. It deals with the secret possessions of love on the lines of the *aupaniṣadaprakaraṇa* of Vātsāyana.

233. It *DS* story is to be relied upon, a barber, living nearby a courtesan, usually got payment for shaving her private parts.

234. *MM*—No. 46—कुलटा भए यदि प्रेम बढ़ाइअ, तें जीवन की काज
तिला एक रभस सुख पाओब, रहत जनम भरि लाज।
No. 91—पहु जनले दुरन्त बाढ़त, होयत रे उपहास
No. 15—पर पुरुष क सिनेह मंद।

235. Coomarswami & Sen—*op. cit.* LXXXII.

reaction of the then society.[236] The age was mainly responsible for such an outlook. Since women and *Śūdras* were placed on equal footing, women were treated as an object of luxury and sexual gratification.[237] Prostitutes have been described as shameless creatures who exhibited their beauty for the sake money.[238] Prostitution seems to have been a well-established institution in medieval Mithilā.

On the basis of the above survey of the position of women in Mithilā, during the period under review, it may be contended that their general condition was far from satisfactory. Jyotiriśwara has brought to light the two sides of the medal. The inscrutable character of a woman has been compared to the horror of a burning ghat.[239] He has further described the female character as unfathomable, darkness, deep and unseen. The regular sale and purchase of *Śūdra* male and female seem to have been a legalised feature in the contemporary life of Mithilā.[240] Lakhimārāni and Viśwāsadevī are the two notable exceptions in this age of demoralisation in so far as the position of women is concerned. It may be borne in mind here that with the lapse of time, the old notions had undergone considerable change as we find Caṇḍeśwara, in opposition to the views of Gautama and Baudhāyana, suggesting that both the parents are to be respected, obeyed and served even

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236. Cf. the finds of Bheet Bhagwanpur & other places and the poems of contemporary poets.

237. Cf. *JBRS*—XXXVII. PP. 121–123; XXXVI. PP. 183–91.

238. *VR*—*op. cit.* Cf. *Gorakṣanjayanātaka*—by Vidyāpati. In one of the scenes, the king is shown to be in the midst of the ladies. He is described as engrossed in erotic pleasurees.
Cf. song No. 14—खेल नरपति युवति संगे, काहु आलिङ्गए काहु निहार
काहु लिलीपन मलाञे मार, काहु बुझाव विसेपि सिनेह
× × × ×
रूपे से नागर रस सिङ्गार, कौतुके गावे कविकण्ठहार—

239. *VR*—16–स्त्री क चरित्र अइसन दुर्ल्यक्ष्य P. 53—स्त्री क चरित्र अइसन दारुण
Cf. S. Jha—77; 59 & 60 for female procuress.

240. *Likhnāvali*—No. 55—शूद्रशूद्री क्रयनार्थं स्वधनं प्रयुक्ते— × — × — ×
No. 56—for the sale of *Śudra*; No. 60.

if they become outcastes.[241] Since the women had no economic and social freedom and security, their condition was pitiable and the prevalence of prostitution can be ascribed mainly to the economic reasons. The practice of *Sati* was not unknown.[242]

Purdāh system

Whether *'Ghuṁghaṭa'* represented the Purdāh System of our time or not, it is difficult to say, but the system seems to have come into vogue after the Muslim invasion. No particular attention was paid towards the education of women. The earliest reference to the *Purdāh* system is found in the present version of the epics.[242a] Draupadi's public appearance in the gambling hall shows that the system was absent in the *Mahābhārata*. The system, as known to us in recent times, was unknown in those days. The famous Arab traveller, Abu Zaid (C. 10th. cent. A. D.), has pointed out that Indian queens appeared in public without any veil.[242b] It is only after the advent of the Muslims in India that this system came into vogue and was strictly enforced by the ruling and aristoratice families. Lakhima Devi, wife of Śivasiṁha, seems to have been a solitary exception to the rule. The Muslims also strictly followed this system. Thomas has rightly pointed out that "the seclusion of women has been copied from the Muhammadans, but only by the richer classes. Among the poor, it is quite unknown."[242c] The factors necessitating the observance of this system were (i) the exclusion of women from the male society; (ii) the raids of Muslims on non-Muslims; and the fear of the ruler or officer demanding a girl for a wife.[242d] Muslim conception of sexual morality differed from that of the Hindus. The contemporary records are rich

241. *GR*—590-91.

242. *TM*—336—Bhavasiṁba's two wives became *Sati* on the bank of river *Vāgmati*. Lakhima is also said to bave become *Sati*, Cf. *BTA*—427.

242[a]. *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*—II, 33, 8.

242[b]. *ED*—I. P. 11.

242[c]. Thomas—*op. cit.* 72.

242[d]. Todd—II. 952, 966.

with such historical records and deeds. Vidyāpati has also referred to the custom of *'Ghuṅghaṭa'* or veil. [242-244]

The women, in Mithilā, indulged in various acts of sorcery [245] and superstitious beliefs. In anticipation of the arrival of their sweathearts or lovers, they played with various tricks and tried their luck otherwise. Their association with crows is very old. The crow's call at a particular portion of a house on a particular occasion is considered to be very auspicious. The crawling crows are promised everything. The tradition is so deeprooted that even today people pin faith in it. [246] This association is not very uncommon and these beliefs are parts of our social heritage and tradition and should not be regarded as the product of the period, under review. The tremor of the left eye was regarded as an inauspicious sign. [247] Witchery or the witchcraft has been regarded as a

Superstitious beliefs

242-44. *MM*—No. 875—सिरलेल घोघट सारी। Cf. Coomarswami and Sen—*op. cit.*-LIX. M. A. Macauliffe—*The Sikh Religion* (Oxford-1909, 6 Vols.) VI. 347.

245. The system is yet in vogue in Mithilā. Few specimens of modern superstitious beliefs can be gleaned through the following lines, supplied to me by my wife—

ननदोक अंगना में चानन गाछ, ताहि पर कागा लै अछिवास।
देवौ रे कौआ भैया चूरा दही भोजन, सोना पढ़ायब दुनु ठोर॥
आरे आरे कागा जाहु विदेश, हमरो ललन जी के कहबैन उदेश।
एक बोन चोलिया देता पठाय, हीरा मोतीलाल जड़ाय॥

× × × ×

246. काक भाष निज भाषह रे, पिअ आओत मोरा।
क्षीर खीर भोजन देव रे, भरि कनक कटोरा॥
Cf. Kālidāsa's Yakṣa's—"त्वं हि तस्य प्रियेति"

× × × ×

Cf.—सोने चंचु बँधाए देब मोजे बाएस जओ पिआ आओत आजरे
पैजनी गढ़ाई चोंच सोने से मढ़ाई देहो

× × × ×

Modern form is (as my wife says)—
हे कौआ हे कौआ के अवइय—× × — × × —
उचरि उचरि बैसू-आँचर पर के बइसक देवइ, उचरि बैसइ।

247. वामा नयन फुरन आरम्भ—Cf.-Tulasidāsa—वाम अंग फरकन लगे।

very old belief in Mithilā and even today certain villages are famous for witchery. [248] The auspicious '*Dīpa*' lit on the first day of the marriage or any auspicious occasion, in superstitious belief, is taken to give longevity to the married couple. [249] An oath was considered sacrosanct. [250] Even as early as the 13th century A. D., Marco Polo observed..... "if in going, he hears anyone sneeze, if it seems to him a good omen, he will go on but if the reverse, he will sit down on the spot where he is, so long as he thinks that he ought to tarry before going on again." [251] All these formed part of the contemporary social belief and behaviour. The unsophisticated villagers placed their unflinching faith in gods and supernatural powers.

VI

Food and Drink

Mithilā is well-known for its delicacies. In the *VR*, we have a list of all the delicacies of Mithilā. Caṇḍeśvara and other *Nibandhakāras* of Mithilā have repeated the old rules relating to the food and drink. The writings of these *Nibandhakāras*, the *Prākṛtapaiṅglam* and the poems and other writings of the age throw a flood of light on the subject. Rice, fruits, vegetables and milk were the main items of diet in north India and specially in Mithilā. The *PPm*, said to have been composed in some parts of north-eastern India, reveals to us that a fortunate house wife serves hot rice on green plantain leaf with cow's ghee, fish and *nālita* vegetable to her husband daily. [252] The *VR* [253] revels in describing the vegetarian dishes. In describing the characteristic curd of Mithilā, his joy knew no

248. Thākur—*Padāvali* No. 4—डाइन सकल भेल। Cf. D. S. Singh—*op. cit.*—P. 5—टोले बसहिं सब टोनही रे, सबति के सिर घरु आर। Cf.—P. 11—a quotation from Poet Dharaṇīdāsa—a contemporary of Aurangzeb.

249. Thākura—No. 8. पावनि दीप मिझाएल आज।

250. *MM*—Nos. 61 and 115.

251. Sashtri—*Foreign notices*—176–77.

252. *Prākṛtapaiṅgalaṃ*—(B. I.) P. 403, lines 1–3.

253. *VR*—P. 13, 8 kinds of milk preparation; and various other kinds of vegetarian preparations are noted here. He refers to the

bounds.[254] Curd and parched rice are even today the most important items of food on the north of the Ganges. Other items included *Mugbā, Laḍavi, Saruāri, Madhukupī, Māṭha, Fenā, Tilwā* (P. 69); *Chāula, Ṣiro'la, Khirisā, Khirni, Jhiliyā, Naḍivi* etc. (P. 13). Jyotiriśwara took delight in describing feasts. In his enumeration of the list of food articles, naturally the milk preparations predominate. The ceremonials observed on the occasions of the feast are described at length. In his days too, in the important feasts, a fine variety of *Chewra* (parched rice) with a heavy coat of thick curd and cream and a variety of sweatmeats were served. It is apparent that the habits of the people of Mithilā have not changed since then. Jyotiriśwara in his *Dhūrtasamāgamanāṭaka* gives a list of *menu* in which meat and fish are included.[255] This work is as important as the *VR* in so far as the social history of *Mithilā* is concerned and it tells about the food habits of the people of Mithilā.[256] The items included here are—meat, fish, *Baḍa, Baḍi, Paḍora, Muṅga, Pulse, Curd, Milk, Plantain, Sweats* etc.

The *Nibandhakāras* of our period repeated at great length

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kitchen and sitting arrangements thereon (Cf. P. 12—चौका, पीढ़ी, पनिगह, थारी etc.). Then he further mentions *Khalika* (i.e., Kharikā for cleaning the tooth joints).

254. P. 69—दधि शरतकचन्द्रमा पूर्णिमाप्राय·····चिउला उपर सुन्दर दधि देल, कटइते कान्ति टुटइते कपति, पात्रं देयिते थमति ।

255. मांसं माष·पटोल·तक्र·वड़िका-वास्तूक-शाकं वटः
संजीवन्यथ मत्स्य·मुद्ग·विदल प्रायः-प्रकारोत्करः ।
स्वादिष्टं च पयोघृतं दधि नवं रम्भाफलं शर्करा
संक्षेपादिति साध्यतां सुवदने भिक्षामदीयादृतम् ॥ (Cf. Printed Text, P. 5)

256. *DSnāṭaka*—P. 5. भिखिया मोर करब रे । सुवदनि भिखिया मोर करब रे आ ॥
मासु माछ बल बटिका साँजवि सद्य (?) सुनि साग परोसे आ ।
मुद्ग दितले परकार करब सब सङ्गिनी कहञ थोले आ ।
तहि दिन जनमा भोल दधि सुनु सत्वर सोन्ध दूध बड़ घीवं ।
केरा संगि रस वेद्य युगुताओव कविशेषर जोतिक एहु गावे ।
Cf. *VR*—P. 40.

Where he gives a list of various kinds of fish and other things found in a pond.

the old rules relating to food [257] and drink. Caṇḍeśvara justifies meat eating and he suggests certain rules for the same. According to the *GR*, such occasions are those (i) when the meat is purified with *mantras* for the purposes of sacrifice *or* (ii) where there is the risk of a man losing his life otherwise, (iii) when the meat is procured by the man himself and (iv) when the meat is purchased and taken after the worship of gods. It is thus apparent that meat-selling in those days was not unknown. Caṇḍeśvara also describes, at length, the merit of abstention from meat-eating. [258] The *GR* [259] refers to three kinds of wine or *Surā, viz., Paiṣṭi* (those prepared from the rice flour), *Gauḍi* (from molasses) and *mādhvī* (prepared from honery or madhuka flower). Intoxicating drink was not unknown. The nobles and aristocrats took opium as stimulant. [259a] In the third act of the *Dhūrtasamāgamanāṭaka* (not clearly marked), Assajati Miśra gives the barber a little *Gañjā* (country intoxicant) in lieu of payment, which he himself had received from *Snātaka* for arbitrating over the question of the real ownership of Anaṅgasenā. [259b] He is of opinion that all these are forbidden to the Brāhmaṇas while the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas are at liberty to take the last two varieties. Drinking or taking intoxicants by women is not approved by our authors and the *GR* (84) explains that wives of the three upper classes drinking *Madya* are to be superseded. Caṇḍeśvara has given a long list of forbidden food,[260] *viz., palāṇḍu* (rice and meat),[260a]

257. *GR*—380-81; Cf. *Madanapārijāta*, 338.

258. *Ibid*—Cf. *Śrāddhasāra*, 57-58. quotes the text of Pulastya.

259. *Ibid*—393-95; Cf. *Madanapārijāta*, 813-24; *PP* (Pāthaka) 51, 99, 100, Nerukar-123.

259a. Nerukar—123.

259b. *DSnāṭaka*—p. 9 (Introduction).

260. *GR*—352-67. For details Cf. N. R. Ray—*Bāngalir Itihāsa*, PP. 539-40. B. P. Majumdar—*op. cit.* 258 ff; J. C. Ray—*Ancient Indian Life*—PP. 75-83; Cf. *Mithilāmāhātmya*—P. 148.

260a. *Palāṇḍu* actually means 'onion,' as it has always been enumerated with other vegetables, vide Manusmṛti, V. 5. and Amarakoṣa. Bhāvaprakāśa introduces *palāṇḍu* as, "पलाण्डुर्यवनेष्टश्च दुर्गन्धो. मुखदूषकः" which can by no means be applied to "rice and meat"

vārtāku, alābu (bottle gourd), *Kavaka* (fungus with umbrella-shaped flower), *Vajrapalli, Nala* or *Kalambika, Kumbhāṇḍa, Kuchuṇḍa, Parārika, Nālikera, Nālikāśāka,* rice boiled with *tila,* powdered wheat boiled with ghee, onion and garlic etc. The *menu* was also characteristic of the class division of the then society. While the poor people had to fill their belly with what they got, the rich men had varieties of items served by a host of servants. [261]

Vidyāpati in his *Dānavākyāvali* has given a long list of eatables, *viz.,—Mudga, Masūra, Kultha, Turri, Caṇaka, Dhānya, Rāhali, Sāṭhi, Yava, Tila, Godhūma, Kalāya* etc. [262] Even in some philosophical works articles of food, used in Mithilā, have been frequently mentioned. The *Kṛtyacintāmaṇi* of Vacaspati Miśra gives an account of the fourteen kinds of vegetables which should be eaten on the fourteenth day of the dark half of *Kārtikamāsa* (i.e., *Pretacaturdaśi*). The names of these vegetables are [263]—*Ola, Kemukaṁ, Vāstukaṁ, Sarṣapaṁ, Kālaṁ, Nimbaṁ, Jayā* (Jayantī), *Śaliñci, Hilmocikā, Paṭola, Śaulphaṁ, Guḍūci, Bhanṭāki* and *Sunisaṇṇaka.* All these vegetables are even now very popular in Mithilā. There was belief in those days that if any one took these vegetables on the *Pretacaturadasī* day, he became free from *Pretatva.* The kitchen in Mithilā is known as *Bhansā* and cooking is known as *Bhānasa* and our poet refers to it. [264] Cooking was also considered to be an art and the chief cook came to be known as *Mahāsūpakārapati.* [265] On the occasion of marriage ceremony, cooks were recruited and the services

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261. For a detailed account, Cf. *Yaśastilaka Campu*—Bk. III. PP. 401–404 for modern meals etc. Cf. Grierson's—*Bihar Peasant Life*—343 ff.

262. *Dānavākyāvali* (Banaras–Samvat. 1940) PP. 111–113.

263. *Kṛtyacintāmaṇi*—P. 33. Cf. Ganganath Jha–*Purvamimāṁsā.*

264. Thākur–No. 24—भानस तेलक झाँझे—refers to a large number of eatables mainly prepared of milk. In his *Kṛtyamahārṇava,* Vācaspati says that one should not eat *Sema* in the month of *Kārtika.*

265. Cf. *Likhnāvali.* 75a

of sweatmeat makers were also requisitioned. [266] The *Śūdras* were mainly employed to do the menial work while some of them were entitled to eat the *Ucchiṣṭa* (remnants left in the dishes of richmen or the *Mā-lika*). [267] The actual producers could hardly enjoy the fruits of their labour.[268] *Gāñjā* was also used. [269] Among the various qualities of rice known to the authors of Mithilā are the *Tulsidhāna*, [270] *Prasātika* and others. We learn from the *VR* (supra) that the following articles of food were in common use—rice, pulse, barley, millet, peas, oilseeds, sugarcane, onion, garlic, poppyseeds, *methi, mangrail, farhi* etc., while Vidyāpati, Vācaspati and others have referred to a number of fruits. The nobles, besides taking intoxicating drink, also used opium as stimulant. [271] Mithilā, being the granary, provided for a variety of items in so far as eatables are concerned and Maithilas took delight in eating and enjoying.

VII

Dress and Cosmetics

The manifest complexity of dress must be considered to be the result of ethnic diversity and climatic variety which have not yet yielded to the gradually assimilative process of Indian culture. [272] Costumes were given a secondary importance in Indian life. [273] In the middle ages, the Hindu spirit, beaten on political and military arena, more and more turned its attention to the religious field of domestic dimensions. It found the field of devotional religion and picked up the story

266. *Ibid*—40.

267. *Ibid*—55. Cf. No. 57 for the hard lot of the *Śūdras*; Cf. वाचस्पत्यम् (Chowkhamba—961) for details; Monier-Williams *Sanskrit-English Dictionary.*

268. S. Jha, No. 114—वधु उपजाए करिअ जे काज, जे नहि जेमञे तकए लाज ।

269. *DSnāṭaka*—P. 5. Said to be given in lieu of payment.

270. *Likhnāvali* No. 52, Kane–*op. cit.* I. 397. प्रसातिका मध्यदेशे शाठीला इति प्रसिद्धं धान्यं—ascribed to Rudradhara of Mithilā.

271. Nerukar—123.

272. G. S. Ghurye—*Indian Costumes* (Bombay–1951) P. 16.

273. *Ibid*—17.

of Kṛṣṇa.[274] The defeated Hindu spirit planted the shrub of erotic sentiment, affecting the dress as well, and that is evident from the writings of Jyotirīśwara and Vidyāpati. Dress is also a clear index of the contemporary social life[275] and Mithilā can be cited as one of its best examples. In matters of dress, the social divisions are clearly perceptible. The lower classes, under circumstances, reduced their clothings to a bare minimum. The kings, nobles and high caste rich persons were nicely dressed and generally used head dress, and turban, known as *Pāga.*[276] Pāga is still the national head-dress of the people of Mithilā and is used generally on all ceremonial occasions, though confined now to the Brāhmaṇas and Karaṇa Kāyasthas only. Every Maithila is supposed to carry with him a *Dhoti*, waterpot, almanac and a religious book with him.[277] Dhoti was the most common dress for male while Sārī was common for women.[278] Some good Sārīs were

274. S. K. De—*Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement*—P. 2.

275. Even in matters of dress, the existence of two distinct classes in society is evident. The contemporary literature and other evidences point to the existence of disparity in society. The common man had nothing more than a minimum protection from cold, rain and tropical sun and the tradition of a broken thatched house is yet a reality and can be gleaned through a number of folksongs—टुटली मरैया में गुजारा करबै हो; Cf. D. S. Singh—*op. cit.* No. 22; P. 123 ff.

276. *Pāga*—Cf. *Bihār Peasant Life*—P. 143-49; Ghurye—*op. cit.* 138—Its reference is found in a verse of Amira Khusrav. *Pāga* making was an important art.

277. Cf. Coomarswami & Arun Sena—*op. cit.* V; धोती, लोटा, पतरा, पोथी; Also Cf. D. Barbossa (Hakluyat Society, London-1918-21) I. 113-14. Dhoti is the oldest dress as is clear from the Didarganj image. Vide—R. K. Choudhary—'*Vrātyas.*'

278. Thākur—No. 43; Cf. *MM*—No. 67. Vidyāpati's list of dress, cosmetics and other accessories potray a picture of social standard. Our poet is particular in mentioning even the smallest and minutest thing of household use and that gives an idea of his critical insight. Cf. *MM*—No. 257. गगन परसि रह समीरन, सूपभरि के आन।

imported from southern India. The Brāhmaṇas and other religious persons used sandal paste on their foreheads.

The vast ocean of Vidyāpati's writings contains innumerable references about the actual dress, ornaments, cosmetics and other accessories of decorations. Not only local materials or cosmetics were used but articles of different varieties were imported from distant parts of the country. Mithilā was not isolated from other parts of the country and the regular contact with other parts is indicated in the contemporary sources. Contemporary paintings of the *Chandābāna*, by Muhammad Daud, relating to the story of Chandā and Lorika (also referred to in the *VR*), depicts the hero as naked to the waist, with no shoes and having *Kuṇḍala* in his ears. The heroine wears *Chūrī*, armlet, *Śārī*, close-fitted garment on the upper part of the body and something like a scar on the head.[279] *Aṅgīya* and *Cholis* of Lucknow find a prominent place in *Maithili* folk songs. *Chunri* is the most covetable piece of female attire and it finds its place in the mirror of the folk-mind, *i.e.*, the folk songs of Mithilā. *Chunri* figures as the garment marked as a present to a female. It is a red colourd *Sārī* with a particular type of border and manufactured in the western area, to which the singers of Maithilī songs look up as the proper region[280] to visit. There are indications to show that the *Maithilānīs* also prefered the Madras *Chunri*. Rājaśekhara, in his famous *Kāvyamimāṁsā*, has given a lucid account of the various forms of dresses, such as upper garment, bodice, lower garment, girdle and veil.[281]

279. The *MSS* was discovered by Professor S.H. Askari and its contents were published in the *Current Studies*. Prof. Askari was kind enough to show to me his typed notes—Cf. *BTA*. 173; Dharmaśwāmī, the 13th. century Tibetan traveller, refers to the use of footwear in Magadha. Cf. G. Roerich-*Biography of Dharmaswāmī* (Patna 1959).

280. Ghurye—*op. cit.* 172.

281. *Upper garment*—उत्तरासंग, उत्तरीयवसन, उत्तरीयवासस्, उत्तरांशुक, संव्यान, स्तनांशुक, स्तनोत्तरीय; *Bodice*–कंचुक, कंचुलिका, कूरपासक; *Lower garment*–अम्बर, अंशुक, अन्तरीय, जघनांशुक, निवसन, परिधान, वसन, वस्त्रम, वासस, साअलि; *Girdle*–कक्ष्या, कटिसूत्र, काँची, मेखला, रसना, रशना; *Veil*–अवगुंठन

Jyotirīśwara's works throw a flood of light on the subject. He gives a list of thirty kinds of clothes including the home made clothes *viz.—Dukūla, Kṣauma, Kośeya, Kanakapatra, Vicitra, Meghavarṇa, Megha-udumbara, Ṣarama, Kṣirodhaka, Karpūrachauka, Karpūratilaka, Gaṅgāsāgara, Muktāpada,* etc. were known as thirty varieties of *paṭāmbara* (costly clothes).[282] Besides these, he supplies us with a list of twenty kinds of *deśīyapaṭṭavastra* and thirteen types of *nirbhūṣaṇavastra.* [283] He has given a list of various kinds of tents and from this list we learn that mosquito-curtain (*masahari*) was also known to the people. [284] A sage should have the following requisites– *Kamaṇḍalu, Tarutvaca, Ko'pina, Antarvāsa, Vahirvāsa, Vibhuti, Vṛkṣī, Akṣamāla, Dārupātra* and *Karaṇḍaka.* [285] Regarding the dress of a hero, he refers to a costly towel and *Paṭambara* dhoti. [286] The costumes differed with the classes. Nobles, warriors, merchants and richer section of the society favoured more clothing, rich apparel, silken stuffs, velvet shoes and varied types of dresses. The Brāhmaṇas did not use the sewn clothes. Petticoats and breast garments do not seem to have been very popular with the ordinary run of people. *Dhoti* and *Dupaṭṭa* were the common item. Young unmarried girls generally used to wear *Lahaṅga, Ghaṅghra* and *Kañcuki.*

Vidyāpati, in his writings, has given a list of popular dresses and cosmetics. *Nīvī-baṅdhana* has been frequently used and it seems to have been the most popular aspect of the dress culture. [287] Sandal paste was used by both male and female.

282. *VR*–PP. 21–22.

283. *Ibid.*

284. *Ibid*—P. 23. पेमा, वारिगह···मसहरी···टङ्कौटी···etc.

285. *Ibid*—P. 43.

286. *Ibid*—P. 12. पटम्बर धोती उत्तरीयपट आदर्श आनि उपनीत करु—

287. *MM*—Nos. 245—नीवी ससरि भूमि पलि गेल
282—नीवी मोष करए पार Cf. Thākur, Nos. 13,
61—निवि बन्धन हरि किये दूर. 36, 42, 85;
81—निवि निरासलि, फूजल आस, ततए ओ देखि न आवए पास ।
66—फुजल नीवी आनि मेराउलि
72—नीवि बन्ध के जान कि भेला ।

Women used *Kumkuma, Kasturī, Aguru* and other scented oils.[288] The *tilaka* mark on the forehead was considered an auspicious sign and the custom of putting on a *tilaka* mark was prevalent in all parts, more specially at the time of journey. For the married women, use of ornaments all over the body was essential. The use of vermillion was compulsory for a married woman, popularly known as *Suhāgina.*[289] The widow threw away all her ornaments and jwellery and wiped out the scarlet line of vermillion from her head.[290] Amir Khusrav[291] describes how a Hindu woman decorates her eye-brows and hairs. Women spent a major portion of their time in cultivating physical charms and gracious looks. Married women used *Sindūra,* collyrium in the eyes, colour on the soles, palms and fingers, ornaments and varieties of costumes, coloured their lips and were very fond of flowers. The rich women used golds and precious stones while the poorer section had to remain satisfied with lead and silver. The tattooing of arms by women was a regular feature. Amira Khusrav stands substantiated by Vidyāpati. Keeping long hair by women of Mithilā and Bengal was a pet custom and like their counterparts in Bengal, the Maithila women were very particular in decorating their hairs.[292] Collyrium and *Menhdi* were very popular with the women. *Menhdi* was used to paint the palm, nail and legs and is yet very popular in Mithilā.[293] The social

288. *Ibid*—Nos. 218—रगड़ल चानन मृगमद कुंकुम । Cf. Thākur, 38.
115—कुंकुम लओलइ नखखत गोई । Cf. S. Jha, 62.
95—चाँदने आनि आनि अंग लेपव ।
94—मृगमद तिलक अगर अनुलेपित ।
96—तिलक दए मृगमदमसी वदन सरिसन करशशी ।
247—कर्पूर चन्दन चानन चान आंग इम लेपल ।
Cf. No. 117 Also Cf, Barbosa–I. 205 (for a similar custom in South India).

289. *Ibid*—No. 68–केस कुसुम तोर सिर क सिन्दूर ।

290. Coomarswami & Sen—*op. cit.* CXVIII.

291. *Matla-ul-Anwar* (Lucknow–1884) 200.

292. *JDL*—(1927) 9. Cf. L. C. Crump–*Lady of the Lotus* (Oxford–1928). 41–43; Coomarswami and Sen–CXXXII–CXVII.

293. *MM*—No. 116–पदजावक (= मेहदी)

customs varied from place to place.[294] It is associated with numerous songs.

Again we have to fall back upon Jyotirīśvara for a crystal picture of the cosmetics. The *Pañcasāyaka*[295] deals with the articles of toilets and charms of women. Various hints have been given in this book regarding the beautification of one's body in different seasons and of different parts. Various types of paints on different parts of body have also been prescribed. Jyotirīśwara's claim of describing the secret possessions of love in this remarkable work is fully justified. In the *VR*,[296] he has given a list of the ornaments used by heroine. Some of them are yet in use. His heroine's smile "ripples along like the waves on the ocean of milk moved by southern breeze" and is like all the white and pure things.[297] Her decorations and beauty, coupled with the proverbial smile, is killing to the young men who happened to see her.[298] *Khopā* and *Kājara* have been depicted nicely both by Jyotirīśwara and Vidyāpati.[299] Flowers were also

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294. भिन भिन राज भिन भिन वेवहार ।

295. Cf. *Pañchasāyaka*—Section III. ff.

296. *VR*—P. 4-खुटी, सिङ्कली, सूता, एकावली, चुलि, वलया, मेषला, त्रिका, पद्मसूत्र, कङ्कण, नूपुर—Cf. P. 7-कुण्डल ।

297. कुमुद, कुन्द, कदम्ब, कास, मास, कैलाश, कर्पूर, पीयूषक कान्ति ।

298. *Ibid*—P. 5-पूर्णिमा क चान्द अमृत पूरल अइसन मुँह । श्वेत पङ्कज काँ दल भ्रमर वयिसल आँषि । काजर क कल्लोल अइसन भजह·····षोपा परवाक पल्लव अइसन अधर·····etc.....he, then, names the eight standard types of *Nāyikās*-सहजन्या, चित्रलेखा, घृताची, उर्व्वशी, मेनका, रम्भा' तिलोत्तमा, देवजानी ।

299. *Ibid*—and also P. 33-he has used a number of similes with *Kājara*. P. 16, 18 etc.

Cf. *MM*-Nos. 71—नयन के काजरे मुख मसि भेल
77—काजरे कार सखीजन लोचन
79—नयन क काजर अधर न गेल
81—काजल दूधे पखालल जानि
90—नयन जुगल तुअ काजर रेह
96—काजर अंजने न करु भीमा
115—अधरक काजर अएलह धोई

used for decorating hairs.[300] *Mekhalā* or *Kamardhani* was also used.[301] The nobility used valuable *Sārīs*.[302] *Śaṅkha* and *moti* (pearl) were also used as ornaments.[303] The frequent use of *Śaṅkha* in Jyotirīśvara and Vidyāpati is an evidence of the fact that it was used by the females of Mithilā, though its use has now become obsolete here, while in some parts of Tirhut, it is used even now on the occasion of the marriage ceremony. *Coli* and *Āṅgi* are also referred to as part of female's apparel.[304] Some type of umbrella was also known.[305] Looking glass was not unknown.[306] Both the rich and the poor had their own way of dressing themselves up according to their means. The evidences at our disposal go to show that the young people indulged more and more in decorating themselves and thereby adding grace and beauty to their physical charm. Various kinds of ornaments were used by women. The stylist women used antimony for the eyes, vermillion for marking the parting of the hair, musk for the breast, betel-leaves for the lips and dentifice for the teeth. We find the use of vermillion by Muslim women in imitation of Hindu ladies. It was not tantamount to infidelity if they used it to beautify their persons to please their husbands. There are indirect references to *Chaṭṭhi* in the Muslim sources

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177—नयन काजर लए विधुन्तुद For an exthaustive account of the cosmetics Cf. *Kirtilatā* (Saxena) P. 28. Cf. *Thākur*–3, 7, 11, 12 etc. Cf. S. Jha–62, 1, 133, 174 etc. Cf. *VR*–33 for *Kājara*–

300. *MM*—No. 89.

301. *Ibid*—No. 90. Cf. Todd–II. 1953–54; Cf. *VR*–P. 4.

302. *Ibid*—No. 24–नीलपटोर ।

303. *Ibid*—Nos. 95, 159, 737; Rakesh–P. 54–फोरबई में शंखाचुरी फारबई में चोलिया से धरवइ जोगिनिया क वेष—

Cf.—संख कर चूड़ वसन कर तोड़ह गजमोती हार रे ।
पिया यदि तेजल कि काज शृङ्गारे यमुना सलिले सब डार रे ।
सीथ क सिंदुर पोछिकर दूर पिया बिनु सबहि निराश रे ।

Cf. *VR*—P. 17 for शंखबलय ।

304. *VR*—P. 35–; Cf. P. 4–for ornaments.

305. *Ibid*—P. 34–छता, छातं, छत्रप्रकार, टोपरि ।

306. दरपण काजर देइ आँख ।

(*BTA*-431). The Hindu women also used the caste-mark (Coomarswami and Arunsen-CXXXII; CXVII).

Betel leaves formed an important item of physical decoration and personal charm. While the flowers were used to decorate hairs, betel-leaves were used for the decoration of lips. [307] The Maithilas were adept in the use of betel-leaves and the *VR* has prescribed quite a good deal of means for the use of betels. [308] He has enumerated the different kinds of limes and spices used in preparing the betel-leaf. *Tāmbula* was also known as *Pāna* as early as the 13th century A. D. and the Tibetan traveller, Dharmasvāmī, has used it as such. The word also occurs in the *VR*. Jyotirīśvara has enumerated thirteen qualities of *Pāna* and has given a list of the varieties of spices and betelnuts imported from other places. The rich persons kept *Tāmbulapātra* by their bedside. [309] Pāna was offered after lunch and dinner and was also known as *Mukhaśuddhi* in Mithilā. It is offered to all types of guests and friends. *Tāmbula* was mainly used to decorate the mouth and the lips by both the males and females. [310] The *Bāṅgalā-pāna* was very popular in Mithilā. [311] There is a famous adage, yet prevalent in Mithilā, that betel-leaves and *makhnāna* (a kind of water fruit) are not available in heaven and hence one should taste them while living otherwise he will have to repent in the heaven. The dealers

Tāmbula

307. Cf. *MM*—No. 89; Rakesh-*op. cit.* P. 103.

308. Cf. *VR*—P. 13—रूपाक सीप दुवे चुम्बाओल अइसन आकार···मुक्ता क चून, सिन्धुक कङ्कोला, श्रीहट्टक एला, सिंहल द्वीप क जातोफल, काञ्ची क मुखमेन, मलय पाञ्चौरक भीमसेन कर्प्पूर, लघनावतीक सरसा पूग। तिरहुतिक साहर, एकरे संयोगे लगाओल पञ्चफल संयुक्त, कटु, तिक्त, कषाय, क्षार, उष्ण, मधु, मुखशोभक, सुरस, स्वादु, सरस सन्दीपक, कामाग्निक सम्मानक, पवित्र, तेरह गुण सम्पन्न···स्वर्ग दुर्ल्लभ अइसन पान। Also Cf. P. 24—पान कर्प्पूर क विनियोग।

309. *Ibid*—P. 15-विचित्रित ताम्बुलपात्र एक; P. 27—ताम्बुल क संचय; P. 28-सुगन्ध पुष्प, ताम्बुल-एकर विनियोग करु; P. 15-पान कर्प्पूर; P. 20-पान क करनी; P. 26-पान नायिका; P. 64-पान; P. 70.

310. Cf. *PP*-(Pāthak) 170, 176, 181, 150, 193; Cf. *Likhnāvalī*.

311. Rakesh-103.

in betel-leaves were known as *Tamboli*. *'Pāna'* was very popular among the Muslims. Vidyāpati, in his description of of Jaunpur, has given a vivid account of the contemporary social custom. [312] Pāna offering was common both among the Hindus and Muslims. [312a]

The *VR* further refers to the prevailing custom of shampooing, beds and various kinds of clothes used in Mithilā.

Shampooing, Bed and Clothes

When the king goes to his gymnasium and bath (*samarahara*), he is seated on an elaborate throne of wood and the four shampooers (*mardaniā*) come with perfumed oil and thirty six kinds of shampooing are practised on him. [313] After his bath, a mirror is brought to him. Two expert barber servants were employed to massage his feet at the time of sleeping in the night. [314] There is an elaborate account of the bedstead, bed clothes and the appurtenances of the bed room. [315] The bed was richly decorated with various types of articles, jwellery, flowers and all necessary equipments and object of beauty were kept there. The *VR* has also given a description of bed in connection with the description of the prostitutes. [316] *Śayyā, Ochchaona, Seja* etc.

312. Saxena–*op. cit.* PP. 40–43. Cf. पानक सए सोनाक टंका। Also Cf. पनहट्टा in the same book.

312a. *ED*—III. 290.

313. *VR*—P. 11–gives a detail of समरहर–; various kinds of oil; सोन्दू गोन्दू किरतू कान्हू प्रभति जन चारि मरदनिया उपनीत भउ;–then he details 36 kinds of shampooing–; after waters collected from *Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Narmadā, Saraswati, Godāvari, Tamasā, Tāmraparṇī, Vitastā, Kauśiki, Vāgvati, Kāveri* (12 rivers) in golden jar are brought for his bath. Cf. *Kīrtilatā*–कुरुआ क तेल आङ्ग लाइअ।

314. *Ibid*—P. 14–नाउ जनदुइ पएर सम्हान न करइतें अछ।

315. *Ibid*—P. 14–हाथि क दान्तक पवा, मानिक क पासि, मरकतक शिखा, सोना क पटा, स्फटिक, दण्डा, पदमरागक दण्डिया, अहुठ हाथ दीर्घ, अठाय हाथ फाण्ड, सेज ओट एक पालु, तकाँ उपर कम्बल चारि……नेतक माण्डल गेण्डुआ एक……चारिहु कोन बान्धल चँदोआ माड़ल ऊपर देल अछ।

316. *Ibid*—P. 27–शय्याक विन्यास–In his description of the कामावस्था वर्णना he also refers to शय्या Cf. P. 28. शय्याकाँ उपर नायक नायिका इ दुओ एकवस्थ भउमह्–In his उपवन वर्णना he has given a very nice-simile–Cf. P. 38–जनिवन देवता क शयन शय्या विरचल अछ।

are the most common equivalents for bed in Mithila. Vidyāpati has also used the word *'Seja'* in his poems.[317] Vidyāpati has also referred to the use of Nepālī blankets and other types of clothes[318] *viz.—Kārpāsika Vastra*[319] (a very soft cloth), *Saromavastra,*[320] *Kṣaumavastra,*[321] *Kauśeyavastra, Kuśavastra* and *Kṛmijavastra.*[322] It is apparent from the *Dānavākyāvali* that coloured dresses of various types were in use e.g. red, blue, cream, sky and yellow colours found favour with the people. *Uṣṇiṣa* or the head dress, better known as *Pāga,* in Mithilā, was common.[323] Both silken and woollen clothes were in use. It is not exactly known whether there was any footwear in use on not. The thirteenth century Tibetan traveller, Dharmasvāmī, says that when he was seen wearing boots but speaking Sanskrit fluently, he was taken to be an impostor. Dharmasvāmī says that shoes with leather soles were used by the natives. Some sorts of footwears seem to have been in use,[324] possibly affected to the feet above by straps. The *VR* also mentions *Camāra*[325] and as such it may be presumed that leather work was not unknown. Vidyāpati, in his *Kīrtilatā,* has also referred to the existence of shoe-shops in Jaunpur.[326] The evidences, at our disposal, reveal to us a clear picture of the contemporary dress and costumes of both the upper and lower classes.

VIII

Mithilā, in the age of Vidyāpati, was passing through a period of political uncertainty and as such insecurity charac-

317. Thākur, No. 22—हुनाहुँ चिन्ता सेज ओछाए ।
No. 52—सुनि सेज सुति रहल ।

318. Cf. *Dānavākyāvali*—P. 135; Cf. *Likhanāvalī.*

319. *Ibid*—232-Cf. P. 233—तूलवत् कार्प्पासिक वस्त्र ।

320. *Ibid*—233. Cf. *VR-Supra.*

321. *Ibid*—234.

322. *Ibid*—234-35-पट्टवस्त्र, मृगलोमजवस्त्र, वृक्षत्वक् सम्भववस्त्र; वल्कलं वृक्षत्वक् कौसुंभरक्तवस्त्र, हरिद्रारकवस्त्र; P. 236—नीलैश्चरकं, आविकवस्त्र ।

323. *Ibid*—P. 237-Cf. the *VR*-P. 32, 33.

324. Cf. *VR*—P. 32-मोजा, सरमोजा; P. 34-चरणा परिहले ।

325. *Ibid*—P. 1.

326. *BTA*—462.

terised the life of the people. There were incursious both from east and west and political stability was fast vanishing. Sometimes the Oinwāras raised their heads as independent rulers and even went to the extent of issuing gold and silver coins but this much can be asserted that internally they enjoyed autonomous status. The marching soldiers were legally entitled to forced labour from the villagers.[307] The Muslim soldiers had little respect for the Hindu way of life and they cared little for the protection of life and property of the ordinary people. Time had changed and the centre of political and cultural gravity was fast shifting towards towns and cities. New towns were coming into prominence. Dharmasvāmī has referred to a very populous town in Mithila and also to the marches and counter marches of conflicting armies in Vaiśālī.

Daily Life and general standard of morality

Vidyāpati's description of Jaunpur is without any admixture of the marvellous and he transports his readers to the Sharqi capital in its best days. His description may be taken as the first hand report of the relations between the Hindus and Muslims at Jaunpur.[308] Mithilā's contact with Islam had become an established fact and she had either to wage wars against the Muslims or to fight for their Muslim masters. Jaunpur, in his days, was a very fine city having beautiful gardens, culverts, embankments, ponds, houses, mosques and temples. The city was highly decorated and there were very fine roads.[309] The chief centre of attraction was the market place. It was an[310] ocean of people. People from Telanga, Chola, Kalinga and Bengal flocked here. All types of people

Town and City life

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307. Cf. *Kīrtilatā*–बाट जाइत वेगारधर ।

308. *Ibid*—P. 25 ff.–हिन्दू तुरुके मिलल वास, एकक धम्मे अओका उपहास ।
कतहु वाँग कतहु वेद, कतहु विसमिल कतहु छेद ।

309. *Ibid*—P. 25 ff–कतहु ओझा कतहु षोजा, कतहु नकत कतहु रोजा ।
कतहु तम्बारु कतहु कूजा, कतहु निमाज कतहु पूजा ।

310. *Ibid*—Vidyāpati uses the word–नरसमुद्र–Cf. P. 48 for details.

could be seen there. All these peoples spoke their own languages. The market was a very busy place.[311] Practically every aspect of human consumption was sold in the market.[312] There used to be great rush in the market and it presented a very splendid site. The market was flooded with all types of cosmetic goods.[313] Janapada, according to Vidyāpati, indicated a city or a town.[314] Even in his poems, Vidyāpati has drawn a line of demarcation between a village and a town—as *Gāma* and *Nagara*.[315] Frequent references to city and towns in the comtemporary literature are indicative of the fact that a city was distinct from a village. At one place, it has been said that the villages are situated scatteredly.[316] It was a common belief that in the town people purchased youth.[317] There are innumerable references, though in a poetic and fanciful language, to the unsophisticated villagers, *Kugāma, Gamāra* etc. and to the sophisticated ways of living of the townspeople.

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311. *Ibid*—P. 28–हाट करेओ प्रथम प्रवेश। अष्टधातु घटना टाङ्कार, कँसेरी, पसराँ, काँस्य, क्रेङ्कार, प्रचुर पौरजनपद……धनहट्टा, सोनहट्टा, पक्कानहट्टा, मछहट्टा,……etc.

312. *Ibid*—P. 30–सकल पृथ्वीचक्र करे ओ वस्तु विकाएँ आए वाजे मानुसक मीसी पीसि वर आँगे आँग। उँगर आनक तिलक आन क लाग। यात्राहुतह परस्त्री क वलया भांग—Cf. P. 34–We have seen above the description of the stylist public women.

313. *Ibid*—P. 28–कपुर, केसर, गंध, चामर, काजल Cf. *VR*–P. 6–काजर-सिन्दुर; P. 10–हीरा मणि मानिक मुक्ता सुवर्ण रजत; P. 11–कस्तुरी, कर्पुर, कुंकुम, अगर, चंदन, यावाद, मायाशिर, पानीर–eight types of गन्धद्रव्य।

314. *Ibid*—Cf. *Likhanāvalī*–47; Cf. *VR*–quoted earlier–; *PP*–(Pāthaka) 13.

315. Cf. Thakur—No. 27–गामहिं वसले बोलिअ गँमार नगरहुँ नागर बोलिअ संसार–No. 35–नगर–No. 83–नगर।

316. S. Jha—No. 44–ठामे ठामे वस गाम the word '*home*' has also been used for गाम, Cf. No. 166–हमे एकसरि पिअतमनहि गाम। No. 108–नगरहु नागरि तोहि सवे जान।

317. *Ibid*—No. 110–जौवन नगर वेसाइव रूप
No. 123–
No. 226–

We learn from the contemporary sources that a town was usually provided with temples, tanks, wells, ponds, market and other amenities of life. [318] A town was not only an administrative centre but also a military base and an important centre of trade and commerce. In the very first *Kallola* of the *VR (Nagara Varṇanā)*, Jyotirīśwara refers to the noises and sounds of the city, through playing of all kinds of musical instruments and shouts of the people and all kinds of seemly and unseemly acts which would come to one's sight in a city with its motley crowd. The poet refers to a number of towns and places in his *PP–viz.*—Kusumapura, [319] Kosala, [320] Ujjain, Kāmpila [324] Pāṇḍu, [325] Gorakhpura, [326] Kośāmbi, [327] Yoginipura,[328] Mathura [329] Śālmalipura, [330] Banaras, [331] Devagiri, [332] Rāḍha [333] and many others. Caṇḍeśwara throws an insufficient but welcome light on the town administration. It may be noted here that in the *Rajnitiratnākara,* there are provisions for both the village and the town administration. While the officer, associated with the village administration, was known as *Snigdha,* the *Sarvārthacintakam* functioned in every town or city. [334] All types of people lived in the town. [335] Even

318. *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*—P. 42 ff; *Sukranitisāra*–I. 431–33; Cf. *Thākur*–No. 17 for बाँध; No. 19. for कछाड़; No. 29. for सरोवर; No. 33. for जलाशय; No. 39. for कूप; No. 41 for floodwater. According to Vidyāpati, Sea is unfathomable. Cf. No. 44.

319. *PP*—(Pāthak) 76, 103, 112. 114, 118–(modern Patna).

320. *Ibid*—121.

324. *Ibid*—164–for Ujjain, Cf. P. 224.

325. *Ibid*—174.

326. *Ibid*—128.

327. *Ibid*—87.

328. *Ibid*—13, 201, 202 (Modern Delhi).

329. *Ibid*—35.

330. *Ibid*—53–54.

331. *Ibid*—59; for Kāśi–229, 197, 213; Manikarṇikā–60.

332. *Ibid*—61.

333. *Ibid*—145, 162; Prayāga–162–63; *Sarayusaṁgama*–177.

334. *RR*—P. 61–तेषां ग्राम्याणि कार्य्याणि पृथक्कार्याणि चैव हि । राज्ञोऽन्यस्सचिवः स्निग्धस्तानि पश्येदतन्द्रितः । नगरे नगरे चैकं कुर्य्यात्सर्वार्थचिन्तकम् ।

335. *VR*—1 ff.

the dancers and musicians had a place in the city. [336] The *VR*, in its first *Kallola*, [337] deals with the *nagara varṇana*. If the extant leaves be taken as index of the then town life, it may be said that the town was inhabited by all sorts of lower castes and classes, criminal classes and various kinds of beggars and mendicants. [338] The city was full of noises and sounds, through the playing of all kinds of musical instruments and singing of ballads and songs connected with the *Lorika*, and all kinds of seemly and unseemly acts. The *VR* did not neglect the country side.

Village life seems to have been normal. The villages seems to have been self contained. People led a simple life. Śrīdharadāsa, in his *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, has given a fine description of ordinary villagers by quoting the poems of Yogeśwara and Subhāṅka. [339] They were without the sophisticated manners of the town dwellers. On seeing a woman, they played rustic tricks like jumping across the well, ascending the tree-tops, overturning the bullock-cart and singing in a low voice. [340] The villagers took delight in entertaining guests and housewives felt happy on such occasions. [341] The court poet of Lakṣmaṇasena, Śaraṇa, has drawn a vivid picture of the agriculturists and

Village life

336. Cf. *DSnāṭaka*—Jyotirśīwara gives a description of the house of a prosperous farmer Cf. P. 41–; Cf. Act I–भअवं, पेक्ख, पेक्ख, विहिदभअवज्जणमुण्डसरिच्छबहुअर महिसी खम्भसोहन्तचउस्सालं, इदो तदो सञ्चरन्तबालगोवक्छसोहिदं पीणुत्तुङ्गक्षणालसपरिक्खलन्तमन्दसञ्चार-रमणिज्जावास परिसर सञ्चरन्तचेडियासमूहं कस्सवि महाधणस्स वासभअण विलोईअदि ।

337. It is unfortunate for us that the first nine leaves of this *Kallola* are yet untraced which might have proved a very useful source of information.

338. *VR*—P. 2–The *Chatariyā* (a class of beggar) is mentioned by Vidyāpati. Cf. S. Jha–No. 242 जइसन चाँतरिया हाथ क हेम ।

339. *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*—II. 84. 2–P. 123 of the *POS*–XV.

340. Cf. *Ibid*–4 (P. 124)–We are told that in the month of *Chaitra*, they tried to kiss the women while they were asleep in the open.

341. *Ibid*—P. 303.

peasants in his poems. [342] A study of the *RR* reveals to us that the village system was organised on a sound basis *(Supra)*. All matters relating to the village life were discussed in the village *Pañcāyata.* There was a minister in charge of the rural affairs in addition to an officer known as *'Snigdha.'* It appears that the king took keen interest in the village affairs. All village disputes were settled by the *Pañcāyata.* There was an officer in each village to adjudicate upon all questions arising from the canons of conduct. The ordinary village in Mithila remained unaffected by the contemporary political crisis and dynastic changes. Unbroken continuity has been one of the basic features of the village life in Mithilā. The rich and the ruling class generally lived in towns. So long as the villagers continued paying revenue, they remained safe and undisturbed. The village, though divided in *ṭolās* on caste or class lines, presented a scene of co-operation and amity. All types of people inhabited the villages. *Hāṭa, bāzars* and lanes were common to both the town and the village.[343] The *Likhnāvali* gives a clear indication of the fact that village life was one of mutual co-operation and friendship and on all social occasions mutual help was sought for. Their unsophisticated life has been nicely described in the contemporary literature. [344] Very few village names are known to us from contemporary literary sources. [345] Majority of the villagers identified themselves with the prevailing conditions of the time and they had grown fatalist. The villagers were mainly agriculturists but there were other avenues as well. Like the town, there were merchants, perfume sellers, dealers in lacs and conchshell, woodcutters, blacksmith, goldsmith, oil driller, betel-sellers, sweatmeat-makers, servants of various types in every village. [346]

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342. *Ibid*—p. 278.

343. Thakur—Nos. 35, 50, 83.

344. S. Jha—Nos. 86, 166, 44.

345. Cf. the colophons of the *MSS—Nepal Catalogue; Catalogue of Mithilā MSS.*

346. Cf. The *Likhanāvalī.*

Pastimes and amusements

Dramatic performances seem to have been the most popular form of entertainment during the period under review. Both the king and the people seem to have exhibited keen interest in these performances. Dance and drama have been the unique contribution of Mithilā and through a study of these arts we can get a natural expression of the innermost spirit of Mithilā. We have no definite idea about the stage etc., but it can be inferred that the performances were held either in the palace or in public places. [347] It may be noted here that Nānyadeva, the founder of the Karṇāṭa dynasty, wrote a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. During our period, dancing seems to have attained prominence and maturity as we find Jyotiriśwara devoting more than three sections to this particular art. The sixth *Kallola* gives an account of music and dancing. He enumerates three kinds of dancing *viz.*—*Nṛtyavarṇanā*, *Pātranṛtyavarṇanā* and *Preraṇanṛtyavarṇanā*, [348] (for details see *infra*). The *Pātra* is a dancing girl, practised in thirty two kinds of movements and in thirty two kinds of graces. [349] The *Preraṇa* is a male dancer. Various kinds of dances are then described. Folk dance was very popular in a land of excessive orthodoxy and that the tradition was so deeprooted that even as late as the 16th. century A. D., Maharāja Subhaṅkara Thākur wrote *Śrihastamuktāvali* in Sanskrit dealing with the various kinds of art of dancing on the traditional line.

Dance & drama

The people shared the joys in dancing and theatrical performances. [350] The drama seems to have been patronised both by the kings and the commoners. The dramatic performances were accompanied with dances and songs. The *Kirtaniyā* drama was very popular in Mithilā and it was said

347. Cf. L. Renou—*The Civilisation of Ancient India*—P. 161; Cf. my article *Sanskrit Drama in Mithilā*—in the *JBRS*—XLIII.

348. *VR*—P. 48 ff.

349. *Ibid*—XXX. for further details see the section on '*Art*'.

350. Cf. *Prabandhachintāmani* (Tawney) P. 106. Cf. *Triṣaṣṭisalākāpuruṣacharita*—III. 239.

to be associated with the worship of Viṣṇu. The earliest and oldest drama in Maithili language is the well-known *Dhūrta-samāgamanāṭaka* of Jyotirīśwara Thākur. The drama is a farce, a typical *prahasana,* fulfilling almost every condition prescribed in Sanskrit literary criticism. [351] The songs are like the songs of early Kirtaniyā drama and are interesting in the total development of the play. The second important drama is the famous *Pārijātaharaṇa* of Umāpati. [352] The main text is in Sanskrit but the songs are in Maithili. The origin of *Kirtaniyā* drama is ascribed to Vidyāpati who is said to have given its present form and character. Vidyāpati wrote *Maṇimañjari* and *Gorakṣavijayanāṭaka,* whose printed edition is now available. It is believed that these two dramas used to be staged in Mithilā. The *Sūtradhāra* in the *Gorakṣavijaya* proposes to carry out the orders of Śivasiṁha by proposing a play on the success of Gorakṣanātha. [353] All these go to show that dramatic performances were very popular in Mithilā and the *Kirtaniyā* dramas drew all sections of people under one canopy. *Ḍhola, Mṛdaṅga, Tablā* and *Jhāla* were usually pressed into use at the time of dance and drama. There were regular actors, singers, *Bhāṭas* etc. We shall refer to these items in-details when we come to the description of art and literature. Open air theatres were not unknown. [354]

Games and Sports

Games and sports were not totally unknown. Duels, wrestling, footballs and various other types of games including Gambling and *Chaupara* are known to us from the contemporary sources. Wrestling is as old as the days of Pāṇini. [355] The *VR* has given a very fine description of the *Mallayuddha* [356] or a wrestling match. Here we have a number wrestling's terms,

351. *DSnāṭaka*—Introduction—P. 10.
352. Cf. My article referred to above.
353. For literary appreciation—See Infra under heading *'Literature.'*
354. T. N. Ray—*Kuṭṭinimatam*—Verse 931, says that actors and actresses were honoured by kings and rulers. For musical instrument. Cf. *MM*—No. 110—रटति रबाबमहति (वीणा) कपिनाश (वाद्ययन्त्रविशेष), राधारमन करु मुरलि विलास ।
355. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*—3. 3. 36; Cf. *PIHC* (1939—Calcutta) P. 256; *MASI*—No. 55. Pl. XXVI. No. 31.
356. *VR*—P. 45 ff.-ओइनिकइ वाहनाद छालि दुहु सुघाल मउअह. वन्य पइसु

meanings of which are not yet clear. An account of gambling is rather long but very interesting, though some of the terms, mentioned here, are now obscure. Gambling was one of the chief sports.[357] Gambling is called *'Jūa.'* Through a fashionable gambling house, Jyotiriśwara bewilders us by his familiarity with various games that are on; as well as by his knowledge of the ways of the men who gather there. Gambling has been a very old tradition in India and this had not lost its charm in the medieval period. This game was an important means of recreation and to some it was a hobby. The liesured class induged in dice-playing and gambling and sometimes heavy stakes were kept.[357a]

Hunting was also an important pastime. Hunting presented an image of war.[358] In chasing, dogs were also pressed into service. Here we have the unique description of a royal cavalcade going out to hunt in the jungles, armed with varieties of weapons and with the types of dogs that are led in the bash. The contemporary sources reveal to us that all types of urban and rural games were known to our people and the feudal landlords, sometimes, maintained a host of combatants and wrestlers in their courts.[359] The popular outdoor game

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अह्. एक फरकि धाओ धालु. अओकें पइसि वाह डाकि फलाके भरेल भूमि भऊ.....भुमि तृक लागि डोकवा लावि भूमि भउ. अओकें माण्डकें भरे विदान राषि पाहि मलिहु ओके भूमि पालि राषि उभरि एक ठार भउअह.....

357. *Ibid*—P. 23 ff. नगरक दक्षिण, जूआ योगिनीक, आयतन दे ेकाँ, सन्निधान, उच्च, चौरस, सुगन्ध, वातायन, विचित्र, विपुलाकृत, शतहाथ भीतर दीर्घ, चउसठि हाथ फाण्ड, काँच, P. 24. .....वणिक भूमि अपूर्व चेष्टसार एक देषु.....त्रयोदश प्रकार क खेड़षेलइतें देषु..... detalls various types of plays in PP. 24–25–26.

357a. Nerukar—148. Cf. *MM*–No. 787–विधिन करए हरखेलए पासा सारि।

358. *VR*—P. 35 ff –Eight types of elephants, 10 types of dogs, have been mentioned here. Cf. *Mānasollāsa* IV. 13. refering to 21 kinds of hunting; *Hammiramahākāvya*–IV. 38 ff.

359. Cf. for details *Vaijyanti*—114–147; *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*–117 ff; *Manasollāsa*–P. 229; Penzer—*KSS*–II. 200. *Trisaṣṭisalākā*–III. 68; *Daśakumāracharita*–6th. Ucchvāsa, Where ladies are seen playing football. Polo was also known in the Chālukyan kingdom Cf. A. K. Majumdar *The Chaulukyas of Gujrāt* 359–60; Cf. *Manasollāśa* P. 35; Hockey was also known.

was football. Vidyāpati has given a very nice description of the *Kandukakrīḍā* in one of his poems.[360] The word *'gena'* for football has also been used here. Both the adults and children took part in games. Women generally indulged in *'Chaupari,' 'Śāmāchakeva,'* and various other types of games. On such occasions as *Holi* and *Kojāgara,* special types of games were played and the folk literature is replete with such references. Dice and chess were not unknown. The *Dwaita-Viveka* of Bibhākara refers to Rājā Rupanārāyaṇa playing chess with Sikandar Lodi at Patna.[361] This game was very popular in Mithilā. Kite-flying was a very popular pastime in Tirhut. The nobility also enjoyed the pigeon-flying, cock-fighting and ram-fighting. Animal fight, especially on the occasion of *Sukrāti,* was witnessed with great enthusiasm.[362] *Choranukhi,* a game of hide and seek, and similar other games were also very popular.[362] Most of these games are yet extant in Mithilā and other parts of north Bihar. *Kabbaḍḍi* is fast decaying.

Since hospitality was one of the important cultural traits of the people of Mithilā, the lawgivers have assigned a place of utmost importance to the visiting guests. The royal court also took measures to arrange for the stay of the foreign travellers and we know that a Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍita of Prayāga was cordially received by Rāmbhadra of Mithilā.[363] The

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360. Thakur—No. 14–करहुँ कुसुम कन्दुकरी अमरि……
गेन दे खेलन देखि निडार……
Cf. No. 16. Where the word *Khela* (खेल) has been used. For words associated with 'खेल'–Cf. the *VR*—37ख; 38क; 38ख; 39 क ।

361. Cf.—सिकन्दरपुरन्दरो गुरुदुरोदरक्रीड़या
दिनं गमयति ध्रुवं विविधनागरीविभ्रमैः ।
प्रचण्डरिपुमण्डलीमुकुटकोटिकोटिप्रभा-
सभाजितपदाम्बुजं यमिह मित्र भावं नय—Cf. R. K. Choudhary–*History of Bihar* P. 172.

362. For other details—Cf. Rakesh–P. 317 ff.

362. Cf. *Desināmālā*–I. 53; III. 30. Tawney–*Prabandhachintāmaṇi*–139.

363. Cf. I. O. Catalogue—P. 214. No. 804 (विद्वत् प्रबोधिनी)

guests, in Mithilā, have been treated as gods. Creation of alms-houses and inns was regarded as an act of charity and the *Dharmaśāstra* literatures contain various references about it [364] Caṇḍeśwara has approved of it and has pleaded for the entertainment of guests and goes on to suggest that hospitality is a duty of the householder. [365] Rāmasiṁha's request to Dharmaswāmī to accept his hospitality is an indication in this direction. Though a Buddhist, he was offered all sorts of comforts by a Hindu King. Giving food to a visitor was prescribed in all circumstances. Even in alms-houses, food was supplied free of cost and if there was any mishap, it was the duty of the king and the people to perform all religious rites connected with the deceased. Infirm, old, blind and helpless people were there and it was a part of the social and political duty to look to their interest. There were rest houses and other public places meant for the retirement and recreation of the people and such places were known as *"arāma"*—Benevolent persons made a gift of *'arāmas.'* [366]

Hospitality and provision for the stay of travellers

Astrology was a widely practised science in medieval Mithilā and all sorts of people resorted to it for guidance. Before starting any new venture, everybody consulted an astrologer for advice. Vidyāpati seems to have been well conversant with the predictive astrology. [367] Superstitious beliefs held ground. [368] Fatalism seems to have been the normal norm

Astrology

गयाया निर्गतो रामस्तीरभूक्ताख्यदेशपं ।
रूपनारायणं विप्रं सन्तुष्टं स्वगिराकरोत् ॥
रूपनारायणाद् भूपादाशां प्राप सुतान्वितः ।
तीरभूक्ताख्यदेशाच्च प्रयागं समुपागतः ॥

364. Cf. Yājñavalkya—I. 121; Parāśara-I. 38.

365. *GR*—309; Cf. P. 295.

366. Cf. Vidyāpati—*Dānavākyāvalī*-P. 152-आरामो ग्रामसमीपस्तु सजातीयतरुसमुहः P. 153-उद्यानभूमिं दत्त्वा तु गन्धर्वैः सह मोदते ।

367. *MM*—No. 576-छितिसुत (= मंगल) तेसर सेजोवयार i.e. Maṅgala in the third is considered to be a *mārakeśa*. Cf. *Dānavākyāvali*-6-8.

368. Thākur—No. 42-वामानयन फुरन आरम्भ; Cf. *PP*-(Pāthak) 25, 118, 74 for fate and कर्मफल । No. 4-for witch.

of human life.[369] Powers of sorcery were known to the people of medieval India and Kamarūpa, the centre of tantric faith, finds frequent mention in the contemporary sources. We learn from the Muslim sources that the secret power was possessed by the Brāhmaṇas. They knew how to convert men into animals.[370] Though in our ancient texts, like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Smṛtis*, fatalism has been decried as the creed of cowards and sluggards, the fact remains that the astrologers enjoyed enviable position in the court and among the people. Needless to say that blind faith in astrology exerted baneful influence on the society and helped people in becoming more and more a fatalist. The poor people resigned themselves to fate and they were made to believe that their sufferings were ordained by their respective stars. The *VR* gives an account of the astrologer with the names of treatises and the computation he can make.[371] It was the general belief that good or bad luck of a man is determined by the creator.[372] Belief in past and post-life is also indicated in a number of writings by our poet.[373]

Amongst the typical Maithila superstitious belief and omen is the custom of *Khanjana-darśana.*[371] The common belief is that in the 8th. or the 12th. lunar day in the fullmoon day of the month of *Āświna*, one should perform *śanti* (also called

369. *Ibid*—No. 47-करम क दोषे विघटि गेल साटि; Cf. S. Jha—*op. cit.*, *MM*—*op. cit.* for a number of references.

370. *ED*—III. 563; Cf. *PP* (Pāthak) 8, 12, 195.

371. *VR*—P. 23-मानस, खण्डखाद्य, भास्वती, तिथिचक्र, सोमशेखर, विद्याधरी··· राजमार्तण्ड, हलायुध, वराहमिहिर, श्रीपति संहिता, नन्दसंहिता, देवलसंहिता, चन्द्रसंहिता—पन्द्रह तिथि; सताइस नक्षत्र, सताइस संयोग, सात वरागन, बारह राशि, आठ पहर, बतीस घली, बारह मुहुर्त, दण्ड, पल, कला, विकला··· ग्रहादि दोषवर्ज्जित चान्द केवल तारा के अनुकूले, गुरु शुक्रके। केन्द्रे, सुतहि बुकादि योगे समन्वित सर्व्वगुणसम्पूर्ण लग्न भउ।

372. S. Jha—Nos. 112, 238, 247, 233, 244 & others.

373. *PP* (Pāthak)—166-167, 215, 225, 222; Cf. Folk-Song-विधि ककरोने सक।

371. Cf. Caṇḍeśwara—*Kṛtyaratnākara* PP. 360-373. (*BI*-1925); Govindānanda—*Varṣakṛtyakaumudī* (*BI*-1902) & Raghunandana *Tithitattva.*

nirājaśānti). If after the conclusion of this ceremony, the enemy is chased by the king in the direction of the *Khanjana bird,* he is fast subdued. This bird is rarely seen and is hence considered auspicious, [372] specially when the sun is in the asterism of *Hasta* and it desappears as soon as the sun reaches the asterism of *Rohiṇi.* Only a specific type of this bird is auspicious and that a fat Khanjana, with long neck and black throat, having dark colour from neck to mouth, is taken to be beneficient. Various kinds of this bird—*viz, Samantabhadra, prabhadra, anubhadra* and *ambarbhadra* in *chitrakṛta* and *Gopita* colours are known. The observers of the *chitrakṛta* and *Gopita* colours fall to misery. The sight of *Samantabhadra* is considered to be the best and propitious. Some important beliefs associated with the sight of this bird are as follows—

Khanjanadarśana

(i) if seen on a curd vessel or stack of paddy—an indication of good.

(ii) if on a quagmire—it predicts good grass

(iii) if on the dung of a bull—indicates profusion of cow's milk.

(iv) if on grass—acquisition of clothes.

(v) if on *Sakaṭa* tree—sale of the country.

(vi) if on house top—failure.

(vii) if on the face of a person—imprisonment.

(viii) if on *Śuci* tree—disease.

(ix) if on the back of a goat or a sheep—speedy meeting with one's beloved.

(x) if on the bone of a dead buffalo, camel, ass or in a burning place—evils, death, disease and fear.

(xi) It is auspicious at the time of sunrise but not at the time of sunset.

(xii) if seen falling to the ground, it indicates the coming of wealth.

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372. *KR*—366-373—It is believed that the places where it vomits, voids its ordure or performs sexual intercourse abounds with coal, glass and gems respectively. Its dead, wounded, diseased and bleeding conditions indicate similar state for the observers. Shaking of its wings or drinking from a water course is a bad sign.

(xiii) if found soaring in the sky, it means future union with one's relations.

(xiv) if seen on lotuses in the morning, on cow, elephant, horse and serpent, it gives an indication of a kingdom to the observer.

(xv) if found on bones, ashes, etc., it is a bad indication.

There is a long list of such indication about this bird in the *KR*. The sight and the utterance of the name of this bird are auspicious. At its sight, the following *mantra* is to be enchanted—"O, You, the son of a sage, practising *Yoga,* you disappear with the advent of summer but reappear after the close of the rains. I bow down to you, *Khanjana* who are full of wonders." If the bird is seen in the south when the star *"Agastya"* is on the horizon, this bird fulfils the desire of the observer. There was also a provision for the worship of the *Khanjana* bird. In his *KR* (Chapters-19 to 22) Caṇḍeśwara discusses the various aspects of astronomy with special reference to (i) Sun's passage from one sign to another; (ii) to the new moon and (iii) to the eclipses. Vidyāpati, too, has referred to this bird and its qualities in a number of poems. [373]

Moral Standard

The contemporary sources throw a flood of light on the standard of morality of the people. The social habits and the methods of living have been discussed earlier and we have also taken into consideration the views of the contemporary *nibandhas*. There was a good deal of difference between the prescribed codes of behaviour and usual practice. Both the *nibandhakāras* and the poet held up high principles before the people. The

373. Cf. S. Jha—Nos. 99, 201, 204, 209, 224 etc. Thākur No. 15; Cf. *VR*—P. 23—Where Khanjan has been brought into picture in connection the coronation ceremony—So far as the critical insight of Vidyāpati is concerned it may be pointed out that nothing escaped his notice and even the minutest social usage has found a place in his poems. In one of his poems, he refers to the system of keeping *Sāri* at the *Dhekula*, a custom yet prevalent in Maithila homes—Cf. Thākur-No. 24. धेङ्गुल बाँधि पटोरों धएलह अइसनि तुअ परिपाटी। He further refers to the fact that a dead scorpion is made alive if kept in cowdung—*Ibid*—गोबरें बान्धि बीछ घर मेललह, एकर होषत परिनामे।

aristocracy squandered money over wine, women and dancing girls. References to drinking clubs are not few and far between. [374] Caṇḍeśwara permits drinking on special occasions. [375] The amorous way of life finds fullest expression in the writings of Jyotirīśwara and Vidyāpati. Bribery and corruption were also not unknown. Illegal gratifications are referred to in the writings of Caṇḍeśwara and others. Caṇḍeśwara advises his king to save his people from such dishonest officers. [376] Quacks were also not unknown. The whole state seems to have been a main set of idlers. [377] Treachery was also a feature in the social life. [378] Caṇḍeśwara, quoting *Devīpurāṇa*, shows that if one does not talk or behave indecently, he incurs the wrath of *Bhagwatī*. [379] This relates to the *Udakaseva mahotsava*, when all sorts of sexual forces and drinking habits were let loose. The nature of the festival is not clear and authorities are all divided on this point. [380] The sexual urge found its fullest expression amongst the people on the occasion of the *Madanotsava*, when both the young and old looked forward for free-mixing and sports. Caṇḍeśwara supports the view that people were free to use indecent songs and dances on this occasion. [381] The exotic literature and sensuous representations in art of Mithilā are indicative of the sensuous suggestiveness of the period and the general tone of the upper strata of the people. The Belwa door frame (Saran), the image of *Śivapārvatī* in *Śukhāsan* pose from Jaimanglāgarh and the "man-woman" in embrace on a relief at Bheet Bhagwanpur (Darbhanga) are indications

374. Cf. H. D. Sharma's edition Saduktikarnāmṛta—P. 148; *Śuktimuktāvalī*—PP. 266–67. Cf. S. Jha—No. 233. nobles forsook morality.

375. *GR*—394. Cf. S. Jha—No. 77–for harlot; No. 2–for night rangers; Nos. 140, 152, 209, 213 *PP* (Pāthak) 51, 99; for 64 types of sexual knowledge.

376. *RR*—54.

377. *PP*—(Pāthak) 38, 41.

378. Cf. *Ibid*—वंचक कथा ।

379. *KR*—P. 362.

380. Cf. *HB*–I. 606; *JASB* (Letters) 1948–PP. 105–6.

of how the wind blew and in which direction, during our period, in so far as the general tone of morality was concerned.

Suicide

Suicide was not unknown. The *Tirthacintāmaṇi* (47–52) and the *Gaṅgāvākyāvali* (305–10) contain a high eulogy of suicide at selected spots in Prayāga and its environs. There is a similar approval of suicide at Vārāṇasī by entering fire and so forth (*TC*–347). Suicide by starvation in the Gaṅgā was also prescribed (*TC*–263; *GV*–267–92). The frequency of the religious suicide, prescribed by our *Nibandhakāras*, goes to show that it had come to stay as a religious custom. Suicide was allowed under exceptional circumstances such as extreme illness or otherwise. The Dharmaśāstra writers have generally condemned suicide and the Law-givers have prescribed punishment for those who committed or attempted to committ suicide. There should be no mourning for those who wilfully die. [382] In Mithilā, the system of committing suicide or practising *Jauhara* by Rājput women continued till, at least, the Mughal period and a family document [383] confirms it. Religious suicide came to be forbidden in the Kali age. In the feudal age distrust and disappointment reigned supreme and the desperate people resorted to the meanest level. Instances of poisoning and killing one's own chief or master are not lacking in history. The fortune-seekers, in their desperate attempt, to reap the fruits took to all means, fair and foul. Vidyāpati has given an instance as to how poisoning was resorted to as means of achieving the end. [383a]

General Estimate

Thus an overall survey of the social life of the people gives us an idea of the manner and general character of the age. It may be noted here that the authors of the period have contradictory and divergent views regarding the caste system, marriage and other social customs. With regard to the *Śūdras*

381. *KR*—P. 138.

382. Kane—*op. cit.* II. 924–929.

383. The document is in possession of the writer.

383a. Nerukar—82.; for Suicide, Cf. U. Thakur—'*History of Suicide in India.*'

also, there is a difference of opinion. While some emphasize the *Śūdras'* duty of serving the Brāhmaṇas, some seek to relax the rules relating to the dealings in forbidden commodities. The old religious disabilities of the *Śūdras* are also relaxed by some. With regard to the social behaviour there is a similar attitude. Old rules, with minor changes here and there, are repeated. Womens' authority over the *Strīdhana* is accepted. The practice of religious suicide is sanctioned and stands attested to by Ibn Batuta who refers to the Hindus drowning themselves voluntarily in the Gaṅgā as an act of spiritual merit. The veneration of cow continued in the same spirit as it was in the past. The *GR* (294) specially forbids the killing of cows in honour of guests. Cow had not only a religious but economic value as well. According to Kane the authors, on *Dharmaśāstra,* in their desire to evolve order out of chaos and to adjust and harmonise the varying practices with the dicta of the ancient sages, were guilty of the faults of raising hair-splitting arguments. But living as the most of the later writers did in the midst of aggressive and violently unsympathetic cultures and rulers and possessing no powerful central government, they were driven more and more to revolve within their narrow grooves and could not see far in order to regulate society in a free and buoyant spirit. [389]

IX

Economic Life

Introductory

Village, as the lowest unit, continued to be the backbone of economic life in Mithilā, as in other parts of India. Mithilā was then essentially a rural and agricultural area with an almost stereotyped economy. In the remotest part of a village, hardly any remarkable change is perceptible even today, though its face is fast changing and is now on the threshold of a new revolution. The fate of every village was almost the same. It was

384. Kane—*op. cit.* I. 466-67.

always uncertain and the villages were subject to such natural calamities as fire and flood. For agricultural purpose, they had to rely mainly on the course of monsoon. The physical conditions made them fatalist. Simplicity and fatalism were the remarkable aspects of socio-economic life. Village was the unit of economic organisation which aimed at a harmonious coordination of specialised functions. It determined the economic outlook of the people. The production, in those days, was meant mainly for local consumption. Since there was no fixed standard of living and the method of production was crude, the low standard of economic life was perpetuated by the force of circumstances. It was natural that in a feudal society, peasants and artisans were condemned to lead a life of poverty. The landed aristocracy, officials and mercantiles monopolised a major portion of material wealth. The condition of an ordinary man can be gleaned through the contemporary writings, to which we shall come later on. [385] The people were, possibly never under very affluent circumstances. They hardly earned two square meals, sometimes only one, a day and a bare minimum cloth to cover their nakedness. During the period, under review, times had changed. Trade and commerce had come to stay. Currency in one form or other had developed. The growth of town had brought in its train some sort of middlemen in the society. While the rights of the rich came to be protected, the position of the middle class seemed to be a bit better. We learn from the Bengali literary sources that literate persons were regarded as ornaments of towns and they claimed rent free land and houses. [386] The issue of coins and the growth of trade helped the slackening of the rigours of feudal bondage and the people were now in a position to sell their labour for monly in preference to a life long slavery.

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385. Cf. H. P. Shastri—*Bauddha Gāna O Dhohā*—Pada No. 33; *Sadukti-karnāmṛta*—V. 49, 4. (P. 310); Cf. A. B. Keith. *History of Sanskrit Literature*—P. 235.

386. Cf. J. N. Dasgupta—*Bengal in the 16th. Century* (C. U. 1914) P. 157.

Land—Produce-Irrigation and Agriculture

It is very difficult to say as to who owned the land but we see that in Mithilā the king and the barons made land grants to the people. With the growth of population and limited means of other avenues, pressure on land increased. In view of the unsettled political condition, a large number of people had to seek their livelihood by falling back on land. Possibly the tillers had no proprietory right on the land. Caṇḍeśwara refers to the *Navānna* festival.[387] There is a reference to the production of wheat[388] and barley[389] in the Maithili sources. The joy of the peasants knew no bounds when there was a bumper harvest. [390] A large variety of sugarcane was also produced. [391] The *VR* refers to rice, pulse, barley, millets, peas, oil seeds, sugarcane, onion, garlic, poppyseeds, spices like *māuri, methi, maṅgrailā, Churā, Farhi* and fruits like mango, date, plantain, melon, pomegranate, orange, fig, lemon, *Jāmuna,* jackfruit, banana, *khorbujā, sugar,* spirit, sweet, betel leaf etc. [392] Land was the mainstay of economic life and agriculture was the chief occupation of a large number of people. Except a few craftsmen and servants, all were engaged in agriculture and the peasant was regarded as the backbone of the state. Barani has prescribed that a negligent peasant has to be ejected. Banana trees were grown in almost every family in Mithilā.

No stigma was attached to agriculture. Plough was the chief agricultural implement. [393] There was also some crude means of irrigating the land. [394] In the agricultural economy,

387. *KR*—P. 363.

388. *KR*—P. 257, 278.

389. *Sadukti*—II. 136. 5.

390. *Ibid*—II. 84. 3; II. 176. 3.

391. *Ibid*—II. 84. 3.

392. *Supra*—Cf. *Dānavākyāvali*-P. 41, 111, 196-7, 127, for a number of agricultural products of Mithilā.

393. *MM*—No. 797-खटग काटि हरे हर जे वँधाओल, त्रिसुल तोड़िअ करु फारे
वसहा धुरन्धर हर लए जोतिअ, पाटए सुरसरि धारे ।
Cf. *VR*-लांगुल ।

394. *Ibid*—Cf. Vācaspati-*Dvaitanirnaya.* It refers to the four kinds of reservoir of water, *viz. Vāpi, Kūpa, Puṣkariṇī* and *Tarāga.*

cows and bullocks played an important role. They were the important means of production since time immemorial and we know that even the Aryans, who had scant respect for cows and bulls, tried to preserve them for purely economic reasons. The protection of cow was guided by practical economic consideration. The contemporary digests speak very highly of the gifts of tanks etc., and both the Karṇāṭa and Oinwāra rulers of Mithilā made provisions for supplying water to the land and its people. [395] Various tanks were caused to be excavated by kings and nobles and it was considered meritorious to make a gift of such things for irrigational purposes. References to *Kūpa, Jalāśaya, Sarovara* etc. are there in the writings of Vidyāpati [396] and Jyotirīśwara. Since flood was very common in Mithilā, dams were made to protect fields and pastures. [397] An ordinary peasant householder was known as *Girihatha.* [398] Rain accompanied with storm was painful for a villager, who, generally under such circumstances took shelter under a big tree. [399] The vaiśyas and members of the lower grade were mostly engaged in agricultural pursuit. Irrigation was a great aid to it.[400] The peasantry, however, do not seem to have been very adventous and enterprising. Cultivators seem to have been protected by the state and Caṇḍeśwara testifies to this fact. Caṇḍeśwara says that those, who siezed the wealth of the cultivators, are deprived of all their belongings and should be exiled. [401] This is an indication

395. *TM*—Chapters V & VI; R. K. Choudhary–*History of Bihar*–relevant chapters. Cf. *Dānavākyāvali*, and *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*.

396. *Thākur*—Nos. 19, 29, 33, 39.

397. *Ibid*—No. 41; 17. Cf. *VR*–P. 39 for. सरोवरवर्णना; P. 41. for पोखरावर्णना–on P. 42. *VR*–mentions सोहिजन–S. Jha. No. 112–करेला. No. 114 for the lot of foodgrowers. S. Jha. No. 39. for *boat*.

398. S. Jha—No. 36–गिरिहथ पलल उपासी ।

399. *Ibid*—31–झटक झाटल छाड़ल ठाम, कएल महातरु तर विश्राम ।

400. *JBRS*—XXXIII. 47–48. *JIH*–XXVIII. 295–96; *LSI*–V (ii)P. 4.

401. Cf. *RR*—61–राज्ञो हि रक्षाधिकृताः परस्वादायिनः शठाः ।
भत्या भवन्ति प्रायेण तेभ्यो रक्षेदिमाः प्रजाः ॥
ये कार्षिकेभ्योऽर्थमेवं गृह्णीयुः पापचेतसः ।
तेषां सर्वस्वमादाय राजा कुर्य्यात् प्रवासनम् ॥

of the fact that royal administration paid attention towards the protection of the cultivators since without that the state would have been a loser in revenue. The state seems to have followed some sort of a regular agricultural policy since land revenue was the mainstay of finance.

The frequency of marches and counter marches in Mithilā had made the situation so abnormal that it led Caṇḍeśwara to explain away the term *Ṣaḍbhāga* as a mere figurative term and he recommended the levying of such amount as would be found necessary to meet the requirements of the government and at the same time not oppressive to the people. [402] Land revenue was the main source of royal income.

Land revenue

According to Vidyāpati, all cultivable and fertile lands were scientifically surveyed and rents were fixed according to the fertility of the soil. [403] Besides the land revenue, there were other sources of income. The state always protected the traders and the middle class claimed certain rights from the state. Only those officials were regarded as successful heads of the departments who increased the revenue of the state. [404] Fiscal divisions like *Grāma*, *Tappā* and *Parigana* have been mentioned by Vidyāpati in his *Likhanāvali* (Nos. 55–59). In our section on polity, we have already discussed the principles of taxation and the sources of income to the state and as such no further reflection on this point is necessary here.

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402. *Ibid*—P. 55.

403. Cf. *Likhanāvali* P. 10—Cf. N. R. Roy—*op. cit.* P. 223. A detailed account of the various types of land and its assessment can be had from the Sena inscriptions—Cf. *IB*–III.

404. *PP* (G)—Tale 41–; In case of any loss, incurred by the carelessness of the state officials or any other persons, connected with the state, the state was, in duty bound, to make good the loss. The practice of confiscating the property to make good such losses was also known. Cf. *Ibid*—Tale 13. At one place Vidyāpati has described a king as greedy of revenue—*Ibid*—Tale 41.

Trade and Commerce

The latest writer on the history of Mithilā has observed that "trade and commerce was practically unknown" and he has not adduced any argument in support of his contention (*TM*–366). As a matter of fact trade and commerce were not unknown. There might not have existed large scale and heavy industries in the modern sense but it is evident from the ancient literature that there were many industries. Jyotirīśwara gives a detailed account of various trades and industries. The surplus manufactures of the village were disposed of in the town. *Banjaras* or the grain carriers moved with their bullock carts and track horses. These were the means of transport in those days. Both Jyotirīśwara and Vidyāpati (*VR* and *Kīrtilatā*) refer to various kinds of horses. Vidyāpati found the choicest and richly accoutred *"Teji"* (i.e., Arabic and Persian horses) for which even mountains of gold would be insufficient. Horses from Bhutan were also known. Dishonest traders were not unknown and Vidyāpati observes that "the cunnings were like the *Baniyās*." Communications along the river by boat were also known. The big fairs and *hāṭas* were areas of comparatively brisk exchanges of commodities under peaceful condition. It displayed a sense of keen commercial activity. This weekly and bi-weekly *hāṭas* played a prominent part in moulding the rural economic life. These occasional fairs served the purpose of social meetings for the villagers. [405] According to Jyotirīśwara, an ideal merchant should be familiar with different peoples belonging to different places like Śrīkhaṇḍa, Malaya, Surat etc. [406] He gives an

405. *MM*—No. 614–बनिजा कएल लाभ नहिं पाओल— × × — × —
× × × ×
इ संसार हाट कए मानह— × — × — × — × —
जो जस बनिजए लाभ तस पावए—
× × × ×
Cf. *PP* (Pathak) 8, 73.

406. *VR*—P. 65–श्रीखण्ड, मलय, सम्भराली, सुरभी । वेण्ठा, पचाकरही प्रभृति अनेक जाति चनक विशेषज्ञ, काञ्च, पाकल, राजराशि, भीमसेन, चन्द्रोदय, उदयभास्कर, हासरोस, चिनी, कउजाञ्जिकनी । प्रभृति अनेक कर्पूर एताजातिक तत्वज्ञ, कृष्णागुरु, कालाशय, काकतुण्ड, खेताङ्ग, खदिरक एहि पाञ्च जातिक

account of various kinds of stuffs, the gems, spices and perfumes, drapers and gems-cutter and what not. Trade with Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Gujrat, Telangana and Kaṭaka was flourishing. Mithilā imported clothes from Tanjore, Sylhet, Ajmer, Kanchi, Chola country, Kāmarūpa, Bengal, Gujrat, Kathiāwāḍa, Telangana, and other places. [407] According to to the *VR*, a trader should know the relative qualities of different varieties of camphor, *aguru*, spices and he should be an expert assayer of weights and prices of minerals like sulphur, nitre, diamond, jewels, gold, silver, copper, bell-metal, Zinc, brass, stone, pearl, cloth and silk. A trader should be conscientious, generous and religious minded and should possess a robust mind and health. He should also be an adept in the ceremonial art, eloquent and be able to inspire confidence in others. A successful trader should aim at giving satisfaction to his customers.

The textile cum dyeing industry seems to have been very popular in Mithilā—Cotton, Wool and Silk being the most prominent. Hand woven clothes were also very popular. The *VR* [408] refers to about thirty varieties of cloth, different varieties of tents, curtains, mosquito-nets and various kinds

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अगरक बेता, एवञ्च, कस्तुरी, कुङ्कुम, पानीर, माषाशिर, जावाद, वेण्टक, एलावन्धक आह, आचुस, जातिकोस, कुम्भकोश, लवङ्ग, तना, एला, जातीफल, कङ्कोल·····जिरक···शुंठी···जमानि, आर्द्रक·····ये अनेक वणिकद्रव्य तँ मर्मज्ञ·····।

P. 66.....अनेक ये धातुपरीक्षक, हीर, मणि, मुक्ता, सुवर्ण, रजत, ताम्र, काँस्य, जएसत राङ्ग, पितलि, पाषाण, गजलोह, तुरङ्ग, वस्त्र, पटवस्त्र नाना मानिक्यादि अनेक जाति वस्तुद्रव्यक विशेषज्ञ·····निष्क्रय, क्रय, विक्रय,

Also—Cf. P. 8–for मालाकार, गन्धवणिक, रत्नपरीक्षक etc.

P. 10–for valuable Jewels.

P. 11–for Perfumes (गन्धद्रव्य)

407. Cf. for place names—Saxena–*op. cit.* 48; *VR.*—There is a reference to the frequency of trade between Bengal and Gazzan (Ghazni–?). Cf. *PP* (G)–34. Gorakhpur seems to have been famous for कङ्कन–Cf. Rakesh–P. 54. ललना धनिला लायब कंकन गोरखपुरके हो रे ॥

408. *VR*—(Supra–S. V. Dress); *Dānavākyāvali*–PP. 232–34.

of towels made of costly clothes. The *Dānavākyāvali* of Vidyāpati supplements and complements the list of Jyotirīśwara. Manufacture of all types of cloth was possibly known and it may be presumed that cotton was extensively grown in Mithilā. Coloured clothes were also known. [409] Mahuan enumerates five or six varieties of fine muslins, gold embroidered caps and silk handkerchiefs. [410] There was a regular contact between Nepal and China and silk came to be introduced as a result of that contact. We have a reference to the *Nepali* blankets and silken clothes in the *Dānavākyāvali*. Costly clothes were used by the aristocracy of Mithilā. The *VR* mentions embroidered red clothes of Bengal like *Meghaudumbara, Gaṅgāsāgar, Gaṅgora, Dwāra, Lakṣmivilāsa, Vāsini* and *Sylheṭi*. The land of Mithilā was rich in indigo and the dyeing industry was flourishing. [411] Dyeing and Calico-painting went hand in hand with the manufacture of clothes.

The *Kīrtilatā* [412] and the *VR* contain innumerable references to articles of different metals and to different sections of

409. Cf. *Nīlapaṭora*—referred to in Vidyāpati. The foreign visitors have also referred to the coloured clothes. Cf. Barbossa–I, 141–2; 154–55.

410. Cf. account of Mahuan—*JRAS* (1895)–532. For an account of the manufacture of *Dhotis* and *Sāris* in Bengal–Cf. *JDL*–1929–*PP* 224–231; J. N. Dasgupta–*op. cit.*; Mahuan–*op. cit.* PP. 531–32.

411. Mahuan—*op. cit.*–testifies to the fact that fine muslin cloth was extensively produced in Bengal and other parts of eastern India; Cf. Barbossa. Cf. *VR*–P. 21–22; Cf. *Dānavākyāvali*–PP. 232–34; *Likhanāvali*–According to the *VR* (P. 22) fine stuffs of clothes were mainly of 14 kinds—हरिणा, वैङ्गना, नखी, सर्वाङ्ग, गुरु, शुचीन, राजन, पञ्चरंग, नील, हरित, पीत, लोहित, चित्रवर्ण··· Both the *VR* and *Kīrtilatā* refer to कसीदा or the art of embroidery.

412. Saxena—*op. cit.* P. 28. Cf. *VR*–P. 12–सुवर्ण कलश; सोना क तमकुण्ड, चन्दन चौका,–etc. Sandal Wood Stool. For a reference te blast furnace–Cf. *VR*–P. 52–कँसारिक भाल पजरल अइसन (like the blazing furnaces of braziers). For lamp on a high pavilion–ओ वारी दीप लेसल अइसन–*VR*. P. 65–66. gives an account of the commercial transaction.

markets assigned to dealers in gold, silver, bell-metal, alloy of eight metals (*aṣṭadhātu*), jugs, cups, jars, plates, basins, cooking and other vessels, idols, lamp stand, betel leaf boxes and various other important items. The *VR* further throws a flood of light on the wood and sandal wood stools and gives an elaborate account of bedsteads. The palanquin was a common means of transport in Mithilā. Bounded as she is, on all sides, by rivers and rivulets, boat was another important means of communication as well as trade and hence the construction of boat was an important industry. There is a reference to twenty-nine varieties of boats with the head of a lion, tiger, horse, duck, snake or fish as figurehead. Various types of boats were decorated elaborately with flags and festoons. Some small boats, known as *ḍeṅgī*, were towed by a single person while some were manned by soldiers and footmen armed with bows, arrows and swords. There is also an account of ships.[413] The art of smelting iron was known to the people of Mithilā as we find frequent references to blacksmiths and others. Guns, knives, scissors, agricultural implements, cooking implements etc, were prepared locally and were meant for both local consumption and export. The *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazal also testifies to this fact. Brick and tile industries were also flourishing. The folk songs refer to *Khaparail* or the tiled house. The *VR's* description of curd and butter is an indication of the fact that the dairy industry was flourishing in Mithilā. The *Kirtilatā* of Vidyāpati refers to the leather industry, while we learn from the *VR* that sewing, cap making, rope-making, basket making, pottery and making of drums and musical instruments were the flourishing industries. The *VR* (P. 61) further refers to the making of bows, arrows and manufacture of thirty six kinds of arms,

413. *VR*—P. 67–Various types of boats like.....पतकुली, पटोरा, भोनाह, डोङ्गी, पषियारी, वरहिआ, सोरहिआ, विसहथी..... figureheads..... सिहमुखी, व्याघ्रमुखी, घोटकमुखी, हँसमुखी, नागफनी, मछतनी,.....पताका चामर.....डाण्ड, पतिविधि, सेउति, करुआल, वाँस सकलगुणसमन्विताह... P. 68.....धनु वा : खड्गदि समन्विताह—Types of ships are also mentioned here. Cf. Dharmaswamī's account for boats carrying three hundred persons.

ammunitions and weapons. The various lower castes, mentioned in the *VR*, formed a part of the village economic life. *Chamāra, Sonāra, Lohāra, Jolahā, Tānti, Kaṅseri* and others have come down to this day. Conch-shell ornaments were also made. Betel-leaf boxes of metal and wood were also made. The *Tambouli* as a class dealt in betels. [414]

The existence of these industries presupposes a large number of village workers for whom no adequate protection was guaranteed. The tradition of guild persisted and the profession became more and more rigid and hereditary. This exclusive rigidity prevented them from disclosing the method and secrets of crafts with the result that those secrets were lost to the future generations. Palanquin-drawers, cartmen, ploughmen and domestic servants were always at the mercy of their masters. No protection was guaranteed to these and other inferior class [415] of traders and persons. Labourers employed in the industries were of a hereditary character. The outturn was meagre as the implements and methods of work were crude. Through successive generations of specialised work, a high degree of efficiency and skill was attained. The quality of work was excellent and their artistic value was great. The social status and limited opportunities of the village craftsmen discouraged them from making progress beyond certain limits. It may be borne in mind here that they were not adequately protected against administrative oppression. Traditions of guilds and crafts tended to create a rigid exclusiveness as a result of which technical secrets were lost to posterity. In the absence of protection, even these craftsmen had, sometimes, to please their masters. The low and despised class of people were the chief instruments of production without

414. J. N. Dasgupta—*op. cit.* PP, 162–63; Cf. Vidyāpati–*Kīrtilatā.*

415. Cf. *MM*—No. 614–खेत कएल रखवार लुटल, ठाकुर सेवा भोर ।
× × × ×
विद्यापति कह सुनह महाजन, रामभगत अछिलाभ ।
No. 776—तोहे होएन परसन पाओब अमोल धन—
No. 603—निरधन आदरके कर कहाँ–× × × ×—आदुमेर आदर हो सब तहुँ ।

any control over the means. Industrial workers hardly differed from rural craftsmen.

Vidyāpati believed in practical economics and that is why he advised the people to cut their coats according to their clothes. He suggested to spend according to means.[416]

Economic ideas

Certain fundamental principles of economics are inherent in his writings and a study of the same reveals to us that the theory of supply and demand was not unknown in his days.[417] When the demand of a particular thing increased, its price went high. A merchant should seek profit through diversities of price, conveying goods from one land to another, in accordance with variation of time and season. The main aim of a trader should be to derive more and more profit and he is only successful who, while preserving the original capital, lives[418] mainly on profit. Usury,[419] loans,[420] moneylending[421] and banking were not unknown. The traders and merchants borrowed capital on interest, where as ordinary persons also took loans for private purposes. Caṇḍeśwara prescribes the time-honoured rate of 1/80th. of the principal lent as interest per month on secured debts.[422] He differs from Yājñavalkya[423] when he suggests that if the deposit is not sealed and if the depositee uses it for sometime and then replaces it, no blame or liablity attaches to him.[424] The rates of interest varied from two percent to fifteen percent. Caṇḍeśwar prescribes the rate at 2% per month on loans

System of Loan, interest and banking

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416. *Ibid*—No. 256-जखने जतए विभव रहए तखने तेहिं गभाव ।

417. *Ibid*—आरति गाहक महग वेसाइ ।

418. *Ibid*—No. 295—मूल राखि वनजारा ।

419–420. No. 296—लोभे अधिक मूलन मार । जे मूल राखए सेवन जार ।

421. No. 660—लाभक लागि मूल डुबिगेल ।

422. *GR*—PP. 446, 447.

423. Yājñavalkya—II. 66-prescribes fine and replacement with interest if the depositee uses articles without permission of the depositor.

424. *Vivādaratnākara*—PP. 86-87.

without pledge or mortgage *bandhakarahita.*[425] Not only money but various articles of consumption were also lent and a long list of such articles is preserved in the *Vivādaratnākara* (PP. 17–19). The maximum that can be recovered from the debtor by the creditor is also fixed. In the case of liquors, oil, ghee[426] and salt etc., it was eightfold, in case of metals other than gold and silver, it was fivefold and in the case of fruit, silk, wool, pearl, coral, gold and silver, it was double the amount lent. Caṇḍeśwara seems to have followed Kātyāyana in this respect. Relying on Bṛhaspati, Caṇḍeśwara prescribes the recovery of a loan of seeds to the tune of five times, that is the maximum. Unscrupulous moneylenders used to take advantage of the ignorant debtors. This money lending business had assumed gigantic proportion in Mithilā as is evident from the *Likhanāvali* of Vidyāpati.[427] Brokers, agents, bankers, and moneylenders attempted by dishonest means. Usury seems to have been a profitable business. Vidyāpati's description of cunning *banias* is an indication of how the exploitation took place at their hands.

Currency

It is unfortunate that no positive evidence regarding the currency in Mithilā is yet available, though very few coins of period, under review, have come to light In view of the flourishing trade, since time immemorial, it is natural that some sort of currency must have been in vogue. A large number of hoards of ancient coins have come to light and that may prove to be an indication of the fact that coinage was not neglected in this part. There are frequent references to various types of currency in the contemporary literary sources and it is on the basis of those evidences that we propose to pursue our study of this aspect of the question. *Hiraṇya* (gold), *ayas* (bronze), iron, copper and silver were known to the people of this land

425. *GR*—447.

426. *MM*—No. 56–घी उधार माँग मति भोर !

427. Letter Nos. 54 58–59 for व्यूढ़िवन्धकार्थं —; 61 for ऋणपत्र–70, 71, 72, 75, 77 etc.; for बन्हकी Cf. No. 76. For sale on credit. Cf. S. Jha. No. 63; वेसाह–*Ibid*—No. 44; Shop No. 128; वेसाह–No. 44. Profit 130.

and we have seen that the people were also aware of the *aṣṭadhātu*.[428] Currency was essential for development of trade and commerce. We learn from the Vedic literature that a coin in Mithilā was also known as *Pādas*. *Pāda* currency seems to have been very popular in Mithilā.[429] Punch marked coins (also known some times as *Purāṇapaṇa*) have been discovered in large number from different places in Mithilā, from Purnea to Hajipur. Big hoards indicate that there was a tendency to amass wealth as a provision against calamities. As early as 1934, when the Kośī was eroding a village near the Madhipura town, about ten copper vessels, full of ancient coins, were washed away and they could not be saved from destruction. Gold, silver and copper coins seem to have been in use. Coins were also known as *Māsā*, *Kārṣāpaṇa*, *Pāda*, *Ratti*, *Kapardaka* etc. Caṇḍeśwara, quoting Hārita, tries to prove that at the rate of eight *paṇas* monthly interest on twenty-five *Purāṇas*, the principal would be doubled in four years and two months.[430] It is evident from the writings of the Maithila law-givers that some sort of currency was in use. *Cowrie* played an important part in the daily economic transactions.[431] That was an important means of exchange in those days.

The *Daṇḍaviveka* (*PP.* VII–VIII) gives the following details about currency in Mithilā.

Paṇa—a copper coin of certain weight (= 1/16 of a *Kārṣāpaṇa*).

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428. Cf. *Vāj. Saṁ.*—XVIII. 13; XI. 3. 1. 7; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*–V. 4. 1. 2; XII. 8. 3. 11; II. 5. 5. 16; *Taitt. Brāh.* II. 9. 7; III. 9. 6. 5; *Pañcaviṁśa Br.* XVII. 1. 14.

429. Cf. *SB*—XIV; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upn.*–III. 1. 1. The story goes that in Janaka's court, one thousand cows with ten pādas tied on their each horn were given to Yājñavalkya. Cf. Pāṇini–V. 1. 34; *EI*–I. 178. 23. An inscription of the 10th. century A. D. refers to it; Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar—*Ancient Indian Numismatics*–60, 80.

430. *GR*—447.

431. *MM*—No. 56-कउड़ि पठओले पाव नहिं घोर ।

Māṣa—20th. part of a *paṇa.*
Dināra—a silver coin—made up of 28 units of silver.
Niṣka—a gold coin—made up of four units of gold.
Kākini—1/4 of a *paṇa.* [432]
Dhānika—made up of four *Kārṣāpaṇas.*
Karṣa—16 *māṣas.*
Dharaṇa—10 *palas.*
Tolaka—16 *māṣas.*

According to Vardhamāna, a person sentenced to death can requite his sentence by the payment of a hundred gold coins, one sentenced to mutilation by fifty gold coins, one sentenced to transportation by twenty five gold coins and so on. Vācaspati gives us the list of the following types—

(i) *Kākini.* [433]
(ii) *Kārṣāpaṇa.* [434]
(iii) *Kṛsṇala*—equal to half of a silver *māṣa.*
(iv) *Māṣa* [435]—20th. part of *Pala,* equal to 16 *Raktikās.* In connection with cattle-grazing it is meant to be of silver, though ordinarily it indicated gold.
(v) *Niṣka.* [436]

Since money lending business was in vogue, it may be pointed out that without the existence of money, there could have been no such business. The *DV*, *VC*, and the *Vivādar-* and others give an exhaustive account of this system. Vidyāpati in his *Likhanāvali* has referred to *Paṇa, Taṅkā* (No. 58-59), *Mudrā* for money (No. 66), *Svarṇa* (No. 75), *Rupyā* (Nos. 61, 69) and *Kaparda* in the sense of *Ṭā-kā* (money No. 54).[437]

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432. Cf. *VC*—107—For *Pala.* Cf. 3-4; *Paṇa*—5-9.
433. *Ibid.*
434. *Ibid*—103.
435. *Ibid*—3-4.
436. *Ibid*—85.
437. Cf. *Likhnāvali*—No. 46—मुद्राहस्तक—'''मुद्रान्नीत्वागताः— No. 54—ऋणविषयकविवादे मम पितुः पुराणशतमेकं कपर्दकं कलाव्यवस्थाया अतीत-पञ्चमवर्षे प्रत्यर्थिना ऋणत्वेन प्रगृहीतं तदिदानीस्तेयं''' No. 56—कृत-मुल्येन रुप्यटंक— No. 57—रुप्यटंक चतुष्टमादाय— No. 58—रुप्यटंक— No. 59—रुप्यटंक— No. 61—ऋणपत्रं प्रयच्छन्ति। साहुश्रीअमुकं प्रति-

The extensive use of money, known by various names, seems to have been a regular feature of the age. Though the exact valuation of the different standards, mentioned here, are not exactly known, this much is certain that the use of coin for all purposes had come to stay in Mithilā. We have seen above that town had begun to develop and in its wake came the regular use of coins. In the *Dhūrtasamāgama,* we see that *Snātaka* shows Anaṅgasenā (the pros) a sum of rupees Ten only tied in a corner of his clothes. [438] It would not be out of place to mention here that Vidyāpati refers to the system of joint partnership in business and other transactions. [439]

It seems that the old currency of mixed metal continued with necessary modifications to suit local conditions. *Ṭaṅkā* or *Rupyaṭaṅka* indicated silver coinage. While the gold currency seems to have been rare, silver coin seems to have been popular. It has been suggested that the currency, during the period under review, was tri-metallic.

—one gold taṅkāh = 10 silver taṅkāhs
—one silver taṅkāh = 48 Jital (mixed metal)
—one Jital = 4 copper fallus.

Muhammad Bin Tugluq's silver *ṭaṅkāh* is equated with sixty four *Jitals.* While the copper coin of Bahlol Lodi was equal to 1/40 of a rupee, the *taṅkāh* of Sikandar Lodi was valued at 1/20 of a silver *taṅkāh.* [440] Tirhut was one of the important mint towns of Bihar. [441] There is a direct reference

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भुवं दत्वा दश दश दशत्रय रौप्यटङ्कान् सपादिका व्यवस्थया गृहीतवन्तः। यत्र गृहीतटङ्क ३०— Cf. No. 63; No. 64–लसं २९९—प्रक्रिया विराजमान महाराजाधिराज— देवपादेषु मोकदम श्रीमुरारिकैः रुप्यटङ्कशतचतुष्टयं समानीय नववर्षस्य हालदेवं राउत श्रीकरमूद्वारा पौत्रप्रवेशितं यत्र प्रवेशितं यत्र प्रवेशितरुप्यटङ्क ४०० तदेतस्य भूयूतिरियं दत्तेति—No. 65–रुप्यटङ्क–१००; No. 69, 70, 71.

438. Act II. Cf. P. 63–एसा पुव्वं मए दिट्ठा दाहूण दसटङ्कआ।
आणीरा अ मदिंदाइँ मदीआ तेन वल्लहा। Also Cf. P. 21. Cf. P. 57–विए दसटङ्कआ मए दादव्वा। तातं गेण्हिअ मह मणोहरं संपादेहि–at the end of act I).

439. Cf. *Likhanāvali*—No. 74.

440. *BTA*—465; For 'Coin' Cf. *PP* (Pāthak) P. 87.

441. Cf. My—*History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut.*

to the use of *ṭaṅkāh* in the *Kīrtilatā* of Vidyāpati.[442] It may be mentioned here that a large number of Muslim coins have been discovered from this region. Muhammad Bin Tugluq issued coins with mint named Tugluqpur *urf* Tirhut. It may be mentioned here that the two Tugluq coins, discovered from Tirhut, belong to the forced currency system, *that is*, brass for silver. These two unique specimens are indicative of Muhammad's mad attempt to force the people to use brass coins in place of silver for the same value. These two coins are of 140 and 133 grains respectively.[443]

The most interesting point in the history of Mithilā is that whereas no Karṇāṭa coins are available, we have a few specimens of gold and silver coins of the Oinwāras. Śivasiṁha is said to have issued gold coins in his name. The two specimens, varying from 13·6 to 14 grains, were discovered in 1913 bearing the legend *Śrī Śivasya*.[444] According to R.D. Banerji, these coins resembled the quarter *drammas* of the Chedis and other medieval dynasties and he rightly held that these coins belonged to Śivasiṁha of Mithilā. It has been pointed out by Thākur that in recent years several gold coins of Śivasiṁha have been discovered in Mithilā.[445] A silver coin of Bhairavendra (Rāmabhadra ?) of the Oinwāra dynasty has also come to light.[446] The script of this coin is *Maithilī* of the 15th. century A. D. The reading, as amended by Dr. D. C. Sircar, is as follows—"*Mahārājaśrī Darppanārāyaṇātmaja Tirabhuktirāja Śrī Bhairavasiṁhasya.*" The coin was issued in the fifteenth regnal year, in the Śaka era 1411, corresponding to 1489 A. D. This is an indication of the fact that Mahārāja Bhairavasiṁha issued silver coins. One more coin of this king is said to be preserved in the Indian museum. It weighs 10·52

442. पान क सए सोनाक टङ्का।

443. Cf. Roger—*Indian Museum Coins*. Pt. I. P. 63. No. 12911; 12912; Bourdillion's *Catalogue of the Indian Museum Coins*–Vol. II. P. 60. No. 384; Cf. *JASB*–1883. P. 883.

444. *ARASI*—1913–14; Cf. Cunningham. *Coins of Medieval India*.

445. *JNSI*—XIX. P. 261.

446. *Ibid*—XX. PP. 55 ff–192 ff.

grams = 162·37 grains.[447] The Indian museum coin was examined by V. A. Smith[448] but he failed to decipher it. It weighs 164 grains and contains the name of Bhairavasiṁha. Since very few coins have come to light, it is difficult to hazard any conjecture regarding the currency of the Oinwāra state but this much can be said, with some amount of certainty, that both the Muslims and local coins were prevalent. Gold and silver coins were used and cowrie was also an important medium of transaction. In view of the brisk trade, obtaining in Mithilā, it may be presumed that some sort of currency and medium of exchange had come to stay. While the barter was more popular in the rural area, traders used to purchase commodities in one place and sell at another. Without an organised currency, this could not have been possible.

Problem of Unemployment and other economic bonds

Though beggary was despised on the ground that poverty was despicable, the system of forced labour (*begūra*) was not unknown.[449] The *Likhnāvali* gives an exhaustive account of the pitiable economic condition of the lower orders and it appears that they were subjected to various kinds of economic hardships.[450] It was dire poverty of the people that forced them to be bound to their master as the avenues of employment were few and far between. Vidyāpati realised the evils of poverty and that is why he urged upon his king to wage war against it.[451] The evils of poverty told upon the general tone of the people. Slavery in one form or other was there and Vidyāpati refers to it in his writings.[452] Whenever the master was pleased with his slave, he freed him. A slave always depended upon the mercy of his master. The Muslim sources abound in the description of slaves.

Slaves

447. *EI*—XXXII. 329 ff.
448. *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum* (1906) Vol. I. P. 333; Cf. *ARASI*-1913-14, P. 259.
449. Cf. *Kīrtilatā*—बाट जाइन बेगार धर ।
450. *Likhnāvali*—Nos. 55-59; 68, 69 etc.
451. *Kīrtipatākā*—P. 7. दारिद खग्गो परिषण्डी खण्डअ ।
452. *Likhnāvali*—No. 67 and others; Cf. *Kīrtilatā*-घरोदे घरोदे बहुतो गुलामो ।

The institution of slavery had taken root in the land and the ruler looked upon its due regulation as one of his incumbent duties. The exact Maithila replica of a slave was *Bahiyā* to whom Vidyāpati frequently refers. To such an extent were the matters, relating to slavery, carried that there was a distinct muster-master (majmū-dar) of the slavery and a separate treasury for their allowances. [453] In Mithilā, in the sixteenth century there was one such officer, a Kāyastha, named Keshava Majumdar, who is said to have usurped power for sometime. According to a Muslim custom, [454] when the feudatories went to the court, each one, according to his ability, took with him beautiful slaves. The Muslims had a different code of behaviour. The Muslim soldiers got a major portion of their menial works done by the forced labour. The Hindu nobles, too, did not lag behind. A contemporary source reveals to us the problem of unemployment, existing during the period under review. The king makes enquiries about the unemployed persons from the district officers and makes provision for their employment. [455] The exorbitant demands of the state made the people poor and unhappy. The Muslim thinkers believed that the Hindus should not be so reduced to poverty as to be unable to pursue their husbandry. [456]

Unemployment

In the absence of large scale industries, there does not seem to have been any problem of labour regulation in those days in the modern sense of the term but the artisans, workers in the smithies, wood-cutters, ploughmen, and daily wage-earners were there. Some of the economic guilds also employed labourers and they had their own regulations to that effect. The king and the government seem to have

Labour and mode of payment

453. *ED*—III. 341.

454. Afif—*Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* (S. Gupta edition) P. 50.

455. *ED*—III. 355.

456. *Ibid*—230-231. There were separate officers for Finance. Cf. A fit—*op. cit.* P. 37 (S. Gupta edition).

employed a large number of workers for construction work and other requirements. The *VC* [457] contains a chapter relating to the labourers, servants and slaves. There is a reference to the four kinds of labourers [458] *viz.*, the pupil, the apprentice, the hireling, the manager. These four and the slaves are not their own masters. The *Viramitrodaya* (P. 405) draws a line of distinction between servant and slave and says—"when the man surrenders himself absolutely and entirely to the service of his master, he is a slave; when he simply undertakes to serve the master, without surrendering himself, he is a servant." The *Vivādaratnākara* (P. 143) refers to the manager of properties and controller of household. According to Nārada, the manager is one who has been appointed to manage the property of his master and to superintend his household. He employed labourers of various kinds. These labourers were entitled to stipulated amount or share for the work done. The warrior constituted the highest class of hireling, the cultivator, the middlemen and the carriers represented the lowest class (*VC*-69). Work was of two kinds—high and low. The low was to be done by the slave and the high by the hireling. The low class of work constituted the sweeping of the gate-way, of the privy, of the road, of the dumping ground, shampooing the secret parts of body; removing of food-leavings, of ordure and wine, and the rubbing of the master's limb etc. These were to be done by slaves. Commenting on the types of slaves, Vācaspati says that there were various kinds of slaves—

(i) *Dāyādupāgataḥ*—slave through generations, *i. e.*, hereditary.

(ii) *Anākālabhṛtaḥ*—supported during famine.

(iii) *Mokṣāḥ*—one who has agreed to become a slave on being freed from debt.

(iv) *Kṛtaḥ*—one who has entered into an agreement that I shall be your slave for such and such time.

(v) *Bhuktadāsaḥ*—one who has agreed to become a slave for the sake of food or maintenance. [459]

457. *VC*—67 ff.

458. *Nārada*—5. 2.

459. *VC*—70. Cf. *ED*-III. 306. for *Khawāsa*.

The labourers used to work under contract. Having received the wages, if they left the work they were required to pay double the amount of the wages. [460] They had also to look after their implements. It was further stipulated that if the work was not done, the labourers should not receive the wages. [461] The mode of payment varied according to time and circumstances. The stipulated amount could be paid either in the beginning, in the middle or at the end. [462] Necessary provisions for the payment of ploughmen have also been made. [463] On the basis of Bṛhaspati (6. 12–13), Vācaspati says—"*Upadhā* is understanding..... a labourer is to receive the third part of the produce. But if he is given food and clothing, then he is to receive only the fifth part of the produce." [464] Kauṭalyan principle with regard to the payment of labourers was followed by all the later *nibandhakāras*[465] *i.e.* when no wages have been previously fixed, the labourer shall be paid in accordance with the work done and the exigencies of the time. The same view is practically held by Caṇḍeśwara. [466] The immobility of labour was probably the normal feature. Private employers included traders, farmers, artisans and owners of big fields and cattle. The normal wage, prescribed, seems to have been one third of the produce or the profit. *Śukranītisāra* [467] has formulated enlightened rules for the labourers and the working class, consisting mainly of the *Śūdras*. According to Caṇḍeśwara, the *Karmakāras* could not be asked to perform any ignoble or impure service, a list of which is available to us from different sources. [468]

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460. *Ibid*—76.
461. *Ibid*—77.
462. Cf. *Vivādaratnākara*—156.
463. *VC*—75.
464. *Ibid*—76.
465. *AŚ*—III. 13.
466. *Vivādaratnākara*—P. 158.
467. *Śukra*—II. 397–400.
468. *Vivādaratnākara*—P. 144.

Guilds and Industrial Labour

The craft guilds and professional castes continued to function in industry. Various crafts and industries seem to have been flourishing in Mithilā as would be evident from a study of the *VR* and the *Kirtilatā*. Those industries were possibly no better than the modern cottage industries. It may be asserted that the industrial workers hardly differed from the rural craftsmen. The services of shoe-makers, tent-makers, cloth-makers, builders, armoury-makers, etc. were in great demand, while in the villages there were guilds of *Teli, Tānti, Dhobi, Dhāṅgara, Dhuniā* etc. Alberuni pointed out that guilds lived near the village and towns and he has also mentioned the *Domas* and *Chaṇḍālas*. Amir Khusrav refers to the guild of shoemakers while the *VR* mentions all of them. Both the Sanskrit and the contemporary muslim sources reveal to us that the labourers employed in the industries of various types were of a hereditary character. Since the implements and methods of production were primitive and crude, the production was meagre but whatever surplus was produced, that was collected by the persons owning the means of production. The industrial or agricultural workers had no say in the management. In view of the hereditary character of labour and through successive generations of specialised work, a degree of efficiency and skill was attained. The quality of product was excellent and the foreign travellers bear testimony to the fact. Amir Khusrav has also referred to the excellence of production of these craftsmen. The opportunities for the industrial workers were limited and there was hardly any protection against administrative and feudal oppression. The hereditary character created a rigid exclusiveness with the result that important technical secrets died with them. The economic lot of a common man was far from satisfactory. The workers and the peasants laboured hard without any equivalent return. The contemporary vernacular poetry gives us an insight into their pitiable lot. Thatched house, cooking vessels and a broken bedstead were the only valuable possessions of a poor worker. No doubt, the grains were selling at a very cheap price but then it should be noted here that

the purchasing power of the people was at its lowest ebb. Money was scarce. In abnormal times, prices soared high and Vidyāpati gives an account of the abnormal rise of price, when he visited Jaunpur. The description of this state of affairs in the *Kīrtilatā* is an evidence of the fact that the general standard was far from satisfactory. [469] There is no doubt that the use of money and the growth of trade slackened the rigours of the feudal bondage and the people could now sell their labour for money in preference to life-long slavery. The economic system was responsible for the perpetuation of the low standard of living. The middle class was coming into prominence. The literate persons were regarded as ornaments of town and they enjoyed certain privileges. [470] The king protected the rights of the cultivators and the wealthy, while the ordinary people were without any guarantee of security. [471]

Weights and measures

There are vague references to the prevailing system of weights and measures in the contemporary literature. In the *Dvaitanirṇaya* of Vācaspati, it is said a *Puṣkariṇi* is of the measure of 100 *Dhanvantaras*. One *Dhanvantara* is equal to four cubits in length. In the *Vivādacintāmaṇi*, is said that if one hundred *pala* of silver is heated then only two *palas* will be lost, in case of 100 *palas* of copper, only 5 *palas* will be lost. In case of glass, 8 *Palas* will be lost. Vidyāpati also refers to *Pala*, *Sera* (seer), *Masā*, *Ratti*, *Aimana*, *Aimasā* as indications of weights and measures. [472] Vācaspati refers to the *Kāṣṭhamayabhāṇḍa*, a measure for measuring rice. This refers to the practice

469. Cf. *Kīrtilatā*—(PP. 40–43)–सेरें कीनि पानि आनिअ—×—×—
पान कसए सोनाक टङ्का—
चान्दन क मूल इन्धन विका—
For a contemporary account. Cf. *KNPP*—Vol. 56. No. 1. PP. 51–52.

470. Cf. J. N. Dasgupta—*op. cit.* 157. Cf. *JIH*–XXVII. 295–96. Mithilā is called a city full of Sanskrit scholars.

471. *PP*—61; Cf. Saxena—*op. cit.* PP. 16–19. for an account of the condition of Tirhut.

472. Cf. *Dānavākyāvali*—P. 124. शास्त्रीय पल–१०००, लौकिक सेर–२७७, मसा–३, रती–४, एमन–६, एमसा–३; Cf. *Likhnāvali*—49, 72, 78.

keeping measures made of either wood or bamboo in Mithilā.[473] A measure known as *Khāri* has been mentioned by Vidyāpati in his *Likhnāvali* (No. 78). The *Nibaadha* literature of the period contain account of the traditional weights and measures.

General review

The socio-economic continuity is distinguishing characteristic of our people. Inspite of our diverse religions, language and customs, the fundamental attitude towards life have persisted through centuries. The socio-economic structure, since its inception, continued without any revolutionary change, except with minor variations here and there. Hence it can be said that economic basis of the society hardly underwent any change as the mode of production and its owners remained practically the same. The village continued to function in a self-sufficient manner and trade and industry were carried on without any basic change in their character. The unprivileged masses hardly participated either in the governmental functions or in the control of production. Social immobility, fragmentation and self-sufficiency were the main characteristics of caste and village with the result that political changes hardly produced any impression upon the system. The village system had reached an inner adjustment which brought in its train stability and security though the stratification of society was petrified. The individual was bound by birth and he had no opportunity to bring about a change in his status. A small minority of the landowning community had a life of privilege, honour and comfort while the vast majority of people were condemned to a life of toil, privation and humiliation. Village was the centre of economic life. Whatever towns were there, they were mere parasites in the sense that some of them were either seats of political authority, some centres of religion and very few owed their importance to trade or industry in the modern sense of the term. The surplus produce was wrested by the landlords, intermediaries, and the state. The village was nothing more than an aggregate of land holdings with a cluster of thatched houses. The

473. *VC*–XXII. called in Mithilā–तौंवा, तामा and पैली ।

poor people had hardly any surplus to accumulate to build up economic reserves for meeting calamities like famine and flood. Their clothing was scanty and dwellings poor. Whatever might have been the advantages of the theory of simple and contented life, its greatest drawback was that the common man lost all charm and retired from struggling for the economic progress. The mud houses and scantiness of their clothes have persisted in India throughout the centuries and Mithilā was no exception.

Socio-Economic life as gleaned through the Dharmaśāstra literature

The *Nibandhas* throw a good deal of light on the socio-economic history of Mithilā. Monier-Williams gives various meanings of the term *"Nibandha,"* but it denotes literary composition. We shall revert to its detailed study later. The *Smṛti* literature aims at simplifying the study of the unwieldy *Dharmaśāstra* literature. So much diverse matters have been mixed up in the *nibandha* literature, that it is now humanly impossible to separate religious from the secular ones. Kane has rightly observed that "there is no hard and fast line of demarcation between a *ṭīkā* and [474] a *nibandha.*" These contain the short-cut manuals on the complexities of life beginning from birth to death. According to Maxmüller, [475] the *Dharmaśāstras* are nothing but modern texts of earlier *sūtra* works. Kane does not agree with this view. [476] The growing needs and social complexities necessitated the compilation of various treatises for the guidance of the people. Mithilā and Bengal established their own schools of thought and there was much of mingling between the two. They not only wrote commentary *Nibandhas* but also non-commentary ones and in this respect, works of Jīmūtavāhana and Raghunandana in Bengal and Vācaspati and Rūdradhara in Mithilā are well-known. They have, at times, put forward their own views in conformity with the

474. Kane—*op. cit.* I. 247.

475. *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1926) P. 70.

476. Kane—I. 10.

requirements of the age. Because of the inflexibility of the religious creed of Islam, which permitted no compromise with other faiths, the muslim settlers remained as a distinct social unit,[477] thus introducing a permanent cleavage along religious lines. That led to the production of a large number of *smṛtis*, tending towards the systematisation of the old social and religious law. Caṇḍeśwara, Misaru Miśra and Vācaspati were the leading *Nibandhakāras* of Mithilā.

The *Vivādaratnākara* represents the Mithilā school, dealing with a large number of subjects like civil law, inheritance, *Dāsas*, *Śudras* etc. These writers, taken together, deal with the impurity of birth and death, the religious acts that must be performed even in times of impurity, *sapiṇḍa* relationship, periods of impurity for the principal *Varṇas* and mixed castes, etc. Right from birth to death, all aspects of social life have attracted their notice. They deal with—

(i) daily rites—also quoted by Vidyāpati in *Gaṅgā-vākyāvali*
(ii) festivals
(iii) purification
(iv) daily duties of a *Śūdra*
(v) Gifts.
(vi) Funeral rites.
(vii) Vratas—Śridatta Upādhyāya refers to *Sarpābhaya-pañcamivrata*, held in the month of Śrāvaṇa and also to *Buddhadvādaśivrata*.
(viii) Harinātha refers to 8 *Saṁskāras*—We shall discuss in details about these writers when we come to our *resume* on the *Dharmaśāstra* literature.

These writers laid great stress on the duties of every man as a member of the particular class to which he belonged but ignored the privileges of men in general. As suggested above they aimed at solidarity and cohesion among the various *varṇas* to hold their own against the foreigners. But the most remarkable point here is this that they were divided

477. *HCIP*—VI. 574.

among themselves because the different *varṇas* revolved within their narrow circles and herein lay the greatest weakness of our social system. Vidyāpati, too, wrote a number of *smṛti* works, *viz.*, *Dānavākyāvali*, *Varṣakṛtya* and *Bibhāgasāra* (or Low of inheritance). A study of his *smṛti* works clearly reveals that he was indebted to his predecessors in the field. His *Bibhāgasāra* (dealing with partition and inheritance) bears the stamp of *Kalpataru* and *Vivādaratnākara* and is regarded as an authoritative work on the *Dāyabhāga*. Mithilā school is a sub-school of the *Mitākṣara* system, whereas *Dāyabhāga* is popular in Bengal. The difference between the two is that inheritance to a deceased man's estate is preceded in the *Dāyabhāga* by the capacity of the heir to offer *Piṇḍa* to the deceased. It is quite likely that *Dāyabhāga* also prevailed in Mithilā during his days.[478] Vidyāpati's views in the *Bibhāgasāra* are pronounced and he seems to have been influenced by Jīmūtavāhana and in return, he seems

Vidyāpati

478. Cf. J. D. Mayne—*Hindu Law and Usage*. (Madras–1922) P. 33; Vidyāpati influenced the writers of Bengal. Jolly has suggested that the isolation of the Bengal School may be accounted for by the gloss of many works quoted in the *Dāyabhāga*, which may have formed intermediate link between the Bengal doctrines and the teachings of other schools. Many of the texts may be traced to the texts which are controverted in the *Mitākṣarā* and some are identical with those of the Maithila writers. It may be pointed out here that Śrīkara (11th. 12th. century A. D.) has discussed, at length, the divergent views on the question of origin and development of law. Colebrooke has also referred to these two schools. *Dāyabhāga* lays down the principle of religious efficacy as the ruling canon in determining the order of succession; consequently it rejects the preference of agnates to cognates, which distinguishes the other systems, and arranges and limits the cognates upon principles peculiar to itself. It wholly denies the doctrine that property is by birth, which is the cornerstone of the joint family system. It treats father as the absolute owner of property—(Cf. Mayne–*op. cit.* PP. 39–40.). In Mithilā, *Mitākṣarā* is prevalent.

to have influenced Raghunandana of Bengal. We shall revert to a full dress discussion later on.

Why Vidyāpati supported Orthodoxy !

Why did Vidyāpati, of all the contemporary poets and reformers, undertake to support the orthodox social system based on conservative principles ? A poet of hope [479] and patience and a *Vaiṣṇava* at heart, he had enlivened the heart of Mithilā and his songs are the living examples of the great zest with which he accepted life. Full of vigour and happiness, he had immense faith in the potentiality of man. [480] He was convinced that nothing was impossible and everybody could achieve his desired end if he faced the situation boldly and acted courageously.[481] Courage, if supplemented by devotion and rejection of fear, could work wonders. [482] Bad days come and go and one need not worry about the same. [483] Friends are recognised in times of need. [484] Such a robust optimist and believer in the inherent potentialities of man and so much acquainted with the life and condition of the people, our poet failed to make a break with the past and to join hands with other contemporary reformers publicly criticising the age-old caste system and in propagating the feelings of equality.

—a poet of hope and courage

The only feasible explanation for the conservative outlook of Vidyāpati is his attachment to the Oinwāra Court. His

479. *MM*—No. 108—आसा न अवसानं—×—×— भनहि विद्यापति पुन पहु आस—× × ×—

480. *Ibid*—No. 266; Cf. हे सखि मानुष जनम अनुप

481. *Ibid*—No. 93—सबहि सुन्दरि साहस सार, तेहि तेजि के करए पार
No. 95—साहसे सकल काजे
No. 100—साहस साहिअ असाधे ।

482. *Ibid*—No. 97—कतए तिमिर जहाँ रवी
No. 105—कतए भीति जँ दृढ़ अनुराग ।

483. *Ibid*—No. 223—कुदिना सब दिन नहिं रह
No. 544—कुदिना हित जन अनहित रे, थिक जगत सोभाव

485. *Ibid*—No. 164—विपति चिन्हिअ मल मन्दा । Also Cf. J. N. Dasgupta *op. cit.* Nanak, Kabir, Dādu, Chaṇḍidāsa, Chaitanya and Mukundarāma enlivened the people through their teachings.

close association with the contemporary court life and his consequent dependence stood in his way of frank expression and as a court poet, he had to justify the social structure in which he was living. Kabir, Caṇḍidāsa and Caitanya had no axe to grind and naturally they drew a large number of supporters from the lower orders, who were, then groaning under the deadweight of the *Varṇāśrama* machinery.[486] Another important factor, to be noted, is that like his contemporaries, Vidyāpati had not renounced the world and, therefore, it was not possible for him to criticise the existing social structure outright. He could not, therefore, take a bold step. His long association with the *Smṛtic* studies, a family heritage indeed, had completely overpowered him with the result that he could not cross the borderline, prescribed by his predecessors. But it must be said to his credit that he was a man of affairs and did not hesitate in telling his point in a subtle manner. It is a fact that, inspite of his support to the conservative ideal, he believed in the quality of a man,[487] who, according to the poet, acts according to circumstances.[488] He is wise and admirable who can assess and appreciate the qualities of others.[489] Sweet tongue is the source of all

486. Cf. Dasgupta—*op. cit.* 31—
नीच जाति नीच संगी करि नीच काज
तोमार अग्रेते प्रभु कहिते वासि लाज
म्लेच्छ जाति म्लेच्छ सेवी करी म्लेच्छ कर्म
गो ब्राह्मण द्रोहिसंगे आमार संगम (रूपसनातन)

487. *MM*—No. 465—काक कोइल एक जाति रे।
भेम भँमर एक भाँति रे॥
हेम हरदि कत बीच रे।
गुनहि बुझिअ उचनीच रे॥
मनि कादव लपटाय रे।
तैं कि तनिक गुण जाए रे॥
Cf. कमल भमर जग अछए अनेक।
सब तँह से बड़ जाहि विवेक॥

488. *Ibid*—No. 256—बुध जन मन बुझि निवेदए सबे संसारेरि भाव
Cf. मन्दारतन भेदनहिं जान, बानर मुँह नहिं सोभए पान।

489. अपन अपन गुन सबे सब तँह सुन निज काचहु कह हेम रे।
से पुन सबहुँ चाहि गरुवि गनिय महि, जेकर परक गुन प्रेम रे॥

happiness and at times very helpful.[490] With such remarkable presentation of his ideals about his social philosophy, our poet tried to make both ends meet. His conception of all the social problems is, no doubt, conventional and keeping in view the age and circumstances it can be asserted that his ideas were based on traditional scriptures, which he had so thoroughly studied, and later on applied to his practical life. Vidyāpati, through his *Nachāri*, depicted the true life of Mithilā which stands supported by other evidences.

490. (i) मधुर वचन हे सब तँह सार ।
(ii) के नहिं वस हो मधुर अलाप ।
(iii) वचन कौसअले की नहिं होए ।
(iv) वचन कौसअले जितिअ बदि ।

CHAPTER IV

CULTURAL LIFE

I

Education and Literary Activities

Since the days of Janaka, Mithilā has been an important centre of education and culture. It was in that age that she reached the highest level of intellectual attainments and spiritual progress. [1] A gloss over the contemporary *Upaniṣads* shows that the basic traits of Indian culture were laid during this period in Mithilā. Only distinguished scholars were recognised as teachers. Wandering students were not unknown. [2] To Mithilā flocked scholars from all over India. It was in the court of Janaka that the learned philosophical discussions took place and some important intellectual giants of the age were Uddālaka Aruṇi, Aśvala, Jāratkārava Ārtabhāga, Bhujyu Lāhyāyani, Uṣasta Cākrāyaṇa, Kahoḍa Kauṣitakeya, Vidagdha Śākalya and Gārgī Vācaknavī and they were all defeated by Yājñavalkya. [3] They were instrumental in interpreting the metaphysical questions of the *Upniṣadas* and thereby laying the foundation of a systematised study of philosophy. Mithilā's love for true scholarship can be gleaned through the fact that in recognition of Yājñavalkya's scholarship, Janaka offered his entire kingdom with all his belongings. Education was widespread, though some sections seem to have been debarred from the study of the Vedas. If tradition is to be relied upon, Gotama and Kapila also belonged to Mithilā. The tradition of scholarship seems to continue unabated till we come to our period of study. Mithilā was the homeland of *Pūrvamimāṁsā* which seeks to reconcile the divergent ceremonials

1. Cf. B. K. Sarkar—*Creative India*-P. 4; *B. C. Law Commemoration Volume*. I. 128. 29.
2. R. K. Mukherji—*Ancient Indian Education* (London-1947) PP. 117–18.
3. *Bṛh Up*. III. 5; Cf. *Sat. Br*. XIV. 6. 1–4.

and customs as preserved in the Brāhmaṇas by evolving a general and rational scheme. It is a discipline in itself and has been described as a philosophy of ritualism showing justification of each rite by method of *Mīmāṁsā* or investingation. [4] The study of *Mīmāṁsā* was highy developed in Mithilā. Śavaraswāmin has described it as a self-sufficient system. We shall revert to it again, for discussion, later on. Its importance is due to its method of intellectual discipline.

The Nyāya was another important branch of study in Mithilā. [5] The Nyāya system of discipline made Mithilā internationally famous. The stress on concentrated contemplation and meditation as a step towards true knowledge is not at all possible for a man until he has shed his defects. These defects are—

(i) Desire *(Rāga)* as expressed in lust, selfishness, greed and wish to possess other's property;

(ii) Hatred *(Dveṣa)*—expressed as anger, jealousy, envy, malice and impatience;

(iii) *Moha*—defective outlook in its different forms like error, doubt, egotism or inattentiveness. All these defects are rooted in ignorance and can be dispelled only by true knowledge arising out of meditation. The Maithila Naiyāyikas recommended (i) continuous study of philosophy, (ii) discussion with learned persons, specially between the teacher and the taught, and (iii) disputations as aids to learning. The controversies succeeded in thrashing out the truth.

According to the Naiyāyikas, meditation means that (i) the mind is withdrawn from the sense organs; (ii) is kept steady by efforts towards concentration; (iii) comes intact with the self and (iv) is filled with eagerness to get at the truth.

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4. *Pūrvamīmāṁsā* or *Karmākāṇḍa* or *Dharma* of Veda; *Uttaramīmāṁsā* is *Jñānakāṇḍa* or *Brahma*. In the *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā*—(i) Sacrificial ceremony is essential; (ii) Knowledge of self is achieved by a process of worship; (iii) its intellectual disclpline has a larger appeal than its subject of enquiry.

5. For details—see section on the *Navya-Nyāya*.

The *Nyāyasūtras* accepted Veda as revealed knowledge. The main aim of education was to acquire knowledge, which, according to Gotama, is made up of a comprehension of sixteen *padārthas*. The discussion of these topics has a bearing upon education. [6] The objects of knowledge were—

(i) Soul or Self
(ii) Body
(iii) Senses
(iv) Objects or Senses
(v) Intellect
(vi) Mind
(vii) Activity of Will
(viii) Fault
(ix) Transmigration
(x) Fruits of action
(xi) Suffering
(xii) Final beatitude.

It was characteristic of Mithilā to give philosophic approach to all problems of life including education. We learn from Dharmaswāmin that Vikramśilā was completely destroyed. [7] There were only four monks at Bodhagayā. Nālandā was a mere ghost of its past glory with only two *Vihāras*, yet extant. [8] Thousands of monks had fled away. The relations between the *Guru* and the disciple were considered to be similar to that of the father and the son. [9] Disciples used to present small bells to their *gurus* as mark of their respect at the time of taking farewell. Tolerance was yet a visible feature in the

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6. (a) *Pramāṇa*—means of knowledge is four fold.
   (i) *Pratyakṣa* or sensuous perception.
   (ii) *Anumāna*—Inference.
   (iii) *Upamāna*—Comparison.
   (iv) *Śābda*—Word of the Veda—*Nyāya* acknowledged it as a source of knowledge.
7. G. Roerich—*Biography of Dharmaswāmi*—P. 64.
8. *Ibid*—P. 90 ff.
9. *Ibid*—P. 57.

daily life. The refugee scholars shifted either to Mithilā or to Nepal for safety.

The continued and unabated rule of the Karṇāṭas and the Oinwāras has left an indelible mark on the cultural life of Mithilā. The security, though often threatned by continuous incursions from all sides, gave the people of Mithilā some respite to pursue their philosophical enquiry. Fatalism [10] was the yardstick of these despondent people who were, more or less, guided by the law of *Karma*. It assigns no place, at all, to the initiative of all the individuals. The law of *Karma* is the philosophical expression of the belief in an eternal moral order. According to this school, all actions produce their proper moral consequences in the life of the individual who acts. The present circumstances are taken as the cumulative effects of all past and present actions. [11] *Nyāya* and *Dharma-śāstra* were, therefore, the chief concern of the Maithila scholars and it is here that they made remarkable contributions. During our period, Mithilā was the centre of orthodox Brāhmanical civilisation, as opposed to Buddhist Magadha, and the defence of orthodoxy was largely responsible for the development of *Nyāya-Mīmāṁsā*. The coming of the Muslims was responsible for the study of the *Smṛtis* with renewed vigour. The ruling families of Mithilā left their mark on the sanskrit culture by their active and generous patronage and the Mithilā school made permanent contributions to various branches of learning. This period of intellectual activity stimulated the revival of classical studies in Bengal and that is why the history of Mithilā, during the period, has an important bearing for an adequate understanding of Bengali life and culture in later days. According to D. C. Sen, the light of learning came to Bengal from Mithilā

10. *EB* (1947 edition)—Vol. IX. 109. Fatalism has been derived from the Latin "Fatum," that which is decreed. The idea of an omnipotent fate overruling all affairs of men is present in various forms in practically all religious systems. It aims at complete indifference to material circumstances.

11. Cf. *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Indian Philosophical Congress* (1950) P. 126.

and O'malley is perfectly right when he says that "the history of Mithtlā centres round the court engrossed in luxurious enjoyment of literature and learning."

Mithilā, during the period, had its own system of education. Students studied at the feet of their teachers in humble cottages thatched with straw. They sat on mats made of straw and grass, a feature still common in Mithilā. Teachers and students were embodiments of simplicity. They busied themselves in discussing most intricate subjects baffling modern minds even today. The prominence grew more and more after the expansion of muslim power in south Bihar. The University of Mithilā was the shelter of refugee scholars from different parts of the country. Students from all parts frequented this University. The University of Mithilā had instituted a peculiar system of examination for graduation or completion of study. It was known as *"Śalākāparikṣā"* by which the candidate for graduation had to explain that page of a manuscript which was pierced last by a needle run through it. This was thus a test of the capacity of the candidate to explain unprepared any part of the texts he had studied so as to demonstrate his mastery of the subject in all its parts. The diploma was then conferred upon the successful candidates. The University of Mithilā made conspicuous contributions in the realm of serious and scientific subjects and developed a school of *Nyāya*, known as *Navya-Nyāya*. Gaṅgeśa, Vardhamāna, Jaggadhara, Vācaspati, Vidyāpati, Śaṅkara Miśra, Misru Miśra and Pakṣadhara were some of the important teachers associated with the University. *Śalākāparikṣā* was considened to be a very severe test and a student was supposed to be proficient after he had succesfully passed it. The severity of the test is evident from the fact that a needle was inserted between the leaves of a book and asked the examinee to explain extempore the contents of the pages where the book opened. A student had to keep everything ready on the tip of his tongue. Another severe test was known as *Ṣaḍyantra*, as in this case the scholar was expected to present himself for examination by the public. The scholar, who intended to take this examination, could be asked any

question.[12] According to Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṅgānātha Jhā, the institution of *Upādhyāya, Mahopādhyāya* and *Mahāmahopādhyāya* were graded degrees of seniority among Professors.[13] Various places of Mithilā are yet associated with different branches of learning and they are (i) *Yajuāḍa*[14] the seat of Yajurveda learning; (ii) *Rigā,* the seat of Ṛgveda learning, (iii) *Athari,* the seat of Atharvaveda learning; (iv) *Bhaṭṭasimri* or *Bhaṭṭapura,* the seat of Bhāṭṭa School of *Mīmāṁsā,* (v) *Mao-Behat* the seat of *Mādhyandiniśākhā* and so on.

While the system was patronised by the ruling dynasties of Mithilā, it must be borne in mind here that the house of every Paṇḍita was a school in itself. Almost all branches of literature and science were either written or compiled and eminent teachers, referred to above, and others like Śrīdattopādhyāya, Harināthopādhyāya, Bhavaśarman, Indrapati and his pupil Lakṣmīpati had major share in such compilations or compositions. Since the rulers, themselves, were great scholars and also patrons, scholars would very often travel to their courts and seek patronage and recognition. Gaṅgeśa's *Tattvacintāmaṇi* marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of medieval Logic. A sanskrit scholar who did not study this work was not regarded worth the name in Mithilā. Its study helped the reader to be a good and subtle debator and enabled him to draw hair-splitting distinction. It was this particular work that made Mithilā famous and popular with the scholars of Bengal, Kashmir, Maharāṣṭra and south India. The commentaries, on this small work of about three hundred pages, written so far, have covered more than a lac of pages. The tradition of scholarship, in this branch, was continued and extended to wider region. Pakṣadhara's commentary came to be regarded

12. Cf. Jayaswal—*Mithilā MSS. Cat.* Introduction-Vol. II. *PAIOC*-XII. Vol. I. Pt. II. PP. 310, 325.

13. Gangānātha Jhā's Foreword to Keśi Miśra's edition of Sacala Miśra's commentary on *Āryāsaptaśatī.*

14. *JBRS*—XXXIII. 47. Cf. R. K. Mookerji—*op. cit.* 597ff.

15 MV.

as the fountain source of a huge literature on *Navyanyāya*. During our period, Mithilā was, in noway, inferior to Varāṇasī. Nadia derived its inspiration from Mithilā and was the connecting link between Nepal, Tibet and Mithilā. The scholars of Mithilā represented the highest level of scholarship. It was for her studies in *Nyāya*, that she drew students from different parts of India. Nadia is said to have been created by the "proud practice of Mithilā not to allow any one of its students to take from its school or even notes of the lessons or lectures delivered there" (*TM*–381). Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, the founder of Nadia School of Logic, was a student of the University of Mithilā and a direct disciple of Pakṣadhara Miśra.[15] Besides Logic, the University of Mithilā made notable contributions to the study of *Mīmāṁsā*, of which there were two Schools—(i) the Bhaṭṭa School and the (ii) Prabhākara School. The Prabhākara School was the most prominent in Mithilā and, if tradition is to be relied upon, during the reign of Viśvāsadevī there was a gathering of about fourteen hundred Mīmāṁsakas in Mithilā. Philosophy was not ignored in Mithilā and we know that Śaṅkara Miśra, a dualist, attacked *Advaitavedānta* and wrote a popular commentary on the *Sūtras* of Kaṇāda.

Under the auspices of the University of Mithilā, an important School of Grammar was started by Padmanābhadatta. His *Supadma* and its supplements laid the foundation of a new school. Bhanudatta's works on Rhetoric and erotic, when read with Jyotirīśwara's *Raṅgasekhara* and *Pañchasāyaka*, show that this branch of learning was not ignored in Mithilā. Literature, Science, Logic, Mīmāṁsā, erotics and astronomy were studied along with a specialised study of the *Smṛtis* and the Dharmaśāstra. Bhavadatta's commentary on *Naiṣadhacharitam*, Ratneśwara's commentary on *Saraswatī Kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and Pṛthvidhara Āchārya's commentary on *Mṛcchakaṭika* and Śrīkara Āchārya's commentary on the *Amarakoṣa* were some of the important results of the literary pursuits, then followed. Vernacular literature was also getting proper

15. Cf. *Nādiārakāhini*. Cf. *HOS*–Vol. 41; *AIE*–600 ff.

impetus but its teaching, on organised lines, does not seem to have been popular. Since Sanskrit was the language of the literary coterie, very few Sanskrit scholars cared to step down to write in vernacular. Jyotirīśwara and Vidyāpati were two notable exceptions. It must be stated here that the contemporary rulers did patronise the growth of vernacular literature and some of them even cultivated the art of writing in mother tongue. Learning and poetry were honoured. Learning in almost all branches was popular. Vidyāpati was a unique combination of all that was good in that age. Besides being a master mind of Sanskrit, he wrote in *Avahaṭṭa* and through his lyrics in Maithili, he, not only surpassed his contemporaries, but also became the messenger of sweetness and light and made Mithilā known all over the world.

The aim of education was the acquisition of knowledge and formation of character. The educational institutions varied in character. Most of the institutions were managed by the *Gurus* themselves at their own houses while some institutions were supported by rich patrons. Not only education was free but the candidates were supplied with free board and lodging. Rich persons had tutors at their own places. The medium of education was Sanskrit and after primary initiation, the students were taught *Amarakoṣa*. *Vyākaraṇa* was the next stage and after acquiring mastery over the *Kārikās*, the students turned to the study of composition, logic, philosophy, as well as the five *Vidyās—viz.*, *Śabdavidyā*, *Śilpasthānavidyā* (arts), *Chikitsāvidyā*, *Hetuvidyā* and *Adhyātmavidyā*. The curriculam was purely traditional and after the completion of general education, students took to specialised study. Writing of books was an important profession. In these days, when printing press and paper were unknown, books had to be compiled, written and prepared on the palm-leaves and that required a good deal of patience, energy and love for scholarship. A set of scholars was engaged for this purpose. Mithilā's love for scholarship has been well known since time immemorial and the fact finds corroboration in the *Kīrtilatā* of Vidyāpati. The *Nibandhakāras* have prescribed a disciplined life for the students. Respect was paid to the learned. There

are references to various types of learning and learned person in the *PP* of Vidyāpati.[16] It is not correct to hold that the study of sciences, specially astronomy, Mathematics and Āyurveda, was ignored. [17] It is said that *Makranda* calendar was very popular here.

Science

It has been suggested that alchemy is closely associated with the religious cult of the *Tantras*. The Tāntric cult is characterised by a curious admixture of alchemical process on the one hand and grotesque, obscene and something revolting rites on the other. Since Mithilā was one of the important centres of *Tāntricism*, it may be conjectured that the people here were adept in the art of alechemy associated with it. We further learn from the *Sārṅgadharapaddhati* that the people of Videha knew the technicalities of sword-making. The Nepalese paper was sold at Patna, Saran, Janakpur, Darbhanga, Purnea and Gorakhpur. The people of Mithilā also knew the measurement of time and space and we get the following details from Udayana's *Kiraṇāvali*—

(i) 30 *Muhūrtas* = 1 day (24 hours)
(ii) 30 *Kalās* = 1 Muhūrta
(iii) 30 Kāṣṭhās = 1 Kalā
(iv) 18 Nimeṣas = 1 Kāṣṭhā
(v) 2 Lavas = 1 Nimeṣa
(vi) 2 Kṣaṇas = 1 Lava.

This makes one *Kṣaṇa* of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika equal to 2/45 of a second. The Nyāya assumes that the unit of physical change is equal to a Kṣaṇa. The question as to the existence of a triad is one of the moot points of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. Vācaspati, Udayana, Śrīdhara and Raghunātha deal with the problems relating to atom and its movements. The Nyāya thinks that the molecules and larger aggregates assume new characters under the influence of heat without decomposition into homogenous atoms. [18] Gaṅgeśa conjectures that even

16. *PP* (Pāthaka)—92, 98, 103, 126 etc.

17. *BTA*—439 ff.

18. B. N. Seal—*Positive Science of the Ancient Hindus* (Delhi–1958) P. 100 ff.

gold can be evaporated or made to disappear by the application of intense heat. Udayana refers to the oils derived from vegetables, butter from milk and fats from animal. [19] Vegetable fats are also mentioned. Vācaspati and Udayana contend that among oils, fats, milks etc., differences in flavour and odour imply differences in kind and in molecular structure. [20] The Maithila Naiyāyikas paid special attention to the study of atoms. The Nyāya conceives atomic magnitude as a *pārimāṇḍalya*, a term which indicates a spherical shape. [21] To conceive position in space, Vācaspati takes three axes—

(i) proceeding from the point of sunrise in the horizon that of sunset (east and west)

(ii) a second bisecting this line at right angles on horizontal plane (north to south)

(iii) proceeding from the point of their section upto the meridian position of the sun.

The position of any point, in space, relatively to another point, may now be given by measuring distances along these three directions. B. N. Seal has rightly observed—"But this gives only a geometrical analysis of the conception of three-dimensioned space, though it must be admitted in all fairness that by dint of clear thinking it anticipates in a rudimentory manner the foundation of solid (coordinate) geometry" [22] eight centuries before Descartes.

Śaṅkara Miśra gives a detailed description about the theory of motion and the varieties of *Gamana* (curvilinear motion). All kinds of motion are called *Gamana*. [23] Regarding the motion of fluids, Śaṅkara has mentioned the following—

(i) Current motion or *Spandana*—conditioned by fluidity in particles.

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19. *Ibid*—PP. 110-111.

20. *Ibid*.

21. *Ibid*—117. Cf. Śaṅkara Miśra—नित्यं परिमण्डलम्-परिमण्डलमेव पारिमाण्डल्यम् ।

22. *Ibid*—118. Cf. *Tātparyaṭīkā*-IV. 2. 25.

23. *Ibid*—130.

(ii) Upward motion or *Ārohaṇa* (evaporation)—the fluid particles are rarefied. In boiling, there is a similar upward movement of water particles under the impact of heat rays.

(iii) Capillary motion or *Abhisarpaṇa*—i.e., the ascent of the sap in plants from the root to the stem, and the penetrative diffusion of liquids in porous vessels. Heat particles have alike generative power.

According to Śaṅkara Miśra, the movement of iron in general towards the magnet is an important example of unexplained motion in matter. [24] According to Udayana, the solar heat is the source of all the stores of heat required for chemical change in the world.

Regarding the analysis of sound, the Mīmāṁsakas hold that *Vāyu* (air) has a special quality which causes audible sound (*Nāda*). Vācaspati holds that the physical basis of sound is a series of air movements whereas Śavaraswāmī holds that *Nāda* is a wave-motion of air. Vācaspati and others controvert the Mīmāṁsā views by saying that—

(i) Nāda is a specific quality of Vāyu

(ii) Sound is constituted by a series of air movements.

(iii) It is not air-currents but air waves that constitute the *Nāda.*

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika thinkers compare sound to a wave and advocate the theory of an independent sound wave. [25] Gaṅgeśa holds that the propagation is not from the molecule to molecule, but travels in ever, expanding circle as in water waves, perhaps in spherical layers by compression of masses of air; and these air-waves, the vehicles of sound, are exceedingly swift. This explains the velocity of sound. [26] Gaṅgeśa accepts air-waves as vehicles of sound-waves.

24. *Ibid*—140 ff. Cf. P. C. Ray. *History of Chemistry in Ancient and Medieval India* (Calcutta–1956) PP. 114; 216, 235, 284; 301; 302 etc., Cf. *Tātparyaṭīkā*—1V. 2. 25. for details about Atom.

25. Seal—*op. cit.* 156.

26. *Ibid*—158; Cf. Gaṅgeśa—*Tattvachintāmaṇi.*

Vidyāpati refers to the study of botany [27] and veterinary science. [28] The Science of medicine was not unknown. [29] The reference to the preparation of various kinds of cosmetics and luxurious goods in the *Pañchasāyaka* of Jyotirīśwara is an indication of the fact that the people of Mithilā were aware of the various ingredients and chemicals. There is also a reference to the various methods of birth-control in that book and it may be hazarded that these sciences were widely cultivated. The *VR* also refers to various kinds of Vaidyas— *Viṣavaidya, Naravaidya, Gajavaidya, Aśvavaidya,* etc. (*VR*–p. 9). From all these accounts, it may be concluded that the study of sciences was not neglected and learning consisted of acquiring knowledge not only in philosophy, art and theology and *Smṛtis* but also in different branches of science, such as astronomy, astrology, medicine, veterinary science and zoology. Charaka and Suśruta held the field. We have referred to above the use of *Makranda* calendar in Mithilā. In Mithilā, *Līlāvati, Siddhānta Śiromaṇi,* works of Bhāskarāchārya and Caṇḍeśwara's commentary *Amalā* were studied with thoroughness. [30] Lakṣmīdāsa, son of Vācaspati, wrote a commentary on the *Gaṇitādhyāya* and *Golādhyāya* of Bhāskarāchārya's *Śiddhāntaśiromaṇi,* known as *Gaṇitatattvachintāmaṇi.* Several Maithila writers wrote on astronomy, astrology, mathematics, medicine and other sciences. Jyotirīśwara gives a detailed account of the prevailing astronomical calculations in Mithilā.[31] Various types of physicians and references to some common diseases are mentioned in the poems of Vidyāpati.[32] Magadha

27. *PP* (Pāthak)—P. 110.

28. *Ibid*—183.

29. *Ibid*—72, 172, 192, 195; *Vaidya*–99–100; Kavirāja–143.

30. *BTA*–539.

31. *VR*—P. 23. मानस, खण्डखाद्य, भास्वती, तिथिचक्र, सोमशेषर, विद्याधारी विलस प्रभृति अनेक करणग्रन्थ, राजमार्तण्ड, हलायुध, वराहमिहिर, श्रीपति-संहिता, नंद संहिता, देवल संहिता, चंद्र संहिता·····प्रन्द्रह तिथि, सताइस नक्षत्र, योग, सातवरागन, वारह राशि·····आठ पहर, वतीस घली, वारह मुहूर्त, दण्ड, पल, कला, विकला····· ।

32. S. Jha—No. 15—कारनि वैदे निरसि तेजलि आन नहिं उपचार
No. 81—आँखि रतौन्धी सुनए न कान (deaf

fever was also very common in Mithilā and we know that the celebrated Tibetan traveller, Dharmaswāmī, was attacked with this fever in Tirhut while he was on his way back. This was known to be fatal.[33] Tirhut was marshy and as such fever was very common. Quacks were not unknown. All types of scientific knowledge, though subordinate to *Smṛtic* studies, were imported in the educational curriculam of Mithilā.

Geographical knowledge—The *Bhūparikramā*[34] of Vidyāpati gives the geographical account of sixty five towns or villages together with their Puranic importance if any. In writing out this excellent Gazetteer, Vidyāpati seems to have depended mainly on the Purāṇas. It was written in the form of an expiatory tour of Balarāma, elder brother of Kṛṣṇa. In his description, he sticks to the old names of hermitages, such as Naimiṣāraṇya, Pañchāla, Brahmāvarta etc. Balarāma came to Naimiṣa and from there to Drupada's country, Pañchāla, and thence to Brahmāvarta and from there to the hermitage of Vālmīki, then to Prayāga, to Bharadwāja's grove,[35] and after recrossing Pratiṣṭhāna reaches Śṛṅgavera and along the north bank of the Ganges comes to Kāśī. Thereafter following the route of Rāmāyaṇa, he comes to Gautamāśrama at the confluence of the Ganges and the Saryu and then to Tāḍakā's place and from there to the hermitage of Chyavana and Pāṭaliputra. It should be noted here that Rāmāyaṇa does not mention Pāṭaliputra, but our poet found Pāṭaliputra to be too well known to be omitted altogether.

No. 85—बारह औषध मितर वेआधि

No, 173—खने सन्ताप सीत जल जाड़को उचचरव सन्देह न छाड़

In his *Dānavākyāvalī* Vidyāpati hints the names of various disease and it is therefore natural that their remedies must have also been found out. Vidyāpati has used *Gaṇaka* for Mathematician. Cf. *PP* (Pāthak) 87–88.

33. Rocrich—*op. cit.* P. 100.

34. *MSS* of this work is in the Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta. Also Cf. *JBORS*–IV. PP. 18–19.

35. Cf. H. P. Sāstri's article—*Gazetter Literature in Sanskrit* in the *JBORS*—IV. 18–19.

From Pāṭaliputra, he comes to Tirabhukti and Mithilā and revels in the description of ancient holy places.

Vidyāpati seems to have relied upon the Purānic account. In chapter 79 of the tenth canto of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, the journey of Baladeva is described. It is said that he first arrived on the bank of the Kauśikī river and then went to that Sarovara wherefrom the river Saryu has sprung. He, then, travelled along the banks of Saryu and subsequently arrived at Prayāga. He continued his journey and went on, bathing on his way in the rivers Gomatī, Gaṇḍakī, Vipāsā and Sone and arrived at Gayā where he performed the *Pitṛa* worship. From Gayā, he came to Gaṅgāsāgara-Saṅgama and travelling south, he went to Veṅkaṭāchala. The river Kauśikī is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the *Vārāhapurāṇa* (140). According to the *Padma P.* (78) and *Bhāgvatapurāṇa* (V. 7) *Śālagrāma* is placed near the source of the river Gaṇḍaka. Baladeva travelled northwards as far as the slopes of the Himālayas. Crossing the river Gomatī, Baladeva travelled through Saran and came to Sonepur and therefrom marched straight east to Gayā. [36] There is thus a difference between Vidyāpati and the Puranic account and we have to examine it critically. Naimiṣāraṇya was a place associated with the ancient *Ṛṣis* where they are said to have held long sessions of Vedic sacrifices and during these sessions, the Sūtas recited the Purāṇas. Brahmāvarta is said to be the place of Swayambhū Muni. He had an idea of two Brahmāvartas—*laghu* and *bṛhat*. The work, *Bhūparikramā*, has been put in the form of a Purāṇic legend. [37] In the *Naimiṣa* forest before an assembly of the Brāhmaṇa sages, Baladeva was guilty of killing a Brāhmaṇa and was, therefore, advised to undertake a pilgrimage and he set out from the holy land of *Naimiṣa*. In the *Bhūparikramā*, divided into six chapters, there is a description of eight *deśas* viz.—Drupadadeśa, Brahmāvarta, Prayāga-Kāśī, *Siddhadeśa, Balideśa*, Bhojpur and Janakadeśa. The place-names have been identified in the following manner—

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36. Dikshitar—*Puranic Index*—II. 463.

37. *Journal of the Bihar University*. Vol. I. P. 85 ff.

(i) Naimiṣa—modern Nimakhara on the Gomatī twenty miles south of Sitapur (U. P.)

(ii) Drupadadeśa—the adjoining district of Hardoi.

(iii) Brahmāvarta—modern district of Unao on the northern side of the Ganges.

(iv) Prayāga and Kāśī—are well known.

(v) Siddhadeśa—Land to the east of Gomatī (in the district of Ghazipur—U. P.)

(vi) Balideśa—Ballia (U. P.)

(vii) Bhojpur—eastern part of the district of Shāhābād

(viii) Janakadeśa—Nepal Terai.

Vidyāpati, while describing route from Mithilā to *Naimiṣa* forest, gives not only the topography of those tracts with their rivers, forests, shrines but also details of their historical and mythological importance. These topographical descriptions are the important features of the *Bhūparikramā* though in the words of Professor Ramānātha Jhā, "the real motive of Vidyāpati was not to describe the topography of Āryāvarta and compile a work of geography." [38] The fact remains that Vidyāpati, as a master-teacher of the age, was conversant with all the relevant data of topography and geography and that is evident not only from this work but also from the *Kīrtilatā*, wherein we find the Sharqi army taking the well-known routes to Mithilā. *Bhūparikramā* was written in the reign of Devasiṁha. The natural conclusion that can be drawn from a study of this work is that the people of Mithilā were not isolated with the rest of the country. When Magadha ceased to give light, Mithilā became centre of cultural activities and continued to give light to the whole of eastern India. [39]

38. *Ibid*—P. 89. According to Ramanath Jha, this work was composed by the poet when he was staying with Devasiṁha in Naimiṣa forest in the distant Uttarapradeśa—8 tales are the same as in the first part of the *PP–Bhūparikramā* and *Kīrtilatā* are Vidyāpati's contribution to *Puruṣārtha* literature. Vidyāpati is said to have encouraged Devasiṁha to proceed to Mithilā after the line of Kīrtisiṁha was extinct. These findings of Professor Jha need further investigation.

39. For details, Cf. D.C. Sen—*History of Bengali Language & Literature*.

Geographical knowledge was essential pre-requisite for political collaboration among contemporary powers. The rulers of Mithilā maintained contacts and friendly relations with the neighbouring states.[40] Besides that, Mithilā had intimate connections with Nepal—specially in the field of trade, commerce as well as culture. The contract was fruitful for both the countries.[41]

The *Bhūparikramā, PP* and *Kīrtilatā* supply us with detailed information regarding the extent of geographical knowledge then available to the people and they stand further substantiated by the long list of countries mentioned in the *VR*.[42] These names and descriptions are, no doubt, conventional but they give us an insight into the contemporary way of looking

40. Cf. *ABORI*—XXXV. 91 ff.

41. Cf. *Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā* (1336)–PP. 171–172. नेपालेर प्राचीन राजवंशेर शिक्षार भाषा छिल मैथिली—Cf. *Kīrtilatā* (Saxena)–P. 48.

42. *VR*—P. 56. In the list of *Tīrthas*, we have the following names—प्रयाग, वारानसी, प्रभास, पारिप्लुत, पञ्चनद, पिण्डारक, पृथुदक, पुष्कर, कुरुक्षेत्र, कपालमोचन, करपाचल, कामेश्वर, कुब्जाम्र, कोकामुख, कुमारधारा, केदार, कर्णतीर्थ, कपिलावट, भद्रवट, अरुन्धतीवट, जानुवट, धर्मारण्य, कम्पकारव्य, दण्डकारव्य, नैषधारण्य, वेणुकारण्य, ब्रह्मारण्य, शंकुकर्ण, गोकर्ण, मुञ्जावर्त, रुद्रावर्त, ब्रह्मावर्त, ब्रह्मवेदि, सिन्धुसङ्गम, समर्नवापी, ओमतीर्थ, सावित्री, सोमाश्रम, शरभङ्गाश्रम, सिद्धक्षेत्र, वसोन्धारा, व्यासस्थली, विदरिकाश्रम, अमरकण्टक, जानुवट, शंखोद्धार, शालग्राम, सप्तगोदावरी, सप्तसागर, दशाश्वमेध, सन्निहित्या, समन्तपञ्चक, गंगाद्वार, गंगासागर, मिथिला, जातिस्मर, उज्जियिनी, अग्निधारा, चम्पा, द्वारका, वेकूट, भस्मकूट, मथुरा, पुरुषोत्तम, अशोकतीर्थ, गौरीतीर्थ, मैनाक, सिद्धराम, मल्लिकार्जुन, सेतुबन्ध।

Rivers—गंगा, गोमती, गोदावरी, गण्डकी, रेवती, वितस्ता, विपासा, विदिशा, वेत्रवती, तापी, तमसा, ताम्रपर्णी, चन्द्रभागा, चित्रा, चित्रकूटा, नम्रद, सरयू, सरस्वती, करतोया, सिप्रा, पारा, कौशिकी, तुङ्गभद्रा, कावेरी, कर्मनाशा, सारावती, वाग्वती, देवनदी, देविका, त्रिश्रोता, मधुश्रवा।

Mountains—P. 57. दोलु, मन्दर, महेन्द्र, मलय, मैनाक, माल्यवान, मुकुज, मानकुण्ड, मदुर, मन्दार, मुञ्जुगिरि, गोमन्त, गोवर्द्धन, परिपात्र, विपुल, नील, कैलाश, वाराह, गन्धमादन, रामगिरी, कलिङ्ग, कालगिरी, चित्रकुट, किशोर, पुष्कर, पुण्डरीक, ऋष्यमूक, सुबेल, श्रीपर्वत, इन्द्रनील, मधुकूर्म्म।

at things connected with geographical knowledge. An account of the topography and geography of Tirhut is available to us from Dharmaswāmi—when he entered India, he came across three mountain ranges. Of these *Ṛṣiśirṣa* mountain was high and the rest were low ranges. We have only two mountain ranges in Tirhut, Someśwara to the nort of Champaran and Dūn hill to the south of Someśwara. Someśwara is forty two miles and Dūn twenty miles in length. Possibly the offshoot of Someśwara was regarded as the third by the celebrated traveller, who seems to have based his account mainly on heresay evidence in so far as this aspect is concerned. [43] He suggests that the mountain extended upto Vaiśālī but that is not correct. He took the well-known route from Kātmandu and reached the capital of the Karṇāṭas. From there he proceeded straight to the south and reached Vaiśāli and to the south of the Ganges lay the kingdom of Magadha. The extant of geographical knowledge stands further enriched if we cast a glance at the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* [44] and *Gayaśrāddhapaddhati* of Vācaspati Miśra. The former throws light on Prayāga, Puruṣottamakṣetra, Kṛtivāsahkṣetra, Konārkakṣetra, Virajakṣetra, Gayā, Gaṅgā and Vārāṇasī. Vācaspati confirms the point that the temple of Viśwanātha was situated on the north of Vijñānavāpī. The present temple exists to the south of it. It was at the instance of some Muslim ruler that the original temple was demolished and the present one was constructed and the reconsecration ceremony of the idol was done by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa II in the middle of the 15th. century. The *Tīrthalatā* of Vācaspati [46] is different from his *Tīrthachintāmaṇi*. It deals with the ceremonies to be performed at Kāśī, Prayāga and other places of pilgrimages. There is a

43. Roerich—*op. cit.* P. 61.

44. Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. It is based on *Kṛtyakalpadruma*, *Pārijāta* and *Ratnākara*.

45. It has been printed at Bombay. The *Maṅgala* verse of this book is the same as that of the above.

46. A copy of this *MSS* is in the Rāja Library, Darbhanga. Cf. *Cat. of Mithilā MSS*–I. P. 185. No. 169.

mention of the famous eight *Nāgas* [47] in his *Kṛtyamahārṇava*. The *PP* mentions Gauḍa, Gajjana, Devagiri, Gorakhpur [48] Dwārka, Daṇḍakāraṇya, Vijayanagara, Kānyakubja, Ayodhyā, Prayāga, Kailāśa, Rāḍha, *Sarayū Saṅgama*, Kāñhci and a number of other important places and all important rivers. Mathurā, Gokula and Bṛndābana find frequent mention in the poems of Vidyāpati.

The problem with regard to the identification of Jaunpur as described in the *Kīrtilatā* of Vidyāpati has raised a number of issues. Dr. Subhadra Jha has identified Jaunpur with Delhi. [49] In Śāstri's edition of the *Kīrtilatā* (P. 10) we have—"*Pekkhaīaū Paṭṭana cāru mekhala Jañona-nīra-pakhāria*" i.e., "they saw the city washed by a river on all sides like a waist band to it" (P. 11). The city is named *Jonāpura*. It has been translated by Dr. Jha as—"the city which was washed with the water of the Yamunā, looking like beautiful waist band." [50] We have in our possession a far more reliable evidence in the *Khambāta Mss.*, the text of which is as follows [51]—

स्तम्भतीर्थ प्रति–(लेखनकाल–१६७२ विक्रम)—

पेक्खिअ इत्यादि। प्रसितं पट्टनं·····नगरं प्रेसितं जोणापुरं नामतंरवणे पेक्खिअ नगर सो जोनापुर तसनाम·····चारुमेखलं यमुनातीर प्रक्षालितम्—(जौणनीर पखालिअ)

In view of this evidence of about 1615 A. D., it is not possible to construe the name as *Joinipur* [52] as Dr. Jha would have us believe. The name *Jonāpura* is now definite and hence its identification with *Yoginipura* or *Joinipura* can not

47. वासुकि, तक्षक, कालिय, सालभद्र, एरावत, धृतराष्ट्र, कर्कोटक, धनञ्जय ।

48. Supra—Cf. my article in *JOT*—referred to earlier. Cf. S. Jha—No. 255. for वासुकिनाग ; 254 for Himalayas.

49. *op. cit.* Introduction. P. 21; 41 ff.

50. *Ibid*—41.

51. I am much obiged to Professor Virendra Shrivastava, Head of the Department of Hindi, Bhagalpur University, Bhagalpur, for having supplied me with the above extract.

52. *op. cit.* 42.

be possible, though the fact remains that the city was washed by the waters of Jamuna. For the present and until further evidences are forthcoming the Jonāpura is to be identified with Jaunpur. The facts relating to topography may be wrong but it is difficult to change the name of Jonāpur to Yoginipura in the vicinity of Delhi. The point needs further investigation. Vidyāpati found Jaunpur a very busy place where people from different parts of the country flocked together. People of Telengana, Chola country, Bengal, Kaliṅga and others spoke their own languages (*Kīrtilatā*—Saxena, p. 48).

The folk literature of Mithilā is full of references of our contact with various parts of India and it gives the following names—Kanauja, Delhi, Mathurā, Moraṅga, Tirhut, Gayā, Ayodhyā, Kailāśa Ailaṅga (?), Telaṅga, Magah, Monghyr, Udayāchala, Nepāla, Champāran, Kāśī, Karṇāṭapura, Orissa, Dwārkā, Bṛndāvana etc.[53] The list fairly

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53. Rākesha—*op. cit.* 107—

नौतव कन्नौज छतीस कोटिलए, नौतव दिल्ली राजयो
मथुरा मोरंग तिरहुत नौतव, नौतव सकल समाजयो
गया नौतव गयाधर नौतव, नौतव अयोध्या ग्रामयो
र गेंहिं इन्द्र पतालहि नौतव, मर्त्य भुवन कैलाशयो
ऐलङ्ग तैलङ्ग सब गढ़ नौतव, नौतव मगह मूंगेरयो
पूर्वहि नौतव गिरि उदयाचल, पश्चिम वीर तनुमानयो
नवापार नैपाल चम्पारण, काशी सजु वरियातयो
सादर सब ऋषि ब्राह्मण नौतव, सुरनर मुनि सब झारि
कारनाटपुर, टठ्ठ, उड़ीसा, पाण्डव कौरव राजयो
एक नहिं नौतव नगर द्वारिका, जह वसु नन्दकुमारयो

× × × ×

अरहीवन सौं खरही मंगाओव, वृन्दावन बिटवाँसयो।

For a reference to मोरंगदेश—Cf. D. S. Singh—*op. cit.* PP. 115–16; *PP* (G)—Tale 29; Rākesha. P. 95. गंगासागर, वद्यनाथ, बनारस; Vidyāpati, in his *Dānavākyāvalī*, has given a graphic description of the geography of India—*Vide*—P. 9. उतरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम्। वर्षं तद्भारतं नाम भारती यत्र सन्ततिः। नवयोजनसाहस्रो विस्तारोस्य महामुने॥ कर्मभूमिरियं स्वर्गमपवर्गं च गच्छताम्॥ सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योर्देवनद्योर्यदंतरम्॥ तद्देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते। कुरुक्षेत्रं च मत्स्याश्च पञ्चालः सुरसेनकाः॥ एष ब्रह्मर्षिदेशो वै ब्रह्मवर्तादनंतरः॥ हिमवद्विन्ध्ययो-

contains a comprehensive account of important places then known to the people of Mithilā. The scholars of Mithilā went round the country both for religious and educational purposes and earned name and fame. Vidyāpati has also referred to such centres of religion as Bāsukināṭha, Baidyanāṭha [54] and Siṅgeśwara. According to the *Mithilā Māhātmya Kāṇḍa* of the Bṛhad Viṣṇupurāṇa (mentioned in the Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi of Hemādri [55]) Mithilā was an important *Tīrtha*. Some important places of Mithilā like Hariharakṣetra, Kapileśwara, Hariṇākṣi, Pippalivana, Puṣpahara (modern Phulhari), Kūpeśwara, Banagrāma, Drumālaya, Siṁheśwara, Biṣhara, etc. are mentioned [56] along with the names of important rivers like Kauśikī, Triyugā, Kamlā, Gandakī, Adhaura, Dhumbati (Dhemura), Lakshmanā, Bāgmati, etc. [57] The fiscal divisions are also known to us from the *Likhnāvali*. Vidyāpati was a great and excellent teacher and his vision was wide and comprehensive. He was thoroughly acquainted with all kinds of knowledge and his excellence as a teacher

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र्म्मध्यं यत्र प्राग्विनशनादपि । प्रत्यगेव प्रयागाच्च मध्यदेशः प्रकीर्त्तितः — — विराड्देशः, पंचालः, कान्यकुब्जाहिच्छत्रादिदेशः सुरसेनयः मथुरादिदेशः — मगधः सुराष्ट्र, सिन्धु, सौवीर, द्वारका, जारुथ, कलिङ्ग — etc.

—Vidyāpati seems to have been indebted to the Purāṇas— A MSS entitled *Pramāṇapallava* by Narasiṁha (*Catalogue of Mithilā MSS*. Vol. I. P. 294) gives an account of several *Tīrthas* and quotes from Lakṣmīdhara and is quoted by Candeśwara. For Kumārila's interpretation of *Ahalyāsthāna*, Cf. *Tantravārtika* 1. 3. 7.

54. *MM*—No. 787—कण्ठे आएल छन्हि वासुकिराय
No. 803—कण्ठ वासुकि सिर सुरसरि धारे
No. 778—दाता हमरो सिंहेश्वरनाथ
No. 784—ओ सिंघेश्वरनाथ थिकाह मोर पति हे
No. 776—भगत बछल प्रभुवान महेशर—
Cf. *Mithilāmāhātmya*. PP. 31-32.

55. I owe this formation to Dr. D. C. Sircar of the University of Calcutta.

56. *Mithilāmāhātmya*—PP. 74-75; 76-80.

57. *Ibid*—204 ff.

is known to us from the *colophon* of a MSS written by his own student. [58]

Dharmaśāstra

Dharmaśāstra formed an important part of the curriculum in Mithilā. It was in this branch of learning that Mithilā produced a host of scholars during our period. It was through her contribution in the realm of Dharmaśāstra that secured a place of honour. The various digests, written during the period and though based on older *Smṛtis*, have superseded them in such a way that no one now cares to consult the older ones. These writers recognised *Sadāchāra* as one of the authoritative sources of *Dharma*. [59] Traditional usages and costoms were regarded as sources of *Dharma*. [60] Different customs of different locality were responsible for divergent views on certain matters. As these practices came to be multiplied and differences also became intensified. All these factors influenced the later digest writers to differ widely amongst themselves over the interpretation of older Smṛtis. It must be noted here that inspite of these differences, they do not venture to revolt against the ultimate principles, established by ancient law. *Mayūkha* came to be recognised as authority in the Bombay presidency, Kamalākara and Mitra Miśra in Madhyadeśa, Jīmūtvāhana and Raghunandana in Bengal, and the works of Lakṣmīdhara, Caṇḍeśwara, Vācaspati in Mithilā and the Raṇavīra-ratnākara in the Punjab. The reason behind this concentrated studies of the *Smṛtis* was to save Hinduism from the onrush of Buddhism, which was mainly direcred against sacrificial rites, rituals and *Varṇāśramadharma*. This led to

58. The *Colophon* reads—"In the year L. S. 341, in village *Muḍiāra*, this Manuscript by Rūpadhara, who is reading with Paṇḍita Śrī Vidyāpati, who is devoted to duty, who is an excellent teacher, who is like a lion against the elephant like opinion of his antagonist and who possesses an excellent character." This is a sufficient evidence of the fact that our poet was one of the most respected teachers of the Uuiversity of Mithilā.

59. *Yāj*. 1. 7; *Manu* 1. 108, *Vasiṣṭha*–VI. 1; 1. 4.

60. Manu I. 118; *Vasiṣṭha* 1. 8.

the development of the production of vast literature on Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā and Dharmaśāstra. There is hardly any other part of the country which singly has produced so many independent thinkers on Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā, and Dharmaśāstra as Mithilā.

The Dharmaśāstras had their roots in the Vedic tradition and the writers looked upto the Vedas as a source of Dharma. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* have also played a great part in the development of Dharmaśāstra and the earliest Dharmaśāstra can be assigned to the period between 600 and 200 B. C. Mithilā, in her own way, did not lag behind and contributed towards the development of this branch of learning through a host of writers. The first Maithila writer, according to Kane, was Śrīkara. Whether he wrote a commentary or a general digest, it is difficult to say. Śrīkara propounded the view of spiritual benefit as the criterion for judging superior rights of succession. The *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya (II. 135); *Smṛtisāra* of Harinātha; Jīmūtavāhana, the *Smṛtichandrikā, Saraswatīvilāśa* and other works contain interesting notices of Śrīkara's views. All these are indicative of the fact that Śrīkara possibly compiled an independent digest. Caṇḍeśwara in *RR* quotes the views of Śrīkara on Rājanīti. Śrīkara, as quoted by Caṇḍeśwara, holds the view that *the poor and helpless are entitled to a share of the royal wealth.* He is also quoted by Hemādri.

Śrīkara (800–1050 A. D.)

The author of *Kāmadhenu* is not known to us but this work has been extensively quoted by the Maithila writers, especially Caṇḍeśwara. According to Caṇḍeśwara, Gopāla was the author of *Kāmadhenu.* Caṇḍeśwara has quoted the views of Gopāla at a number of places in the *RR* (PP. 81, 84). Gopāla held the view that *on the state wealth poor and helpless people have a claim* and that the state perishes if the supreme authority is wielded by many. He further holds that a king may be proclaimed without coronation rites by merely being seated on a throne. Jayaswal ascribes *Kāmadhenu* to Bhoja but there is nothing to prove that. Another writer,

Halāyudha, is claimed both by Bengal and Mithilā. He is quoted by Vācaspati in *Vivādacintāmaṇi* and Raghunandana in his works. Both the Bengali and Maithila writers rely upon him as a great authority. Lakshmidhara, through his *Kalpataru*, influenced the Maithila writers and Caṇḍeśwara's *Vivādaratnākara* is practically a plagiarism of this work. Caṇḍeśwara expressly names it as the first of his predecessors on whom he relied. The Maithila *Nibandhakāras* are also indebted to Ballālasena.

Śrīdatta Upādhyāya (C. 1275 A.D.–1350 A.D.)

With Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, we stand on a sound footing in so far as the history of Dharmaśāstras in Mithilā is concerned. He is one of the earliest medieval Maithila *Nibandhakāras*. He is the author of a number af books, named below :—

(i) *Ācārādarśa* (Bombay-Samvat 1961)—a manual of daily religious duties of the followers of white Yajurveda, *i.e.*, the *Vājasenayins*. He has quoted a large number of authorities. Gaurīpati or Gaurīśa, son of Dāmodara Maithilā, wrote a commentary on this work known as *Ācārādarśa-vodhini*.

(ii) *Chandogāhnika*—a manual on the daily duties for Sāmavedins. A supplement to it was written by Śaṅkara Miśra, son of Bhavanātha Miśra, and was known as *Chandogāhnikoddhāra*.

(iii) *Pitṛbhakti*—a manual on Śrāddha rites for the students of Yajurveda; it further treats of the details of the *Pārvaṇaśrāddha*, then of *Ekoddiṣṭa*, of the monthly *Śrāddhas* etc. and then the definition of *Śrāddha*.

(iv) *Śrāddhakalpa*—is meant for the Sāmavedins.

(v) *Samayapradīpa*—treats of proper times for various *Vratas*, defines *Vrata*—In this work he refers the to views of Gauḍas and contrasts them with his own. Caṇḍeśwara mentions this work in his *Kṛtyaratnākara*. Śrīdatta is quoted in the *Śrāddhakriyā Kaumudī* of Govindānanda.

Another Maithila writer of the same name, called Śrīdatta Miśra, son of Nāgeśwara Miśra, composed a work known as

Ekāgnidānapaddhati and *Puraścaranapaddhati* dealing with the gifts and other introductory rites. Whether the two are identical on not, it is difficult to say. Raghunandana has almost accepted the views of Śrīdatta as expounded in the *Samayapradīpa*, the only exception being *tithi*, where Raghunandana rejects the views of both Śrīdatta and Vācaspati.

Caṇḍeśwara (C. 14th. Century A. D.)

The most prominent figure among the Maithila *Nibandhakāras* is Caṇḍeśwara Thākur, who was not only a great scholar but also a successful administrator as well. In his case the traditional inverse proportion between scholarship and his wealth did not hold good. He compiled an extensive digest called *Smṛtiratnākara* divided into seven sections—*Kṛtya, Dāna, Vyavahāra, Śuddhi, Pujā, Vivāda, Gṛhastha* and *Rājaniti*.

(i) *Kṛtyaratnākara*—(in 22 *taraṅgas*)—deals with the discussion of Dharma, nature of Dharma, means of knowing it, the various *Vratas* and observances in the several months from *Caitra, Vratas* of the several days of the week, the sun's passage into a new sign etc. First part deals with the theories of religion, second part in thirteen chapters with the religious rites of twelve months and third with the new moon etc. On the theory of religion, he handles his subject most eruditely and the phases are discussed here in a new light which does not appear in many of the authoritative compilations on the subject. He refers to *Sarpābhayapañcamīvrata* and also to *Buddhadvādaśīvrata*.

(ii) *Dānaratnākara* (in 22 *taraṅgas*)—deals with the following subjects—meaning of Dāna, fit objects of charity, the *Mahādāna*, gift of thousand cows, heaps of corn, gifts appropriate to certain months, *nakṣatra*, tithi etc.; dedication of wells and tanks of public use, planting of trees etc.

(iii) *Vyavahārarantākara*—deals with judicial procedure.

(iv) *Śuddhiratnākara*—(in 34 *taraṅgas*)—deals with impurity on birth and death, persons who have to observe no *aśauca*, meaning of *Sapiṇḍa* etc.

(v) *Pujāratnākara*—This work is mentioned by Raghunandana in his *Suddhi-tattva.*

(vi) *Vivādaratnākara* —(in 100 *taraṅgas*) is an extensive work on civil and criminal law and deals with eighteen titles of law such as *Dāyabhāga* etc. The civil portion deals with inheritance—the subject of inheritance contains a description of thirteen kinds of son with the relative rights of heritability. Inheritance has been divided by the author into two heads—(a) *Dāyabhāga* and (b) *Jivat-pitṛaka-vibhāga,* to be effected only in regard to ancestral property in the hands of the father. The self acquired property of the father can also become the subject matter of partition during his life time with his express sanction and of the mother at that time when she has passed the age of child bearing. But the father has discretion to make any kind of adjustment of the shares and to retain two shares for himself. The work deals with various other items of civil importance and also deals with the five principal categories of criminal law. *It represents the Mithilā school of Hindu Law and formed the basis of Vivadacandra of Misaru Miśra, Vivādacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati and Daṇḍaviveka of Vardhamāna. He also mentions it in his Gṛhastaratnākara. The Vivādaratnākara and Vivādacintāmaṇi are of paramount authority in matters of Hindu Law in Mithtlā.*

(vii) *Gṛhastaratnākara* (in 68 *taraṅgas*)—is on the duties of householders, deals with the three fold duties of a Gṛhastha—(i) Civil, (ii) Religious and (iii) Sanitary; members of the twice born classes became Gṛhasta after the completion of the Vedic studies; references to eight kinds of marriage—*Adhivedana* and *Parivedana; Adhivedana* is marrying a second wife in the life time of the first one. No other compiler of the *Smṛti* has dealt with this topic (*PP* 84–87). Caṇḍeśwara's treatment shows that it was ordinarily punished in ancient society. Duties and actions proper for *Kṣatriya, Vaiśya* and *Śūdra* are enumerated here; the observances of a *Snātaka, Yama* and *Niyama, Śauca*; the observances of *Brahmacarya*; poor abode of a *Gṛhastha,* adultery and intermixture of castes etc. He has divided the day time into four parts and prescribed duties for each—(i) first quarter in

cleansing the body and worshipping gods; (ii) second quarter in reciting the Vedas; (iii) third quarter in earning money; (iv) fourth quarter for recreation.

(viii) *Rājanītiratnākara* (in 16 *taraṅgas*)—deals with the following Subjects—definition of a king, different grades of kings, the eighteen vices or calamities for kings, duties of kings; the characteristics and duties of *amātyas,* the characteristics of *Purohita,* the characteristics and duties of a *Prāḍvivāka* (Judge); the members of the hall of Justice; their number and qualifications; forts; the time, place and accessories of settlement of royal policy; state treasury; the army; commander-in-chief and the discipline of the army; ambassador, allies and spies; conflict of *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra*; six *guṇas*; the *Maṇḍala* of kings; king's power of punishment, several constituents of a state; state's obligation towards the poor; coronation and investiture etc.

Besided these *ratnākaras,* Caṇḍeśwara is credited with having written another important work known as *Kṛtyachin'āmaṇi.* In his *GR,* he says that certain architectural and decorative constructions called *Śrīvṛkṣa, Vardhamāna* and *Nandyāvarta* have been mentioned in the *Kṛtyacintāmaṇi.* The *Kṛtyacintāmaṇi* is divided into sections called *Prakāśas.* It deals with astronomical matters in relation to the performance of several religious ceremonies and *Saṁskāras.* Caṇḍeśwara is largely indebted to *Kāmadhenu, Kalpataru, Pārijāta, Prakāśa, Halāyudha* and others. *Dānavākyāvalī* and *Śivavākyāvalī* are also attributed to Caṇḍeśwara. More than forty scholars have been quoted by him in his *ratnākaras* and in some cases he has not even acknowledged the debt. He excercised great influence over the writers of Mithilā and Bengal and we see that Misaru Miśra, Vardhamāna, Vācaspati Miśra and Raghunandana frequently quote him. His *ratnākaras* has been described as *Paurastyanibandha* (eastern Digest) in the *Vīramitrodaya* (P. 181).

Harināṭha was not a Gauḍa but a Maithila. He is the author of *Smṛtisāra,* yet unpublished, dealing with the several topics of *Dharmaśāstra.* Different *Saṁskāras* like death,

Śrāddha and *Prāyaścitta* are dealt therein. In other *MSS*, there is description of *Vivāda* (various titles of Law) and *Vyavahāra* (judicial procedure); *Strīdhana, daṇḍa* etc. The author calls himself as a *Mahāmahopādhyāya.* He refers to the views of *Gauḍas* on *Ācāras.* He is quoted by Śulapāṇi and Misaru Miśra in his *Vivādacandra* refers to the views of Harinātha. Harinātha is nowhere mentioned by Caṇḍeśwara and vice-versa. He is quoted by Vācaspati, Raghunandana, Kamlākara, Nīlkaṇṭha and is spoken of as *Upajīvya* by Vardhamāna and Vācaspati.

Harinātha (C. 14th Century A. D.)

The *Madanaratnapradīpa* is an extensive work written by the ruling chief of Champaran named Madanasiṁhadeva. The work, yet unpublished, is divided into seven *Udyotas* (sections) on *Samaya* or *Kāla, ācāra, Vyavahāra, prāyascitta, dāna, Śuddhi, Śānti.* He is quoted as a great authority and even Nīlakaṇṭha in his *Vyavahāramayūkha* relies on his authority. The *Vīramitrodaya* also refers to it. The *Madanaratna* contains the views of *Mitākṣarā, Kalpataru* and *Halāyudha.*

Madanasiṁhadeva (C. 15th Century A. D.)

Another important Maithila *Nibandhakāra* was Rudradhara, who is said to have been a prolific writer on the *Dharmaśāstra* and is credited with having composed several works. Some of his important works are—

Rudradhara (C. 15th Century A. D.)

(i) *Śuddhi-Viveka*—is divided into three *parichcedas,* deals with purification, meaning of the word *putra,* purification of cooked food, water, woman etc. Before compiling his work, he consulted seven *nibandhas* on *Śuddhi* and compiled it for those who could not go through *Ratnākara, Pārijāta, Mitākṣarā* and *Hāralatā.* He also mentions Śrīdatta, *Smṛtisāra* and Harihara.

(ii) *Śrāddhaviveka*—is divided into four *parichcedas* and deals with the varieties of *Śrāddha* and *Mantras* to be recited. He quotes from 15 authorities and also from his own *Śuddhiviveka.* He follows a different tradition from the *Sugatisopāna*

on certain important matters; he discusses the following topics; varieies of *Śrāddha*, the procedure at the *Śrāddha*, the *mantras* that are recited, the proper time and place for *Śrāddha*; and the Brāhmaṇas worthy to be invited. He mentions *Prasātikā* as a kind of grain (प्रसातिका मध्यदेशे शाठिला इति धान्यं).

(iii) *Vratapaddhati*—Here he follows the famous *Samaya-pradīpa*.

His works are quoted by Vācaspati, Govindananda, Raghunandana, Kamalākara and Nīlkaṇṭha. He was a pupil of Caṇḍeśwara. There is a refutation of the view of Rudradhara by Raghunandana. Rudradhara's conclusion from the following text of the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, quoted in the *Śuddhiratnākara* (P. 61), is wrong because the text means marriage only. His work on the *Śrāddha* is considered to be the most authoritative and authentic. Rudradhara is one of the few luminaries to have influenced the author within and outside Mithilā.

Misaru Miśra (C. 15th Century A. D.)

Misaru Miśra is the author of the famous work, *Vivādacandra*, dealing with law (*vyavahārapadas*), *ṛṇādāna* (recovery of debts), *nyāsa* (deposit), partenership, *dāyabibhāga*, *Strīdhana*, plaint, reply etc. He not only quotes Caṇḍeśwara but frequently criticises him. He also mentions *Pārijāta*, *Prakāśa*, Bhavadeva and *Smṛtisāra*. *Vivādacandra has been a recognised authority on Hindu Law in Mithilā*. He specifically stated that the word *Strīdhana* was to be applied to such woman's property as was technically so called by the ancient sages and not to all property that comes to a woman.

Vāeaspati Miśra (C. 15th Century A.D.)

After Caṇḍeśwara, the foremost *Nibandhakāra* of Mithilā was Vācaspati Miśra. He was well-versed in *Dharmaśāstra*, *Nyāya* and *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā*. He wrote ten works on the *Śāstras*, *i.e.* philosophical works; and thirty works on *Smṛti*. Forty one works are ascribed to him. We shall concern ourselves here only with his works on the *Dharmaśāstra*.

(i) *Kṛtyacintāmaṇi* (published from Benares)—deals with

the various important monthly rites and ceremonies to be performed during the whole of the year; with the topics like *Saṁkrāṅti, Śivaliṅga, Malamāsa, Śrāddha, Yajñopavīta, Aśauca* etc., marriage, Oath, Ordeals, purification etc. He says that as the time for taking the day meal is noon, the *Bhrātṛdvitīyā* day should be obversed on that day on which the *Dvitīyā* falls about noon. *Tīla* oil should not be used on Sunday, Tuesday and Friday as that is inauspicious. He quotes from fifteen well known authorities. Saturday is described as *Kroḍavāra.*

(ii) *Śuddhicintāmaṇi* (printed at Benares)—deals with various kinds of purification connected with expiatory rites, body, limb, grain, metals, cooked food, water etc. He refers to the suicidal act by falling down from the *Vaṭa* tree at Prayāga and killing oneself as an act of merit and not an act of sin. In almost all his works, he refers very often to the *Brāhmapurāṇa* and it appears that most of the customs and daily usages of *Maithilas* are in agreement with this *Purāṇa.* He quotes from more than thirty authorities in this book.

(iii) *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* (Published in the B. I. Series)—consists of five chapters called *Prakāśa.* Here we have an interesting account of the temple of Lord Viśwanātha at Vārāṇasī. More than eight authorities have been quoted here. This book has been quoted by Gaṇapati in the *Gaṅgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* and by Raghunandana in his several *tattvas.*

(iv) *Gayāśrāddhapaddhati* (Printed at Bombay)—relating to the ceremonies associated with *Śrāddha.*

(v) *Dvaitanirṇaya* (Published)—deals with several disputed points of the *Dharmaśāstra* and is regarded as authoritative in Mithilā. It is quoted by Gaṇapati, Raghunandana, and Govindānanda. Two commentaries on this work by Gokulānanda (called *Pradīpa*) and Madhusūdana Thākura (*Jīrṇoddhāra*) are known. In this work, the size of a *Kūpa, Vāpī* and *Taḍāga* is mentioned. Vācaspati argues with *Kalpataru* with regard to *Tarpaṇa* but he disagrees with Harihara as regards the giving of oblations to the *Bhūtas.* Here he agrees with Śrīdatta and Vardhamāna. If a *Śrāddha* is performed

in a *Malamāsa*, the following acts should not be done as they are *Kāmya—Kāñcanapuruṣa, Kapilagavī*, umbrella and shoes; the worship of *Dampati* and *Vṛṣotasarga*. Regarding the practice of the *Kartāputra*, he says—"in every *Śrāddha* the *Kṛtiputra* uses the expression *Matputratvakara* (मत्पुत्रत्वकर)" but this usage is neither *ārṣa* nor used in any digest, but has been used by the later *Maithilas*; and as it gives the sense in a connected way, the cultured *Maithilas* also have approved of its use which is deplorable. The father should not perform the *ābhyudayika* for the second marriage of his son, for it is done as part of the *Saṁskāra* which is complete with the first marriage. He quotes from more than fifty authorities. Throughout this work, he displays his wide knowledge of *Nyāya* and *Mīmāṁsā*.

(vi) *Sārasaṁgraha*.

(vii) *Śūdrācāracintāmaṇi* (Unpublished)—deals with the duties and customs of a *Śūdra*.

(viii) *Mahādānanirṇaya* (Unpublished)—deals with sixteen great gifts. It is believed that king Bhairavendra wrote this book with the help of Vācaspati.

(ix) *Chatrayogodbhūtadoṣaśāntividhiḥ*—was written at the instance of one Shah Bahādur, possilby at a time when Vācaspati was out of Mithilā.

(x) *Śrāddhavidhi*—deals with the expiatory rites—

(xi) *Tithinirṇaya*—discusses the doubtful points regarding the observance of *Tithi*.

(xii) *Ācāracintāmaṇi* (Unpublished)—deals with the daily duties of the Vājasenayins. It is quoted by Raghunandana.

(xiii) *Āhnikacintāmaṇi*—No manuscript of this book has been found but that Vācaspati was the author of this book is known from his *Śuddhicintāmaṇi* (P. 90). It deals with the daily duties of the Brāhmaṇas of the *kātiya* school. It is quoted by Raghunandana.

(xiv) *Dvaitacintāmaṇi*—No *MSS* of this work is available but Vācaspati refers to it in his *Kṛtyachintāmaṇi* (P. 33).

(xv) *Nitcintāmaṇi*—No *MSS* has been found but Vācaspati refers to it in the *VC* (P. 112).

(xvi) *Vyavahāraçhintāmaṇi*—deals with evidence in four sections, *viz. Bhāṣa*-plaint; *Uttara*—written statement by way of reply; *Kriyā*-procedure and *Nirṇaya*-decision. Here Vācaspati quotes from ten authorities.

(xvii) *Vivādanirṇaya*—a legal work.

(xviii) *Śuddhinirṇaya*—deals with purification of various types—It is also unpublished. It deals with the impurity on birth and death, the *religious acts that must be performed even in times of impurity for the principal varṇas and castes,* period of impurity on abortion, the deaths of infants and women, accidental deaths etc. over-lapping of several period of *Aśauca*; impurity arising from carrying corpse; rites after the death of a *Sanyāsina*; *impurity from the contacts of lower castes* such as washermen and *Caṇḍālas.*

(xix) *Candanadhenupramāṇa*—discusses the *Smṛti* text for substituting sandalpaste marks instead of burnt marks on the bull dedicated at the time of *Śrāddha.*

(xx) *Dattaka-Vidhi*—deals with the procedure of the adoption of a son.

(xxi) *Kṛtyapradīpa*—deals with the daily duties from getting up from the bed to the going back to the bed at night and also deals with *Ābhyudayika* etc.

(xxii) *Gayāpattalaka*—deals with the ceremonies which are to be performed when one visits Gaya for *Śrāddha.*

(xxiii) *Tīrthakalpalatā*—deals with the merit of the *Tīrthayātrā* in general.

(xxiv) *Śrāddhakalpa*—deals with *Sandhyā, Tarpaṇa, Nityaśrāddha, Nāndimukha* etc. and quotes from about twenty authorities. Kane thinks that this is another name of the *Pitṛbhaktitaraṅgiṇī* but it does not appear to be so.

(xxv) *Tīrthalatā*—deals with the ceremonies to be performed at Kāśī, Prayāga and other places.

(xvvi) *Pitṛbhaktitaraṅgiṇī*—deals with the expiatory rites.

(xxvii) *Kṛtyamahārṇava*—It is said that there were seven *Mahārṇavas* of which this is the first. Thirty six *Smṛtikāras* are mentioned here as reliable and he quotes from about forty authorities on the subject. The work is also associated with the name of his patron *Harinārāyaṇa.*

(xxviii) *Vivādachintāmaṇi* (published)—deals with the eighteen titles of Law as described in the *Manusmṛti.* According to this work—the *Smṛti* principles regulating the case are based on reason and not on *Śruti.* He quotes from more than twenty authorities.

(xix, xxx, xxxi)—Names of the works are not exactly known.

Viewed from the volumes, written by him, it can be said without any fear of contradiction, that this versatile scholar of Mithilā was the greatest digest writer and touched almost every aspect of the Dharmaśāstra literature. Besides, his works on philosophy are equally important. His authority as the master digest-maker was recognised all over India. Raghunandana and Govindānanda of Bengal, Nandapaṇḍita in his works, Mitra Miśra in his *Viramitrodraya,* Kamlākara and others have profusely quoted from the writings of Vācaspati who was, by all means, a voluminous writer.

The *Smṛtis,* with their roots deep down into the Vedic tradition, had three main branches *viz. Ācāra, Vyavahāra* and *Prāyaścitta.* They were further subdivided into *Āhnika* (daily rites), *Saṁskāra* (periodical rites), *Aśauca* or *Śuddhi* (purification), *Prāyaśchitta* (expiations), *Śrāddha* (funerals), *Kṛtya* (festivals), *Pujā* (worship), *Pratiṣṭhā* (consecration), *Dāna* (gifts), *Kāla* (appropriate times). *Vyavahāra* (legal procedure and evidence), *Vivāda* (civil and criminal law) of which one part the *Dāya* (inheritance) was often specially treated, *Rājadharma* (kingly duties) and so on. The study of *Smṛti* formed one main stream down which flowed the Sanskrit thought in Mithilā. Names of most of writers have been lost by now and are known only through quotations. The *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara influenced the Mithilā school and Śrīdatta was the earliest to quote it.

Caṇḍeśwara admits his indebtedness to this work and it is further quoted by Harinātha, Vidyāpati, Vācaspati, Vardhamāna and Rudradhara. It must be noted here that from the thirteenth century onwards, the *Smṛtic* studies in Mithilā came to be reckoned as Mithilā school of *Smṛti*. Various scholars of Mithilā are now known to us only through the quotations preserved here and there and as such it is not possible to form any estimate about them. Graheśwara Miśra, said to be the author of *Vyavahārataraṅga,* is known to us through Caṇḍeśwara and Vardhamāna, while Gaṇeśwara Miśra is known to us through Harinātha, Vidyāpati, and Gaṇapati. Gaṇeśwara Thākura is known through his *Sugatisopāna.*

Rāmadatta

The family of Caṇḍeśwara was the repository of culture and scholarship. Besides Gaṇeśwara and Caṇḍeśwara, there were many others who contributed to the development of *Dharmaśāstra* literature. Rāmdatta Thākura wrote the following works—

(i) *Vivāhādipaddhati*—a manual of rites dealing with the *Saṁskāras* of the Vājasaneyins, which in some manuscripts begin with an additional section of the Abhyūdayika *Śrāddha.* This manual is used by non Sāmavedins in Bengal.

(ii) *Ṣoḍaśamahādānapaddhati*—a manual treating of the sixteen important religious gifts.

Padmanātha

Another important writer on the *Smṛti* was the Grammarian, Padmanābhadatta. In his *Paribhāṣā,* he says that he composed *Ācāra Candrikā.* No manuscript of this work has been found as yet and no quotations therefrom traced.

Vidyāpati

Vidyāpati, the master-singer of eastern India, wrote a number of works on *Smṛti.* One characterstic feature of his works is that they were written under the patronage of the Oinwāra rulers and in some cases they were even attributed to them. Some of his important works are—

(i) *Gaṅgāvākyāvali*—dealing with various rites and duties to be observed on the banks of the Ganges. He quotes here a number of authorities in support of his arguments. It

mentions *Saptagrāma* as *Dakṣiṇa-prayāga* and as *Muktaveṇī* and is herein followed by Vācaspati Miśra, Gaṇapati and Raghunandana. It is quoted by Gaṇapati in his *Gaṅgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*, by Śrīnātha in his *Kṛtyatattvārṇava*, by Raghunandana in several of his *Tattvas*, while the author is named by Govindānanda in his *Varṣakriyā* and *Śuddhikaumudī*. *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* has been published from Calcutta in 1940 by the late Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri. He attributes the authorship of this work to the queen, Viśwāsadevī, who patronised Vidyāpati.

(ii) *Dānavākyāvali*—dealing with various kinds of religious gifts and their ceremonies. It quotes from a number of authorities and it is quoted by Raghunandana in his *Vivāhatattva*.

(iii) *Varṣa-kṛtya*—dealing with fast and festivals. It is quoted in Raghunandana's *Malamāsatattva*.

(iv) *Bibhāsāgara* (Vibhāgasāra)—dealing with the essence of partition and inheritance and gives an account of the *Mitākṣarā* and seems to be indebted to *Kalpataru* and *Vivādaratnākara*. The text is published in the *appendix*.

(v) *Śaivasarvasvasāra*—dealing with the essence of Śiva worship.

(vi) *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇi*—on the *pramāṇa* and the *prayoga* of Durgā worship.

(vii) *Vyāḍhibhaktitaraṅgiṇī*—The text is given in the appendix.

Other important writers on the subject included Indrapati Thākura who wrote *Mīmāṁsā-rasa-pallava*.

Indrapati

It deals with the philosophy of religious rites and applies the rules of *Mīmāṁsā* philosophy to settle the truth and nature of various *Smṛtic* rites, *Vrata, Śrāddha, Dāna* etc. His son Premanidhi compiled a digest named *Dharmādharmaprabodhinī*,

Premanidhi

the understandtng of right and wrong. It deals with *Ācāra, Pūjā, Śrāddha, Aśauca, Śuddhi, Saṁskāra, Dāna, Sādhāraṇadharma, Jātiviveka, Vrata, Tīrtha, Rājadharma, Vyavahāra, Prāyaścitta* etc. Lakṣmīpati, a disciple of Indrapati.

Lakṣmīpati

wrote *Śrāddharatna*, a manual of funeral ceremonies, for the *Sāmavedins* and *Vājasaneyins* and is mainly based on Śrīdatta's works. Another writer of repute was Śaṅkara Miśa who compiled the following works—

Śaṅkara Miśra

(i) *Chandogāhṇikoddhāra*—it is a supplement of Śrīdattha's works and is quoted by Raghunandana in *Āhnikatattva*.

(ii) *Prāyaścittapradipa*—relating to the various rules of expiations.

Vardhamāna also wrote a number of treatises on similar topics. Harināṭha Upādhyāya in his *Smṛtisāra* refers to eight *Saṁskāras*. The number of *Saṁskāras* to be observed by the Dvijas differs from writer to writer. According to Bhavadeva and Halayudha, they are ten; to Devanabhaṭṭa and Śridhara sixteen and Mitākṣarā forty. Caṇḍeśwara's description about himself in the *KR* (13-26) is interesting. The *Dharma* is divided into *Svarūpa* (definition), *Phala* (effects) *Pramāṇa* (sources) and *Nimitta* (requisites). He quotes Manu, Viśvāmitra, Āpastamba and the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* and we come across *Varṇadharma, Āśramadharma, Varṇāśramadharma, Guṇadharma, and Nimittadharma.*

Varṇadharma is described as follows.

(i) Brāhmaṇas—reading, teaching, sacrifice, taking and making gifts—

(ii) Kṣatriyas—protection of subjects, making gifts and sacrifices, reading and control of passions—

(iii) Vaiśyas—tending cattles, making gifts, sacrifices, reading, trade, usury, cultivation etc.—

(iv) Śūdras—ungrudging service of the three castes.

He quotes from various authors and discusses every possible topic relating to the *Dharma* or duties; holding the *Kalpavṛkṣa* (wish-fulfilling tree), the *Kāmadhenu* (wish fulfilling cow) and the *pārijāta* (celestial tree) in appropriate places. He further holds that the *Kṛtyaratnākara* is free from all defects and is filled with nectar. Caṇḍeśwara is conversant with the *Smṛtis* and *nigamas* and his works are teeming with quotations from a number of authorities. He has considered all the subjects in

which nothing has been said by the *Kāmadhenu,* nothing good has been conferred by the *Kalpataru* and no scent of which has been held by the *Pārijāta.* [61] He gives twenty one quotations from the *Kalpataru.* In the *GR, Kalpataru* has been quoted six times, its author twice and Lakṣmīdhara by name eleven times; in the *Vivādaratnākara, Kalpataru* has been quoted eleven times, its author once and Lakṣmīdhara by name six times. Vācaspati, in his introductory verse of his *Tīrthacintāmaṇi,* [62] refers to his indebtedness to the *Kalpataru, Pārijāta* and *Ratnākara.* In this work *Kalpataru* and its author have been quoted altogether six times. Vardhamāna, in his *DV,* is said to have consulted the *Kalpataru, Kāmadhenu, Halāyudha, Dharmakoṣa, Smṛtisāra, Kṛtyasāgara, Ratnākara, Pārijāta,* etc. The *DV* gives forty one quotations from the *Kalpataru* and the two more are ascribed to Lakṣmīdhara. All these go to show that all the important digest makers of Mithilā were indebted to the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara. Caṇḍeśwara is further in-

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61. *Kṛtyaratnākara* (B. I. Series 1925)—Introductory verses 24–25.

विभ्राणः कल्पवृक्षं क्वचन परिसरे कामधेनुं दधानः
क्वाप्यन्तः पारिजातं क्वचिदपि च दधद्दोषयादोविमुक्तः ।
श्रीमच्चण्डेश्वरेण स्मृतिनिगमविदा तन्यते तेन तद्वद्
विष्णु-व्यासादि-वाक्यस्फुरदमृतमयः कृत्यरत्नाकरोऽयम् ॥
यस्मिन्न किञ्चिदपि शंसति कामधेनुर्यत्रेष्टमल्पमपि कल्पतरुर्न दत्ते ।
धत्ते न गन्धमपि कञ्चन पारिजातस्तत्सर्वमेष विविनक्ति नयप्रवीणः ॥

An unpublished text of *Rājanītiprakāśa* by Caṇḍeśwara is given here in the *appendix.* On one occasion Caṇḍeśwara weighed himself against gold and *distributed* the metal in charity.

62. Cf. श्रीकृत्यकल्पद्रुम-पारिजातरत्नाकरादीनवलोक्य यत्नात् ।
प्रणम्य मूर्ध्ना मधुसूदनाय वाचस्पतिस्तीर्थविधिन्तनोति ।
'निबन्ध' के सम्बन्ध में देखें—Kane—*op. cit.* I. 47; Monier Williams '*Sanskrit English Dictionary*—According to Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Mithila customs, emanating from a people with a separate school of law, were a bit different almost at all times in that period from those of Bengal (*JASB*—Letters–1953 No. 2. P. 196).

debted to the *Viṣṇudharmottapurāṇa.* In the *Kṛtyaratnākara*[63] only there are thirty seven quotations from this work.

Raghunandana's indebtedness to Mithilā

Just as the Maithila writers were indebted to the *Kalpataru,* similarly the Bengal writers were equally indebted to the writers[64] of Mithilā. The writings of Śrīdatta, Caṇḍeśwara, Vidyāpati, Rudradhara, Vācaspati and Vardhamāna, have been utilised by Raghunandana, the greatest *nibandhakāra* of Bengal. The *DV* has not been quoted. Raghunandana has almost accepted the views of Śrīdatta, as expounded in his work *Samayapradīpa,* except with regard to *Tithi,* where he differs from both Śrīdatta and Vācaspati. In his *Ekādaśītattva* (P. 11), he has quoted the views of the Maithilas beginning with the word *Maithilāstu.* While he has quoted from almost all the works of Caṇḍeśwara, there is no quotation from the *Vyavahāraratnākara.* The *Kṛtyar,* has been quoted ten times, the *Gṛhastar,* thirty times and the *Vivādar,* thirty times. The citations from the *Pūjāratnākara* are not numerous. Raghunandana has utilised only, the following four works of Vidyāpati *viz., Gaṅgāvākyāvali Dānavākyāvali, Dūrgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* and *Varṣakṛtya* and has not consulted the *Śaivasarvaśvasāra* and *Vibhāgasāgara.* There are twenty one quotations from the *Gaṅgāvā,* seventeen from the *Dūrgābhaktitar,* one from the *Dānavākyāvali* and three from the *Varṣakṛtya.* Raghunandana rejects only once the reading of a portion of a text of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa,* preserved in the *Gaṅgāvākyāvali,* on the ground of faulty construction and only once disapproves (*Śuddhitattva*—P. 501) of its prescription, but refutes as many as four times the view of Vidyāpati. Raghunandana has given, in all, eight quotations from Rudradhara. He has refuted the view of Rudradhara

63. *Kṛtyaratnākara*—PP. 62, 129-30, 140, 145, 149, 154, 161, 193, 197, 209, 213, 221, 248-49, 256, 286, 291-92; 301, 308, 375, 396, 404, 425, 437-38; 444; 473-74, 482, 485-86; 487, 488, 512, 516, 519, 530, 553-55, 563-66; 574-85.

64. Based by Bhabatosh Bhattacharya's article—*Raghunandana's indebtedness to his predecessors* in the *JASB* (Letters) XIX. 107 ff.

in so far as the interpretation of a text of the *Kūrmapurāṇa* is concerned. He vehemently criticises the views of Vācaspati Miśra. Wherever Vācaspati has been quoted, he has been criticised by Raghunandana. While quoting from the *Śrāddhacintāmaṇi*, he has refuted the views of Vācaspati Miśra. While he accepts some of the findings of the *Śuddhicintāmaṇi*, he criticises the author on two occasions. In his quotation from the *Dvaitanirṇaya*, seven quotations are only refutations. It is only the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*, that has never been criticised by Raghunandana. He closely follows Vācaspati in the selection of his places of pilgrimages. Vācaspati seems to be guided by the following statement of the *Vāyupurāṇa*—"Let Vārāṇasī, Prayāga, *Puruṣottama*, and the confluence of the Gaṅgā with the sea remain for ever. The place on the Phalgu, presided over by Gadādhara, is the best of all the places of pilgrimage." This aspect has been copiously quoted by both Vācaspati and Raghunandana and there is a close correspondence of the respective works of both the authors. Raghunandana has also criticised the views of Vardhamāna. Though he has quoted from the several works of Vardhamāna Upādhyāya, yet it is rather unfortunate that none of these quoted works has so far come to light. It is with Vācaspati and Vardhmāna that the Bengal *Nibandhakāra* comes into conflict.

Food prohitation and the Nibandhakāras

In our discussion on the food and drink, we have already referred to this aspect of the question and hence we shall take into consideration, here, some important prescriptions of the digest writers of Mithilā. Kane has discussed this aspect with his characteristic thoroughness in his monumental work.[65] Those prescriptions are hardly observed now. Hemādri has rightly observed that if all the prohibitions have to be observed in the matters of daily offerings to the ancestors, Brāhmaṇas would have perforce to go hungry.[66]

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65. *op. cit.* II—Part II. 771–791.—; *Supra.*

66. *JASB* (Letters) XXII. 168—प्रतिदिनं हि कूष्माण्डादिद्रव्यवर्जनपूर्वक-मन्न-निष्पादनस्याशक्यत्वात् ।

Caṇḍeśvara and others have prescribed rules regarding the prohibition of food. The prohibitions have been classified as under [67]—

(i) *Ucchiṣṭānna*—leavings specially of animals, outcastes and women.

(ii) *Aśucisaṁspṛṣṭānna*—food touched by unclean animals and outcastes.

(iii) *Aśucidravyasaṁspṛṣṭānna*—food contaminated by unclean things.

(iv) *Bhāvaduṣṭa*—food revolting to sight.

(v) *Kāladuṣṭa*—Stale food and food which may not be taken in particular months, days, or hours. We have given one such instance from the writings of Vācaspati Miśra (Vide—*Supra*—food and drink). Raddish is prohibited in the month of *Māgha*, meat on full and new moon days, curds at night and noon.

(vi) *Parigrahānna*—food from persons having specified avocations; *e.g.* physicians, actors etc.

(vii) *Aśaucaparigrahānna*—food from persons ceremonially impure *e.g.* because of birth and death.

(viii) *Aputrādyanna*—food from childless persons—A Brāhmaṇa should also not take food cooked by his own daughter.

(ix) *Hastadānādikriyāduṣṭānna*—food given by hand etc., which should be given by a spoon; food at feasts where thieves, outcastes, etc., are invited; food offered at *Śrāddhas* of non-Brāhmaṇas.

(x) *Svabhāvaduṣṭa*—unclean things.

(xi) *Jātiduṣṭa*—Articles specially prohibited.

Caṇḍeśvara, on the basis of earlier authorities, has sug-

67. Cf. Manu IV. & V. for details; Cf. Monier Williams—*Sanskrit English Dictionary*; *English Sanskrit Dictionary*; *Vācaspatyam*—Vol. I; *Śabdakalpadruma* (the last two published by the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series).

gested that one should not eat food touched by particular birds and animals. Food not actually touched but even smelt by dogs and cows is prohibited. While Manu and Viṣṇu prohibit food pecked by birds in general, Caṇḍeśvara seems to explain that only sparrows are meant by the word *Patattrin*. One would certainly object to food offered by a Leper, and may object to eat *Ucchiṣṭa* or leavings. It is interesting to note here that Vidyāpati refers to the custom of eating *Ucchiṣṭa* by the ploughmen and *Śūdras*.[68] According to Caṇḍeśvara, Brāhmaṇas should refuse food not offered with due respect but should take it if it is offered respectfully even by a thief.[69] There is a special prohibition in respect of food offered by persons following certain avocations and belonging to certain subcastes.

The Śivadharma

The digest writers of Mithilā have also dwelt at length on the various aspects of the *Śivadharma*, dealing exclusively with the religious rites and duties of Śiva worshippers. A manuscript of this work is preserved in the *MSS* Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. G. 3852). Caṇḍeśvara in his *Kṛtyaratnākara* (P. 30) takes it to be a *Smṛti* work. The *MS*, in question, consists of twelve chapters—dealing with

(i) Sanatkumāra (son of Brahmā) requests Nandikeśvara to speak on that excellent Dharma, called *Śivadharma*, which is eternal.

(ii) Sanatkumāra, then, describes the means of attaining immortality.

(iii) He, then, narrates the origin of the Liṅga.

(iv) Characteristics of the Śiva-bhaktas.

(v) Rendering various kinds of service to Śiva.

(vi) Propitiation of Śiva, Umā, Vināyaka, Mahākāla.

(vii) Praise of worshipping Śiva in a Liṅga on particular days.

(viii) Description of various kinds of devotional service to Śiva.

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68. *Likhanāvali*—No. 55.

69. *GR*—for details; *JASB* (Letters) XXII. 171.

(ix) Description of the praise of *Śivaliṅgavrata.*
(x) Merits of observing fast and worshipping Śiva.
(xi) Śivadharma meant for yielding all ends of life.
(xii) Enumeration of the various duties.

Since the *Agniṣṭoma* and other sacrifices were highly expensive and tiresome and could not be undertaken by people of little resources, the Śivadharma was spoken out by Śiva to Pārvatī. Here we have the story of the origin of Liṅga. It is said that once there was a quarrel between Brahmā and Viṣṇu regarding the lordship of the universe. In order to settle their dispute there appeared between them a Jyotirliṅga, the ends of which neither Brahmā nor Viṣṇu could discover. When both of them realised that Śiva was the cause of the universe, they began to worship Liṅga. Brahmā became the creator by worshipping a Liṅga of stone, Indra's position was due to his worship of a Liṅga of gems, Dhanada became the lord of wealth by worshipping a golden Liṅga, the Viśwedevas became so by worshipping a Liṅga of silver, Vāyu worshipped a Liṅga of brass to attain his position, Viṣṇu's status was due to his worship of a Liṅga of Sapphire, Buddha attained his supreme knowledge by worshipping a Liṅga of gold, Arhat became a veritable yogin by worshipping a Liṅga of topazes and so on. A Śiva temple should be constructed, white-washed and repaired annually. It should be besmeared with cow-dung and furnished with pictures painted on walls. There is a mention of *Dīpamālikā* in the month of Kārtika, decorating Liṅga as well as temple with flags and buntings and arranging songs and dances, especially of females before the Liṅga. Wells and tanks should be dug near the temple. In connection with the propitiation, the following deities are described—Ambikā, Vināyaka, Mahākāla, Viṣṇu, Brahmāṇī (four faced), Rudrāṇī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Aindrī, Vārāhī, Cāmuṇḍā and various mother goddesses such as Ākāśa-mātaraḥ ; Loka-mātaraḥ, Bhūta-mātaraḥ, etc , the Gaṇas, living in different directions, Indra living in the city of Amrāvatī lying in the east; Agni living in the city of Tejovatī, Śeṣa-nāga (Ananta) living in the Vaivasvatī Purī; Nirṛti, a Rākṣasa living in the city of Kṛṣṇā, Varuṇa living in the city of

Śuddhavatī, Pavana (wind) living in the city of the Gaṅdhavatī, Kubera residing in the city of Mahodaya; Iśāna living in the city of Yaśovatī. [70]

There is a mention of the car-festival of Śiva. A *Kapilā* cow is also offered, the milk of which a *Śūdra* is not permitted to drink without initiation to Śiva worship. Then there are enumeration of the gifts of cows, horses, elephants, male and female servants, villages, hamlets, towns, lands etc. Various types of fast are mentioned and the following important *Vratas* also deserve notice—(i) *Naktabhojanavrata,* (ii) *Umā-Māheśwaravrata,* (iii) *Kṛṣṇa-Caturdaśī-vrata,* (iv) *Śūladānavrata,* (v) *Gandhavrata,* (vi) *Śaiva Mahāvrata,* (vii) *Kailāśavrata* and (viii) *Śivarathavrata.* Then there are enumeration of eight famous places called *Rudrakṣetras* [71]; eight holy places; eight secret places, eight most secret places and eight places of religious merit. These are the common names known to us from various religious and Tantric texts. Since the *Śivadharma,* mentioned by Caṇḍeśwara, is purely a religious

70. Then there is description of various *Devīs* like Sarasvatī, Śrī, Aparājitā, the planets; the Nakṣatras, mentioned in the order from *Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī,* the Rāśis (Zodiacal Signs), the Sages *Viz.*—Gālava, Gārgya Viśvāmitra, Manu, Dakṣa Vaśiṣṭha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Pulaha, Kratu, Nārada, Bhṛgu, Ātreya, Bharadvāja, Aṅgirasa, Vālmīki, Kauśika, Kaṇṭha, Śākalya Punarvasu, Śālaṅkāyana; then the wives of Sages, Daitya kings; the Nāgas and then we have a list of rivers—*Viz.*—Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Narmadā, Gatami, Kāverī, Varṇā, Devikā, Candrabhāgā, Godāvarī, Sarayū, Gaṇḍakī, Kauśikī, Nirañjanā, Soṇa, Mandākinī—etc; the Yakṣas–*Viz*—Vaiśravaṇa, Maṇibhadra, Saviroma, Pāñcikā, Vibhāṇḍaka, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūpākṣa, and then follows a list of mountains, *Dvīpas,* and oceans etc. They fairly correspond to the description given by Jyotirīśvara in the *VR*—Rudra, Brabmā and Viṣṇu are regarding as the three *Mātrās* of Śiva.

71. The account is based on an article by R. C. Hazra in the *JGJRI*—X. 1 ff—Cf. Vidyāpati. *Likhanāvali*—where he refers to Mahādevāgāra.

manual for the guidance of Śiva worshippers, it has been rightly described as a *Dharmaśāstra*. It inculcates the worship of Rudraśiva, lays stress on *Bhakti, Yoga* and *Jñāna*. It advocates the maintenance of fire by Śiva-worshippers for the performance of Vedic rites. It is remarkable that Śiva is not called *"Paśupati"* anywhere in the whole work, nor is there any mention of the study of the *Śatarudrīya* section of the *Yajurveda* or *Śvetāśwatara Upaniṣad* by the Śiva worshippers. The word *"Vāmācāra"* is used twice with respect to Śiva.

It may be noted here that during the period under review *'Śivadharma'* was a well known work and regarded as the most authoritative book on the subject. The digest writers of Mithilā has extensively quoted from this particular work. Besides Caṇḍeśwara, Vācaspati Miśra in his *Kṛtyacintāmaṇi*, Rudradhara in his *Varṣakṛtya* and Vidyāpati in his *Gaṅgā-vākyāvali* have extensively quoted from this work. In the Calcutta Sanskrit College *MSS* of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvali* of Vidyā-pati, there are two quotations from the *Śivadharma* on *folios* 25A and 27A; where as on P. 151 of the *Varṣakṛtya* of Rudradhara, there are two verses from the *Śivadharma*. The verses ascribed to *Śivadharma* in the *folios 25b, 47a*, and *47b* of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvali* are that found in the *ASB MSS* referred to above. Vidyāpati also wrote a book on the Śiva worship viz. *Śaivasarvasvasāra*. The quotation in P. 46 of the *Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi* is also not found in the *ASB MSS* of *Śivadharma*.

II

Philosophy and Navyanyāya

Mithilā has been rightly called the homeland of philosophy and *Nyāya* since time immemorial. In Mithilā, religion and philosophy have been inseparable and in the days of the *Upaniṣads*, Mithilā was at the apex of her philosophical glory. The *Upa-niṣadas* lay stress upon the fact that knowledge is the real means of salvation. *Vedānta* marked the highest consummation of the Brāhmanical religion. The whole universe has been viewed as one and the philosophers have interpreted it in

Philosophy

their own way.[72] The message of the *Upaniṣads* is crystal clear, but the great Maithila philosopher, Yājñavalkya, in his famous dialogues with Maitreyī and Gārgī, has given birth to a critical analysis of knowledge. The unknowable self has been made more and more complex. The seed of philosophical learning was, thus, sown by Yājñavalkya and was carried further by a host of other scholars, *viz.*, Gārgī, Maitreyī, Janaka Vaideha, Ajātaśatru, Gotama, Kapila (father of all psychologists, according to Vivekananda), Vibhāṇḍaka, Śatānanda, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga and others. It may not be out of place to note here that the important chapters of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* reflected[73] the views of those protestant philosophers who had assembled at the court of King Janaka of Mithilā. Kahola Kausitakeya gives a faithful picture of the time. Janaka was the symbol of *Jīvanamukti* and has been rightly called a Videha as he cared a fig for material things. He represented the very concept of perfect wisdom and even Śukadeva is said to have approached him for the *Brahmajñāna* or knowledge of the highest reality. The *Devi-bhāgavata* testifies to the fact that the family of Janaka was reputed for philosophic wisdom. The *Śrīmadbhāgavata* exclaims that the Maithilas were adept in the true knowledge of Self. The Maithila philosopher envisaged a synthesis of knowledge (*Jñāna*) with action (*Karma*) and household life (*Gārhastya*) with ascetic life (*Sanyāsa*). This is what was then termed as 'spirituality in action' by the philosophers of Mithilā. Yājñavalkya declared—"It is the self for whose sake everything else in the world is dear to all; the self ought to be seen, heard of, contemplated and realised" Emphasis on introspective self-analysis and detachment from worldly objects were the major contributions of Mithilā to the development of the Upaniṣadic thought and culture. Gotama, a resident

72. Cf. Vivekananda—*Science & Philosophy of Religion*—11, 46-47, 131; Max Müller—*The Vedanta Philosophy*—9-10; 14; S. Radhakrishnan—*Indian Philosophy*—Vol. 1. P. 239. 170 ff; 143; *G. N. Jha Commemoration Volume*—P. 269; *Brh. upn*—IV. 5. 1.; *Taitt. upn*—III. *Brh. upn*—VI. 2. 14; VIII. 12.

73. *Brh. Upn*—III. 5. 1; Cf.—II. I. 11.

of Mithilā, (according to the *Skandapurāṇa*) laid the foundations of *Nyāya-Sūtra* which constitutes one of the foremost schools of Logic in India.

It is in the field of *Mīmāṁsā* and *Nyāya* that the philosophers of Mithilā made some notable contribution. According to Yājñavalkya, *Nyāya* and *Mīmāṁsā* stand respectively for reasoning and investigation. [74] The three main props of the *Mīmāṁsā* school were Prabhākara Miśra (called *Guru*), Kumārila (known as Bhaṭṭa) and Murāri Miśra (founder of the *Miśra-mata*). The earliest expositor of the *Bhaṭṭamata* was Maṇḍana Miśra of Mithilā, who wrote a commentary on Kumārila's *Tantravārtika*. Kumārila was widely studied in Mithilā. Maṇḍana Miśra wrote *Vidhiviveka, Bhāvanāviveka, Mīmāṁsānukramaṇī, Brahmasiddhi* (commented upon by Vācaspati Miśra in *Brahmatattvasamīkṣā*). On the *Vidhiviveka*, Vācaspati wrote his famous commentary *Nyāyakaṇikā*. Sucarita Miśra wrote a commentary on Kumarila's *Ślokavārtika* and he was followed by Pārthasarthi Miśra. No complete work of Murāri Miśra is known to us and he is known through references in other works. Murāri, [75] like Śaṁkara, regards (i) *Brahma* as the only one absolute reality; but for practical purposes, he admits of diverse *objects, qualities, Time-substrata* and space *substrata*; (ii) in the maker of the variety of cognitions, the opinion expressed by Murāri is that cognition is *Svataḥ-pramāṇaḥ*, its validity not being dependent upon anything extraneous to itself and the very circumstances that bring about the cognition also serve to establish its validity (as pointed out in the *Āloka* of Pakṣadhara); his view on the point differs from the other two views. According to Murāri, validity of the cognition is apprehended by the *Anuvyavasāya*, Representative cognition, that follows in the wake of every cognition;—'like the cognition, its validity is apprehended by the mind itself; [76] (iii) in the matter of Error or *Bhrānti*, Murāri seems to follow Kumārila; (iv) in regard to causality,

74. G. N. Jha—*Pūrva Mīmāṁsā*—in its Sources—PP. 1–3.

75. *Ibid*—P. 23 ff.

76. Cf. Vardhamāna on *Kusumāñjali*—P. 219.

the cause brings about the effect by virtue of the *Śakti* (potency) inherent in itself—according to Prabhākara and other *Mīmāṁsakas*; according to the *Naiyāyikas*, the cause must be something that is free from obstacles in the way of the appearance of the effect. According to Murāri, neither potency nor absence of obstacle can bring about the effect; the *Effect* at a certain point of time is brought about by something which is free from obstacles at that time. Pakṣadhara Miśra in his *Āloka* [77] has brought out the distinction among the three schools—"The upshot of the whole is that Validity consists in bringing about effective and efficient activity; and this condition is fulfilled under all the three views of the *Mīmāṁsakas*." According to Kumārila, *Mīmāṁsā* has been made almost heretical and it was he who made it orthodox. [78]

Kumārila's view on God is remarkable. He denies the beginning of any such convention relating to the relation of word and meaning. He does not admit of any "beginning of creation." The idea that "God created the world and also the Veda" can not be proved; it is as impossible to prove

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77. Cf. *Benares Sanskrit College Palm Leaf MSS*—Folio 15A-15B. quoted in Jha—*op. cit.* 24-(i) गुरुनये स्वप्रकाशादिना (i.e. according to Parbhākara-Cognition is self-illumined-self apprehended) (ii) मुरारिनयेऽनुव्यवसायादिना (it is apprehended by the subsequent *anuvyavasāya*—representative cognition) (iii) भट्टनये ज्ञातता लिङ्गकानुमित्यादिना यावज्ज्ञानग्राहकसामग्री—(under the *Bhaṭṭa* View, the validity of the cognition is apprehended though inference—and Presumption—based upon the fact of cognition itself being apprehended).

78. Cf. *Ślokavārtika*—Verse 10. ; Cf. Satkari Mukherjee—*The Jain Philosophy of Non-Absolutism* (Calcutta-1944)—P. 193. "The affinity of Mimāmsist logic and ontology with the Jain theory are too pronounced to be ignored. The Mimāmsiss believe with the dual nature of reals, constituted by being and non-being as elements, and is thus at one with the Jainas. ..... The synthesis of three with one constitutes an endorsement of the Jain logical standpoint". Cf. *Ślokavārtika*—Verse 10.

as the existence of the Omniscient Person (God) Himself. [79] God, as world-creator, is denied by Kumārila, [80] *who seeks to establish the reality of the external world.* [81] According to Murāri Miśra, the *Smṛti,* contrary to *Śruti,* is to be rejected. Here Murāri is in agreement with Prabhākara and not with Kumārila. [82] While the Prabhākara school left no place for God, Kumārila, to a great extent, restored the position of God. [83] It may be borne in mind, here, *that the Mīmāṁsā philosophy aimed at the rationalisation of the rituals.* There is no doubt that as a *Mīmāṁsaka,* Kumārila's position is unchallenged. In his *Ślokavārtika, he refutes the Buddhist view on almost all the philosophical topics.* He suggests that *Mokṣa* is possible through the absence of the cause of bondage, which is brought about by the exhaustions of the past actions. It is this negative character which is the cause of the eternality of *Mokṣa.* He says that no negation can ever be the effect of any action, hence *Mokṣa* which is of the nature of negation can never be the result of *Jñāna.* Those who have realised the true nature of the self, all their past actions having been exhausted by experience, and there being no subsequent residue of action, there is no more production of any organic body. That is what is required for *Mokṣa.* [84] Regarding the *Ātman,* he is of opinion that it is self-illumined. *Kāla* is one, eternal and all-pervasive. [85] In his *Tantravārtika,* he has shown his mastery over the other schools of thought as well. Here he points out that the *Mīmāṁsā* is based upon the Vedas, upon ordinary experiences and also upon direct Perception and Inference based upon these. [86] He believes in the creation

79. Jha—*op. cit.*—47.
80. *Ibid*—51.
81. *Ibid*—59.
82. *Ibid*—222.
83. Muir—*Original Sanskrit Texts*—III. 95. Cf. D. P. Chattopadhyāya.—*Lokāyata*—PP. 39–40.
84. *Ślokavārtika* (Benares edition)—PP. 670–71.
85. *Ibid*—P. 806.
86. *Tantravārtika* (Benares edition)—P. 80.

and dissolution of the universe.[87] Like the Vedas, *Ākāśa, Dik, Kāla* and *Paramāṇu* are all eternal.[88] In these two *Vārtikas*, he has shown enough originality of thought and interpretation and has finally thrown aside all the objections of the Buddhists. Both Prabhākara and Kumārila became so very prominent that they pushed the names of Jaimini and Śabara into the background. They became the founders of the two different schools of *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā.*

Maṇḍana

Maṇḍana Miśra[89] of Mithilā was an eminent scholar of *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā.* He belonged to the *Bhaṭṭa* school and was also recognised as a profound scholar of the *Advaita* school of Vedānta. In his *Vidhiviveka,* he refutes the standpoint of both *Bhaṭṭa* and *Guru.* In his *Bhāvanāviveka,* he discusses the topic of *Bhāvanā* which is so very important in *Mīmāṁsa.* Another great *Mīmāṁsaka* of Mithilā was Vacaspati Miśra I, a versatile scholar and matchless genius. He wrote on almost every school of thought. He was an intabitant of Mithilā.[90] Ratnakīrti, a Buddhist logician, refers to the views of Vācaspati.[91] He wrote a commentary on the *Vidhiviveka* of Maṇḍana entitled *Nyāyakaṇikā.* On almost all the systems of philosophy, he has given his own independent views and has been rightly called as *Sarvatantrasvatantra* and *Dvādaśadarśanaṭīkākāra.* He gives seven reasons in support of *Satkāryavāda.* Such philosophical topics like the *asatkāryavāda, Khyāti, Tamasa,* and

Vācaspati

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87. *Ibid*—P. 28 ; His acquaintance with the non-Indian language is evident if we cast a glance on P. 65.
The *Tantravārtika* throws a flood of light on the contemporary social history—PP. 123, 183.

88. *Ibid*—P. 236.

89. Cf. Kane—*op. cit.* I. 252–64 ;—His equation with Sureśwarācārya is doubted by many. Vidyāraṇya in his *Śaṅkaradigvijaya* (VIII. 111) has identified Umbeka with Mandana Miśra.

90. He mentions a king named *Nṛga* (end of Bhāmati); *Ādiśūra* in *Nyāyakaṇikā.* Both those rulers are yet to be identified.

91. *Kṣaṇabhangasiddhi.* P. 58.

the validity of the dream cognition etc. have received due consideration at his hand. We shall revert to his views later on. Another great Maithila *Mīmāṁsaka* was Pārthasārathi Miśra.[92] He was a follower of Kumārila but equally versed in both the Schools. His *Śāstradīpikā* is an important work on *Mīmāṁsā* and it is, in many respects, without any parallel in the field. In his *Nyāyaratnamālā*, he has removed all possible misunderstandings against the theory of the self-validity of knowledge.[93] He had profusely quoted from Maṇḍana Miśra in support of his own statement. He belives in four kinds of contact—*viz*- *Saṁyoga, Saṁyuktasamavāya, Saṁyuktasamavetasamavāya* and *Samavāya*. He also believes in the eternal contact. *Manas* can not come into contact with things outside the organism. His *Śāstradīpikā* elucidates the views of Kumārila on *Mīmāṁsā*. His important views may be categorised as under—

Pārthsārakhi Miśra

(i) four external sense organs—*ghrāṇa, rasanā, cakṣus* and *tvac* are products of the ultimate particles of earth, water, *tejas* and *vāyu* respectively—; the auditory-organ is *Dik*.

(ii) *Manas* is not self-dependent in cognising the external objects.

(iii) believes in determinate and indeterminate knowledge.

(iv) Syllogism consists of three factors alone—

(v) *Śabda*—is *Pauruṣeya* (*Āptavākya*) and *Apauruṣeya* (*Vedavākya*). Both are valid-self valid.

(vi) Cognition is inferential—

(vii) He does not recognise the views of the *Nyāya-Vaiseṣikas* that the qualities present in a cause produce the qualities in the effect, for, he believes that the quality present

92. author of *Śāstradīpikā*.

93. व्याख्याविवादसञ्जातमोहव्याकृतये कृतः—Cf. *Nyāyaratnamālā*—PP. 59, 144, 148 etc. Cf, *Le Tattvavindu De Vāeaspatimiśra* by M. Biardeau (Pondichery—1956), It Irrelates to the study of the theory of word and hearing consisting of a refutation of doctine of *Sphoṭa*. This edition has made Vācaspati's very recondite thought more intelligible to the reader.

in the effect is not at all different from the same quality present in its cause.

(viii) The world is not merely illusory.

(ix) The *Ātman* is not self-luminous, for if it were so, then the self-luminosity would have been manifest even in the state of sound sleep, which is not the fact.

(x) *Mokṣa* has been defined as the destruction of the contact of the *Ātman* with the world existing in the form of a physical organism, sense organs and the objects of *Bhoga*. As there is destruction of pain in it, it is also regarded as *Puruṣārtha*. During the state of final emancipation, the *Ātman* is not associated with the *Manas*.

(xi) *Kāla* (Time) is not cognised by any of the external sense organs independently, but only as an atribute of the sense objects in course of the cognition of the objects through the various sense-organs. [94]

Candra [95] was a follower of the Prabhākara School. He is spoken of as *Gurumatācāryāḥ*. He has made original contribution. The most important contribution ever made, by any Maithila scholar, to the *Mīmāṁsā* thought, was of Murāri Miśra. [96] He held independent views on *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā* and they are so original that he came to be regarded as the founder of the third school specially with reference to the validity of knowledge. The *Mīmāṁsakas*, in general, support the theory of the self-validity of the knowledge (*Svataḥpramāṇyavāda*) while the *Naiyāyikas* support *Paratahprāmāṇyavāda*. While Prabhākara is a strong supporter of *Svataḥprāmāṇya*, Kumārila differs from him in cer-

Candra

Murāri Miśra

94. *Śāstradīpikā*—PP. 36, 56–57, 64, 72, 80, 100, 103, 107, 124, 128–29, 130, 139 etc.

95. Vide Mn, Umesh Miśra's artcle in the *G. N. Jha Commemoration Volume.*

96. मुरारेस्तृतीयः पन्थाः—has become a proverb in Sanskrit.

tain respects. Murāri is different from the both since he was greatly influenced by the Nyāya system. [97] His views are also known as *Miśramata,* Like Śaṅkara, Murāri regards *Brahma* as the only one absolute reality. He opines that cognition is *Svataḥ-prāmāṇya.* [98]

Mīmāṁsā was seriously studied in Mithilā and as late as the age of Vidyāpati, its study appears to have been very popular. In the age of Vidyāpati, the study of *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā* reached its zenith and we learn that during the rule of Rāni Viśvāsa Devi, there was a big gathering of *Paṇḍitas* in the *Cātuś-caraṇa Yajña* of tank where about fourteen hundred *Mīmāṁs-akas* alone were invited. [99] The influence of *Mīmāṁsā* on the life and culture of the people of Mithilā is immense. The special field covered by the *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā* is an enquiry into the nature of *Dharma* and the topics, directly or indirectly, connected with it. The *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* has evolved a set of principles. Since this branch of study had to deal with a large number of original texts, its range of study, therefore, extended from the Vedas down to the most recent *Smṛti* compilations. [100] With a view to protecting the ideals of the *Varṇāśramadharma,* the Maithilas began the production of a vast literature on *Nyāya, Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā* and *Dharmaśāstra.* Vacaspati, the Digest writer, was a great *Karma-Mīmāṁs-aka.* [101]

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97. Cf. Umesh Miśra's article in the Proceedings of the Lahore Session of the All India Oriental Congress.

98. G. N. Jha—*ap. cit.*—23.

99. Umesh Miśra holds that a list of these *Mīmāṁsakas* has been unearthed.

100. Influence of *Pūrva—Mīmāṁsā* upon several branches of literature has been collected by Colonel Jacob in his famous book—*Handful of Popular Maxim.*

101. *Cultural Histage of India*) 1st. edition—Ram Krishna Mission—Calcutta) PP. 149–168.

Navya-Nyāya:—

Mithilā has made the most notable contribution to the history of Indian thought in so far as this particular system is concerned.[102] In the words of D. C. Bhattacharya—"Her (Mithilā's) literary history has no parallel for its antiquity, diversity and continuity.....Mithilā has shed lustre right from the Vedic times in all phases of human knowledge ....."

History of the System

Udayanācārya was the first great founder of the *Navya-Nyāya* system in Mithilā. His *Kusumāñjali* is the most authoritative work on the subject. His other famous works are :—

Udayana

(i) *Lakṣaṇāvalī* (a manual of Vaiśeṣika) (Published 1897).

(ii) *Lakṣaṇamālā* (Published in the *Journal of Oriental Research*—Madras—X. 1. PP. 44-52).

(iii) *Ātmatattvaviveka*
(iv) *Nyāyakusumāñjali* } Published.

(v) *Nyāyapariśiṣṭa* (edited with Vardhamāna's *Prakāśa*—Calcutta—1938).

(vi) *Nibandha* or *Nyāya-Vārtika-tātparyasudhi* (published).

(vii) *Kiraṇāvalī* (published).

He is said to have belonged to Mithilā.[103] He was the greatest critic of the Buddhist philosophers of the time. The greatest target of his attack was Jñānaśrīmitra,[104] a pillar of the Vikramaśilā University. He also refuted the views of another Buddhist scholar, Ratnakīrti.

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102. Cf. *JASB* (N. S.)—XI. 259-292; *Sarasvati Bhavan Studies*. III. 81-157. S. C. Vidyābhavan—*History of Indian Logic*. 161—D. C. Bhattacharya—*History of Navya-Nyāya in Mithilā* (Darbhanga—1958). P. 1.

103. *ST*—P. 174. fn. 2—Village *Kariyon*—Some excavation were carried over there but nothing fruitful came out; Cf. D. C. Bhattacharya—*op. cit*. P. 5-6.

104. Cf. A. L. Thakur—*Jñānaśrīmitra and his works*—in the Buddha Jayanti issue of the *JBRS*; Cf. *JBRS*—XXXVI-Pts. 1-2.

Vācaspati was one of the masterminds Mithilā ever produced.[105] All his works raise him to a position of supreme authority in all the five systems of Indian philosophy. *Vaiśeṣika* was ignored by him. He aligns himself to the school of Maṇḍana both in *Mīmāṁsā* and *Vedānta*. Vācaspati believes that Maṇḍana was refuting the views of Buddhist philosopher, Dharmottara, in the original passage of the *Vidhiviveka*.[106] Jñānaśrīmitra refers to the views of Vācaspati.

Vācaspati

It is only in the method and mode of expression that Gaṅgeśa excelled over Udayana, whose prominent theistic background had to give place to subtleties of argument in course of time. The *Iśwaravāda* portion of Gaṅgeśa failed to oust *Kusumāñjali* and the *Upamāna* part of Gaṅgeśa practically became extinct as no scholar ever commented on it. Gaṅgeśa can never be separated from the moorings of Navyanyāya which were first laid down by Udayana. The Navyanyāya concerned itself more and more with the method of grappling with the problem and an agreeable approach to the opponent's views is in evidence in the times of Vācaspati. Vācaspati, Udayana and Gaṅgeśa formed the earliest trio of the Navyanyāya system. Śrivallabhācārya of Mithilā was a link between Udayana and Gaṅgeśa and his *Līlāvatī* attracted the best intellects of the land. After him came Śivāditya Miśra, author of *Lakṣaṇamālā*. Then comes Keśava Miśra whose *Tarkabhāṣā* is divided into two broad divisions—*Pramāṇa* and *Prameya*.

Udayana Gaṅgeśa Vācaspati; the great trio—

Śrivallabha

Keśava Miśra

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105. Cf. PP—edited by Chandra Jha—Wherein eight places are associated with this versatile genius ;

बरसम वरइठ बसनही बेलइठ ओ वरगाम ।
बलिया बड़िवन बथनहा श्री वाचस्पति धाम ॥

106. We have seen above that he mentions *Nṛga* and *Ādiśuras* as his patrons. Cf. Stcherbasky—*Bnddhist Logic*—I. P. 476; II. 405 ff.

After him comes Candra who held independent views about categories, eleven in number. He was the inspirer of Gaṅgeśa. Then followed Divākara Upādhyāya, also known as Udyotakara. In so far as the style is concerned, Vardhamāna seems to have been largely indebted to this scholar. Divākara commented upon Udayana's *Kusumāñjali*. After him came Prabhākara Upādhyāya who commented upon Udayana's *Pariśuddhi* and on the *Līlāvatī* of Śrīvallabha. Other pre-Gaṅgeśa writers included Taraṇi Miśra (author of *Ratnakoṣa*); Sonadaṇḍopādhyāya (propounder of an exceptional kind of negation "whose counter positiveness is determined by an essence pertaining to a different substratum"), Maṇikaṇṭha Miśra (author of *Nyāyaratna*), Śaśadharācārya (author of *Nyāyasidhhāntadīpa*), well known for his intricate style of reasoning and an invincible dialectician; Murāri Miśra (*Supra*) and Harinātha Upādhyāya.

Candra

Prabhākara

Other Pre-Gaṅgeśa writers

In the whole history of the philosophical [107] literature of India, Gaṅgeśa stands out as a unique figure through whose personality the genius of Mithilā is reflected. His *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (abbreviated *TC*) constitutes the bed rock of Indian dialectics and he has been rightly described as the *"presiding professor of philosophical conclusions" (Siddhāntadīkṣāguru)*. The *TC* is an important landmark in the realm of thought. It exerted a strong influence on the minds of subsequent thinkers. He diverted the current of Nyāya philosophy into a fresh channel. Emphasis was shifted from *Padārtha-Vivecana* (Ontology) to *Pramāṇa-Vivecana*. The four *pramāṇas viz.*— *Pratyakṣa, Anumāna, Upamāna* and *Śabda* were made the subject of a thorough going scrutiny. The nature of *Vyāpti*, the relation of universal concomitance between the middle and major terms, which is the basis of all inference, was

Gaṅgeśa

107. Cf. Weber *History of Indian Literature*—P. 246 fn.; *ZDMG*—XXVII—168; Keith—*Indian Logic and Atomism*. P. 33; *JASB*—1918—P. 282; *HOS*—XL—P. 4 ff.; Cf. D. C. Bhattacharya—*Vaṅge Navya-Nyāyacarcā*—PP. 15—19.

subjected to most critical examination. It would not be an exaggeration to say that *Gaṅgeśa discussed the problems of induction theardbare in the minutesī detail long before it engaged the attention of western logicians.* D. C. Bhattacharya has rightly observed—"This well-knit marshalling of all relevant dissertations (*Vādas*) into a single comprehensive treatise took the learned world by storm"—(*op. cit.* p. 96). Gaṅgeśa confined his studies to the Nyāya.

He claims in his *TC* that he wrote it for dispelling the terrible darkness of heretics and for the decoration of scholars. In dealing with perception, he thoroughly examines in all its aspects. Vācaspati, the famous author of *Bhāmatī*, tends to interpret the vague statement of Śaṅkara to be in favour of the view of the *Smṛtis* that *Manas* is an *Indriya*. The more popular and general view, that *Pratyakṣa* should be defined as knowledge derived from the contact of sense with an object, is a generic name for perceptual knowledge and perceptual error. This view is considered unsatisfactory by Gaṅgeśa, *Advaitins* and the Prabhākara school. The objections raised by Gaṅgeśa and the solution offered may be summed up as follows—the definition of *pratyakṣa* as knowledge obtained directly through the contact of a sense with an object is too wide, because this definition would apply even to the cases of inference and memory. For, in inference also we have the contact between the mind (internal sense) and the subject of the inference (which here is the object). Similarly in memory also, there is a contact between the mind and the object remembered. Perception is to be determined by reference to sense, and sense again to be determined as the cause of perception. To avoid this circle, Gaṅgeśa, in his *TC*, has defined perception as—(i) Perception as immediate knowledge; (ii) negatively as knowledge that is not derived through the active agency of other knowledge. Gaṅgeśa attempted to remove the doubt as to when the mind is to be regarded as an *Indriya* and when it is not to be so regarded. He revised the old definition of perception and observed—"Perception is knowledge that is not derived through the instrumentality of other knowledge." He makes

Indriya independent of perception and makes it to be the medium of contact between the mind and an object when that contact is the cause of knowledge other than memory. *Nirvikalpa* or the indeterminate perception, according to Gaṅgeśa, can neither be true nor false since it does not possess any practical value. [108]

The *TC* is a systematic account of epistemology, logic and the philosophy of grammar. Proofs of God are treated incidentally. [109] His originality lay in his method of the treatment of his subject, *that is,* he accepts many tenets of the *Vaiśeṣika* school and instead of the sixteen subjects of the old Nyāya, he arranges his own scheme under four headings (*Pratyakṣa, Anumāna, Upamāna* and *Śabda*) and calls it new Nyāya. [110] It may be borne in mind here that the syncretism with the *Vaiśeṣika* was begun by Udayana and Bhāsarvajña had reduced the sixteen padārthas to three.[111] The *Navyanyāya* recognises four types of valid knowledge and each of these is distinguished by *pramāṇa, pratyakṣakaraṇa, anumāna* and *śabda.* The neo-logicians of Mithilā emphasised the importance of the inferential process. Knowledge was considered to be a quality, not a substance, for it inheres in the soul. H. D. Inglas, [112] while interpreting *Anumāna,* observes—"Inference is a knowledge born of a (former) knowledge of the nature of a minor term such as is qualified by a pervasion; the instrumental cause of this is *anumāna,* and this is the considering of the middle term, not the considered middle term."

The *Navya-Nyāya* specifies its terms and relations largely by four means—*Viśeṣaṇa* (qualifiers), *dharma* (abstract properties) *Nirūpaka* or *Nirūpita* (describer-described pairs)

108. Cf. D. M. Datta—*Six Ways of Knowing* (London-1932). PP. 36-104-Cf. S. C. Chatterjee-*Nyāya theory of Knowledge-PP.* 207-227.

109. *HOS*—XL-P. 5.

110. *TC*—IV-P. 699, line 1.

111. Keith—*op. cit.*-PP. 30-31.

112. *HOS*—*op. cit.*-P. 32.

and *avacchedaka* (limitors). These thinkers assign every entity to one or other of the seven categories—

(i) *Dravya* (substance)—nine traditional substances are—earth, water, *tejas* (heat, light, fire), wind, *ākāśa (kha, vyoman, gagana)*—representing both ether and sky,—time, *dikś* (space, direction), *ātman* (self or soul) and mind

(ii) *Guṇa* (quality)—twenty four traditional qualities are mentioned—qualities like *rūpa* (colour or form) taste, scent etc. are inherent in material substances. Qualities like pleasure, pain, knowledge etc. are inherent in the soul

(iii) *Kṛiyā* (Action)—are divided into five types

(iv) *Jāti* (Generic character)—characteristic by which the genus is recognised in the individual

(v) *Viśeṣa* (ultimate difference)—residing in an atom, in virtue of which that atom is different from other atoms.

(vi) *Samavāya* (inherence)—is that in virtue of which substance are related to their parts

(vii) *Abhāva* (absence)[113]

Theory of Knowledge

Gaṅgeśa made a valuable contribution to the theory of knowledge. Since all objects are knowable, our knowledge of these objects is of two kinds—*Nirvikalpa* (indeterminate) and *Savikalpa* (determinate knowledge). A determinate knowledge is a knowledge the object of which is distinguished from other things. It is, therefore, defined as knowledge penetrating the relation between *Viśeṣya* and *Viśeṣaṇa*. The *Navyanyāya* system built up a complete system of epistemology and logic. Here the cultural outlook is dominated by an intense desire to synthensise all the departments of knowledge in a scheme of progressive realisation of life's end and culminating in final emancipation conceived of as *summum bonum*. Gaṅgeśa utilised all constructive, expository, critical, polemical material of his predecessors and gave the final shape and turn to the logic and metaphysics of *Nyāya*. He replaced the old method by shifting emphasis from categoristic treatment to epistemological treatment and

113. *Ibid*—PP. 36–38.

thereby turned the *Nyāyaśāstra* (hitherto a mere *padārtha-śāstra*) into a full-fledged *Pramāṇaśāstra*. Herein lay the epoch-making character of his *TC*. He aimed at precision of expression and did it through several thought measuring devices—*e.g. avacchedaka* (the delimitor), *avacchedya* (the delimited), *Nirūpaka* (co-forming), *Nirūpya* (co-formed) *anuyogin* (containing correlate) and *pratiyogin* (counter correlate). Needless to say that all Indian dialectician were influenced by him. The whole dialectical literature had its root stuck deep and its huge trunk fully developed in Mithilā in the *TC* and like a vast banyan tree it had its immense branches and foliage stretched out and ranified. [114]

The most outstanding contribution of Gaṅgeśa is his dissertation on the problem of truth and validity of knowledge. Criticising the *Mīmāṁsā* theory of self-validity of knowledge, he established the *nyāya* position of the correspondence theory of truth and ascertainment of truth by verifications. The truth is defined and the problem is then bifurcated into *utpatti* (origin and source of validity) and *Jñapati* (ascertainment of the same). According to the *Mīmāṁsā* school, knowledge and validity are two necessary correlates and have their origin in self-identical conditions. According to Prabhākara, knowledge is self-revealing. To Kumārila, knowledge is imperceptible and hence its ascertainment is to be made by discovery, inference and validity. According to Murāri Miśra, knowledge is to be revealed by introspection. Gaṅgeśa criticised those three positions as absolutely untenable on the

114. Cf. S. Kuppūsvāmī Śāstrī—*A Primer of Indian Logic* (Madras—1951—Second edition) PP. VI–XL.

Re : Gokulanātha (a Maithila dramatist & Philosopher), he observes on P. XXIII—"Gokulanātha in his philosophical drama *Amṛtodaya* suggests that Ānvīkṣikī is the empress ruling over the empire of knowledge and emancipation" Cf. R. K. Choudhary *Sanskrit Drama in Mithila*—in the *JBRS* of 1957. —Cf. Cowell—*Sarva-Darśana-Saṅgraha*—P. 165—Pakṣilaśvāmī says—"Ānvīkṣikī (the science of reasoning) is divided into different categories, proofs etc. and the lamp of all sciences, the means for aiding all actions....." Cf. S. N. Dāsguptā—*A History of Indian Philosophy* (five volumes).

ground of contradiction of experience. He has shown ingenuity in his chapter on *Anumāna* (Inference). Inference is defined to be the judgement produced by the knowledge of minor premise,[115] qualified by the knowledge of major premise. The neo-logicians had their contributions to the study of the liniguistic problem. The *TC* deals with it. *Śabdaprāmāṇyavāda* proves the validity of verbal testimony as an independent organ of cognition. Then follow the dissertation on *Ākāṅkṣā* (expectancy), *Yogyatā* (competency), *āsatti* (contigenity) and *tātparya* (word-import) which are indispensable conditions to produce verbal judgement. The *Śabdānityatāvāda* deals with non-eternity of sound. Grammatical problems like *Samāsa, ākhyāta, Dhātu* and *upasarga* have also been dealt with by Gaṅgeśa. Gaṅgeśa succeeds in establishing the validity of the four types of cognitive knowledge after refuting the validity of *aitihya* (tradition), *Janaśruti* (rumour), *arthāpatti* (implication) and *anupalabdhi* (non-apprehension). Gaṅgeśa gave *Nyāya* the clarity of thought and accuracy of expression and his *magnum opus*, the *TC*, is an example of his admirable capacity of marshalling the arguments with an accuracy and ingenuity. The neo-logic, established by Gaṅgeśa held the field for over two hundred years in Mithilā and Bengal, crossed the boundaries of India and there is a reference to the existence of a manuscript on neo-logic in Burma.[116] The literature on Navyanyāya assumed gigantic proportions and it has been rightly called a "world's wonder in the field of intellectual feats.[117]

Vardhamāna

Gaṅgeśa's son, Vardhamāna, was a great logician. He wrote more than ten works, mostly commentaries on the existing works. He quotes his father's views in a number of places. His main contribution lay in the fact that he tried to bridge the gulf between the two schools of orthodox logic—old and

115. Cf. *Cultural Heritage of India* (1st. edition)—PP. 414–426.

116. *India office Catalogue*—Vol. II–P. 576.

117. D. C. Bhattacharya–*op. cit.*–P. 108.

To Keith—"it is only a vast mass of perverted ingenuity" Keith—*op. cit.*–P. 35.

new. According to Udayana, philosophical speculation is a kind of worship and the predominance of the devotional attitude in subsequent Nyāya literature is due to the influence of Udayana. Vardhamāna took great pains to reconcile this statement of Udayana with orthodox Nyāya-position that salvation is achieved by an unerring realisation of the true nature of the self. He succeeds by making the knowledge of God contributory to self-realisation.

He was a critic of Gaṅgeśa's theory. After him we come across Gaṅgāditya who is said to have commented on Gaṅgeśa's works. Another logician, Nyāya-locanakāra, criticised Gaṅgeśa and tried to find fault with him. Vācaspati (II), in his *Tattvāloka,* has quoted from Nyāyalocana which contains a refutation of Gaṅgeśa. The most important *Naiyāyika* after Gaṅgeśa in Mithilā was Pakṣadhara Miśra alias Jayadeva. He, through his immortal work, *Āloka,* succeeded in establishing a new school (*sampradāya*) of *Navya-Nyāya. Āloka* dominated the scene of Nyāya studies in India for centuries since it was considered to be the most important commentary on the work of Gaṅgeśa. He was an invincible dialectician.[118] Besides *Āloka,* two of his works *viz. Dravya-viveka* and *Nyāyalīlāviveka* (commonly known as *viveka*) are also known to us.[119] He quotes some of the rare authorities now lost to us—(i) Kandalīkāra, (ii) Jagadguru, (iii) Pañcamaṭikā, (iv) Bhāskara; (v) Līlāvatīprakāśa, (vii) Vilāsa. He is also said to have compiled *Līlāvatī-viveka.*[120] He was a contemporary of Vidyāpati. Raghunātha

Jivanātha Miśra and others

Pakṣadhara

118. Cf. *F. W. Thomas Volume*—P. 273. It is said that in his encounter with Vyāsatīrtha of Karṇāṭa, he is said to claim have ed in admiration—"यदधीतं तदधीतं यदनधीतं तदप्यधीतम् ।
पक्षधरप्रतिपक्षो नावेक्षि विनाभिनवव्यासेन ॥"
Also Cf. पक्षधरप्रतिपक्षो न लक्ष्यते क्वापि लोकेऽस्मिन् ।

119. *I. O. Cat.* I. P. 665.

120. *Ibid*—P. 668. For discussion, Cf. Bhattacharya–*op. cit.*–P. 119 ff. *JBORS*–XXIV. 166 ff; *PP.* (G)–Introduction–P. XII.; Tale 24.

Śiromaṇi of Bengal was the most important pupil of Pakṣadhara.[121] He was not well-received but his thirst for knowledge held him in Mithilā where he attended the *Ṭola* of Pakṣadhara. According to the lists of succession of the Navya-Naiyāyikas, Gaṅgeśa was followed by Vardhamāna (son)—Maṇimiśra, Yajñapati Upādhyāya, pupil Pakṣadhara Miśra—pupil Raghunātha, pupil Mathurānātha, pupil Bhavānanda—pupils Jagadīśa and Gadādhara. It is doubtful if the arrangement, suggested here, is totally correct.

Pakṣadhara had a galaxy of distinguished pupils which no other scholar in Mithilā or Bengal could claim. Narhari, Vāsudeva, Śucikara Upādhyāya, Rucidatta, and Raghunātha were some of his most notable pupils.[122] His school emerged out of his great conflict with Yajñapati whose supporters were completely vanquished. His influence in Bengal was immense and it may be pointed out here that his *Āloka* survived as a text book at Nadia for over a century after it had disappeared from Mithilā and all its three parts were commented upon by a seventeenth century Bengali scholar, Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya. Jayadeva's pupil, Rucidatta, became more popular in south India and a southerner named Annam Bhaṭṭa wrote a commentary on *Āloka*.

Tvanta Upādhyāya

Tvanta is a long forgotten Maithila scholar who wrote a commentary on the *TC*. He is said to have preceded Pakṣadhara and Śaṅkara. His commentary on Udayana's *Kusumāñjali* is known as *Makaranda*.

Śaṅkara Miśra

Śaṅkara is one of the brilliant stars on the firmament of Mithilā's sky and a name to conjure with. His *Vādavinoda* was published by the late lamented Sir Gaṅgānātha Jhā in 1915. He wrote commentaries on all the hard classics of the

121. Cf. K. C. Rarhi—*Navadvīpa Mahimā*—P. 35; Cf. K. N. Mallick—*Nadiyā Kāhinī*—P. 113 for details and discussions; Cf. *Śabdakalpadruma*—P. 1791.

122. For a different view—Cf. *Vaṅge Navya-Nyāya Carchā*—PP. 36–40.

Navyanyāya.[123] Since he was influenced by the Prabhākara group, his *Maṇi* did not find favour with the Gaṅgeśa group of scholars. In his *Bhedaprakāśa* (published), there is a refutation of Vedāntic monism from the standpoint of the realism of the Nyāya. In his *Khaṇḍaṇaṭikā* (published), he explains the views of Śrīharṣa from the standpoint of Vedānta and at the same time meets the argument of Śrīharṣa from the standpoint of dualism.

Vācaspati (II) wrote commentaries on the *Nyāyasūtras* of Gotama known as *Tattvāloka.*[124] It may be noted here that *Tattvāloka* (containing references to various authors) is one of the earliest attempts to explain the *Nyāyasūtras* in the light of Gaṅgeśa's epoch-making work. He also wrote a commentary on the *Nyāyaratna* of Maṇikaṇṭha Miśra and named it as *Nyāyaratnaprakāśa.* His other important works on Nyāya are—

Vācaspati Miśra (II)

(i) *Pratyakṣanirṇaya*—

(ii) *Anumānanirṇaya*—(Śāstri–*Nepal. Cat.* I. p. 94)

(iii) *Śabdanirṇaya*

(iv) *Khaṇḍanoddhāra*—a refutation of Śriharṣa's *khaṇḍana.*

This work displays his dialectical skill and vastness of learning.

Both Vācaspati and Śaṅkara were regarded as the greatest opponents of Vedānta. Vācaspati also commented on the *TC* and also wrote *Sahasrādhikaraṇa* on the *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā* rules of interpretation. Though a digest writer of repute, Vācaspati is also one of the few luminaries of the Navyanyāya scholarship.

Yajñapati's *Prabhā,* a commentary on Gaṅgeśa's work, pushed all previous commentaries into background and laid the foundation of the latest phase of the *Navyanyāya* studies in Mithilā. Gaṅgeśa's stricture against Udayana was rightly answered by Yajñapati.

Yajñapati

123. His first work *Maṇimayūkha*–in *MSS*–is now in Jammu–(55 Folios)–Cf. Stein's Jammu *Catalogue*–P. 144 No. 1537.

124. *I. O. Catalogue*–I. PP. 610–11.

Vaṭeśvara Upādhyāya

Vaṭeśvara is universally known as *Darpaṇakāra* both in *Nyāya* and *Smṛti*. He is said to have been a bold opponent of Gaṅgeśa. He wrote (i) *Nyāyanibandhadarpaṇa*; and (ii) *Nyāya-līlāvatīdarpaṇa*.

The above survey reveals to us that Mithilā in the age of Vidyāpati was at the height of intellectual activity with a country-wide reputation. Scholars from different parts of the country came here to receive training in the neo-logic, started by Gaṅgeśa. His theory engaged the attention of generations of scholars who devoted themselves to an understanding of the system. Around the single work of Gaṅgeśa grew commentaries, sub-commentaries and glosses written by scholars from different parts of the country. Vardhamāna attracted the notice of Mādhavācārya. Vasudeva Miśra's *Maṇi's* (commentary on *TC*) popularity in intellectual circles has been hardly equalled. With a view to securing the exactitude of expression, the *Navyanyāya* thinkers gave birth to hair-splitting arguments and the contemporary poets and writers were not absolutely free from this subtle influence. Though the supreme influence of the *Nyāya* learning began to fade after the sixteenth century A. D., the Maithila scholars tried to keep the lamp burning and the philosophical studies continued, though with less vigour. The tradition of *Mīmāṁsā* and Nyāya were kept alive by scholars like Maheśa Ṭhākura, Gokulanātha Upādhyāya, Sacala Upādhyāya and others.

General survey

The Naiyāyikas are never tired of reminding themselves of the need for carefully observing and making out the relation of invariable concomitance between particular classes of antecedents and consequents, as also between their negations. Udayana says—"Concerning the truth about the affirmative and the negative concomitance, one should be particularly careful." He based many a theistic argument in his *Kusumāñjali* on the moral values. His theistic contribution is of immense importance in demonstrating the extent to which theism may press reason into service where revelation fails. He has been

rightly recognised as the greatest exponent of Nyāya theism. He has advanced eight syllogistic arguments in support of the Nyāya view that the whole creation is made by God, who is Omniscient, Omnipotent and eternal. The infallibility of the Vedas depends on the unfailing validity of knowledge derived from them; that knowledge is always valid on account of the eternal purity of the source from which the Vedas originated and that source is Omniscient God (*Kusumāñjali*-V. 1.). Gaṅgeśa's son Vardhamāna commented on Udayana. The contributions of the *Navya-Nyāya* schools of Mithilā and Bengal present a formidable array of facts and arguments which scare away even a bold student. The system had grown in volume as a result of its fight against the rival schools, pre-eminently Buddhists. Gotama's logic, as developed by Vātsyāyana in his *Bhāṣya*, was mercilessly criticised by Diṅnāga. Udyotakara, taking advantage of this occasion, wrote *Nyāyavārtika*, criticised Basubandhu and Diṅnāga and defended the *Nyāya* position. It was left to the lot of the Maithila Naiyāyikas to contest the Buddhist position, as held later by Dharmakīrti, Dharmottara and others. Vācaspati Miśra replied to the Buddhists and gave voice to a possible objection to the possession of super abundant mercy by God on the score of the presence of undisputed suffering and pain in the created world. The usual explanation of the inequalities in the world order by reference to the unequal values of the past action of individual souls is but a poor defence, in as much as these actions are not self productive of their results and if God abstains from dealing out the fruit of actions, the world order would be destitute of the imperfections and limitations that are unfortunately ruling rampant. With his usual boldness, Vācaspati answers these objections. Although God is all powerful and there is no limit to his mercy, He can not subvert the moral laws which are, by their nature, immutable. There can be no escape from the consequences of moral actions. Suffering is a blessing in disguise.[125] Vācaspati's school of thought was carried forward by Jayanta-

125. For a similar western view—Cf. W. R. Sorley—*Moral value and the Idea of God*—P. 346.

bhaṭṭa, Śrīdhara and Udayana after whom we do not hear any Buddhists causing trouble to the orthodox system. [126] The result was the precision of definition in which every word was duly measured and had to be defended. Nyāya came to be regarded as a science of definitions.

Philosophical position in the age of Vidyāpati

The above discourse leaves no room for any doubt that Mithilā was the most fertile soil for all types of philosophical speculations and prospects. During the period under review, the Hindu-Muslim fusion seems to be the result of synthesis between their outlook on life. The various manifestations of our spirit in pre-muslim period are tinged with a note of *Māyāvāda*, which allows little scope for individual development. The philosophy of *Māyā* helps to explain why men suffered the inequalities and indignities of life so patiently. Belief in rebirth is also a direct consequence of this attitude of mind and the theory of rebirth denies progress. Vidyāpati seems to have been a strong believer in fate and in various births of man. He says—"When a matter hath no remedy there be no resort but resignation..... Thy days, bought as it were by merit gained in former births, should not be passed without enjoying happiness." [127] According to Vidyāpati, the only real object of life was ultimate salvation. [128] Vidyāpati seems to have been highly influenced by the Upaniṣadic thought. [129] He says—(i) "All means are but paths, and rare on them are travellers. All men know the way, but only he who traveleth thereon reached the blessed goal; [130] (ii) the supreme must be heard, must be comprehended, must be pondered on, and must be made

126. Cf. Rahul Sāṅkṛtyāyana—*Purātattva Nibandhāvalī*—section on Nyāya and also Cf. *Darśana Dighdarśana.*

127. *PP.* (G)-Tale 37 Cf. *Gītā*-पूर्वजन्मकृतं कर्म तदैवमिति कथ्यते ।
Cf. *MM*-No. 15—एकहि जनम में इच्छब आन ।
No. 733—पूरब जनमे विहि लिखल भरमे ।

128. *PP.* (G)—Tale 42.

129. *Ibid.*

130. *Ibid*—Cf. *Brh. Upn.*-II. 4, 5; and IV. v, 6.

visible; (iii) He, who is versed in the sound, *Bramha* reached the supreme spirit." [131] After meditation is born the perception of the Self and that is the means of salvation. [132] The four objects of life, according to our poet, are righteousness, worldly prosperity, sexual love and salvation. [133] He insisted on *Karma,* fate, salvation, different births and advised people to pin all faith in God for everything.

The *Bhakti* ideal stresses love and prefers ultimate salvation to immediate salvation. In the *Bhāgavata purāṇa,* Rantideva says—"I solicit the sorrow of all loving creatures through interpretating into them so that all creatures become free from them." God in Bhāgvatism suffers with all the evils and imperfections of man. Vidyāpati was a fatalist and influenced, to a great extent, by the philosophy of the *Bhāgvata purāṇa.* The word "fate" has been derived from the latin word "*Fatum*" meaning that which is decreed. It assigns no place, at all, to the initiative of an individual. The idea of an omnipotent fate overruling all affairs of men is present in various forms in practically all religious systems. It implies complete indifference to material circumstances. Men accept prosperity and misfortune with calmess as the degree of faith. [134] Hinduism believes in the rebirth of the individual. The possibility of the soul's future life and of its rebirth depends on its permanent existence and it is this nature of the individual soul that justifies rebirth and gradual evolution through different births. It can not free itself from the cycle of births and death until it reaches the far off divine goal. [135] The law of karman is the philosophical expression of the belief in an external moral order of the world. It

131. *Ibid*—; Cf. *PP* (Pathak)–शब्दब्रह्मणि निष्णातः परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति। Cf. *Maitt. Upn.* VI. 22; VI. 34; *Brahmavindu Up.* 17; I, IV.

132. *PP.* (G)—*Ibid.*

133. *Ibid*—P. 125.

134. *EB* (1947-edn.) IX. P. 109; Cf. Radhakrishnan—*op. cit.* I. 275—Fatalism is a very old philosophy in India; *ERE*–VII. 465; *Ashutosh Commemoration volume*—article on Jainism.

135. *Brh. Upn.*—IV. 4. 4–6.

means that all actions produce their proper moral consequences in the life of the individual who acts. A man's present circumstances of his [136] life are the cumulative effects of all his actions in the past and present life. This belief in fatalism and various births found fullest expression in Vidyāpati's predecessor, Umāpati, the author of the *Pārijātaharaṇanāṭaka*. [137] The contemporary philosophy did not aim at any clear cut exposition of any fundamental truth but insisted on the maintenance of the old system, as modified by later philosophers to suit the new needs of the time. Vidyāpati distinctly says—"the remedy lieth in the hands of fate. [138]

Every attainment was the result of a good action either in this birth or in former birth. Even getting an accomplished husband was nothing but the result of a good action and *vice-versa*. [139] What is lotted can not be blotted. [140] This attitude forwards life led to the growth of the philosophy of *Pāpa* and *Puṇya* (Evil and Good). Righteous acts help men to cross the hurdles in life. The concept of *Pāpa* and *Puṇya* predominates in all births. [141] All these emanated from the

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136. *Silver Jubilee volume of the Indian Philosophical Congress* (1950) Vol. I. PP. 124–126. Cf. *MM*-No. 733–पिया क दोख नहिं जे छल करमे ।

137. *Parijātaharaṇa*—(i) अपन करमफल हम उपभोगव, तोहें किअ नेजह पराने (No. 20)
(ii) परम करम मोरवाम, सकल तकर परिनाम (Song No. 30)
(iii) Cf. Song No. 39.

138. *PP*. (G)—Tale 21.

139. *Nachāris* and *Maheśvāṇi's* supply us with the typical examples of poet's faith in fatalism—(i) पुने मिले पिआ गुणमान; (ii) सुकृते मिल सुपहु समाज; (iii) कमें दोषे विघटि गेल साहि, अगिला जनम बुझब परिपाहि; (iv) पुनमन्त पावे गुनमति नारि ।

140. Rakesh—*op. cit*. P. 60–; Cf. Vidyāpati–विधि ककरो न सक ।

141. *MM*—No. 123–पुनकले सबे सबे पार; also–गरुअ पुरब पाप पराभव । Cf. *PP*. (N)–115; *PP*. (G)–Tale 32; also–अपन करम दोख अपनहिं भुँजई जे जन परबसहोई ।

basic philosophy of fatalism which formed the core of his life and thinking. Misery and happiness followed each other by turn.[142] In an age of political disappointment, this was the typical philosophical outlook and taking advantage of the situation, the ruling class thrived on the ignorance of the masses. This outlook of Vidyāpati was the result of his long association with the court life, of which he was an active member. But all these do not go to show that our poet was a cynic. Personally he was a robust optimist and a poet of hope and patience.[143]

Mokṣa

The question of liberation or the *Mokṣa* or *Mukti* (salvation) has engrossed the minds of Indian philosophers since time immemorial. According to *Nyāya,* absolution abolition of pain is the true liberation.[144] From the knowledge of the truth, there is the attainment of final bliss. Gaṅgeśa defines salvation as the destruction of suffering, which (destruction) is not concomitant with the antecedent negation of suffering, of which (antecedent negation) the locus is the same (as that of the

142. बिनु दुख सुख कबहुँ नहिं होई; अचिर मिलत हरि रहु धैरज धरि सुदिने पलटत भाग ।

143. Infra–see discussion on *Vaiṣṇavism.* Cf. S. Jha. No. 30 for *Patienee;* No. 64 for the identification of the language of the Vedas with good men.

Also—(i) मनहि विद्यापति पुनु पहुआस, जावत रहत देह तिल सास
(ii) मनहि विद्यापति सुनहु युवति आशा नहिं अवसान
(iii) सब धाधि आधि वेआधि जाइत करिअ धैरज कामिनी
(iv) जामिनी सुफले जाइत अवसान, धैरज धरु विद्यापति भान
(v) कवि विद्यापति गाओल रे, धनि धरु पिअ आस
(vi) मनहि विद्यापति गाओल रे, धैरज धरु नारी
(vii) अचिर मिलत रहु धैरज धरि सुदिन पलटत भाग—and there are so many examples.

144. Cowell—*op. cit.*–P. 171; also Cf. *PP.* 166–170 for different views. Cf. S. C. Chatterji—*Fundamentals of Hinduism*–chapter VII; S. K. Maitra—*Ethics of Hinduism* (Calcutta–1925) Part III.; Radhakrishnan–*op. cit.*–I. PP. 151, 209, 324, 429–30; 446–53; 471; 527; 600–605; II. 142–144; 636–646 etc.

destruction). He equates the destruction of suffering with the destruction of the ultimate suffering. Salvation is the revelation of the eternal bliss. There exists in the state of salvation the pure self which is of the nature of intelligence and bliss. Salvation is the dissolution of the individual self in the Supreme self which is of the nature of bliss. [145] In his *PP,* Vidyāpati devotes a chapter to the enunciation of the theory of salvation. According to Vidyāpati salvation consisteth in the experience of supreme and never ending bliss. He discusses the different theories of salvation and says—"As the distingushing mark of salvation is that it is accomplished by means of the knowledge [146] of the truth." The only real object of life is true salvation. [147] It must be heard from the precepts of the scriptures, it must be comprehended by reasonable proofs and when comprehended, it must be pondered over. [148] For attaining the *mokṣa.* one should concentrate the mind with the aid of eight auxiliaries, *viz.*—duty, self-restraint posture, suspension of breath, restraint of organs, meditation, abstraction and perfect absorption.[149]

Naiyāyika's theory of property

Before closing our discussion on philosophy, it would not be out of place to say a few words about the contribution of the Maithila Naiyāyikas towards the development of the theory of property. It has been held by the latest writer [150] that the best studies of property as a concept have been written by Indians. The logicians were interested in the definition of property. The Maithila Naiyāyika, Gokulanātha, wrote *Svatva-vāda.* [151] The logicians were ex-

145. Cf. *Muktivāda* (of Gaṅgeśa)—edited by Jivānanda Vidyasāgar.

146. *PP.* (G)–P. 171 ff. *PP.* (Pathak)–P. 213 ff.—तत्त्वज्ञानमेव मोक्षसाधनं वदन्ति ।

147. *Ibid*—P. 173.

148. *PP.* (Pathak) P. 218–श्रोतव्यः श्रुतिवाक्येभ्यो मन्तव्यश्चोपपत्तिभिः ।
मत्वा च सततं ध्यय्मेते दर्शन हेतवः

149. *Ibid*—P. 219–ततोयमनियमासनप्रत्याहारध्यानधारणासमाधय इत्यष्टभिरंगैः सम्पन्नं योगमुपजीवन्नात्मसाक्षात्कारे भवनिर्बन्धी ॥

150. J. D. M. Derret–in *BSOAS*—XVIII. P. 475 ff.

151. Aufrecht—Cat. I. 749; Cf. *Amṛtodaya* (a nāṭaka); *HOS*–XL. 78–79.

tremly well informed of the sources of law and they commenced a very thorough investigation of the subject. His views make it clear that he is of a different opinion as to the nature of property from that of Anantarāma, the author of *Svatta-vicāra*. A book named *Svattva-rahasya*, the authorship of which is not clearly known, is referred to by Gokulanātha in his *Nyāya-Siddhānta-tattva-viveka*. The logicians defined property or *svatva* as *"the capacity of a thing to be employed at pleasure."* Raghunātha Śiromaṇi declared *Svatva* as an additional category. Property, according to some, was real *Saṁskāra*, a fixed impression founded upon the knowledge that 'this is mine.' The difference between 'category' and 'impression' in the *Svatva-rahasya* and in the works of Maithila logician, Gokulanātha, may be said to be a difference between an objective and subjective definition. *Padārtha* was the successful identification of property with ownership as a single category.[152] *Svatva* has been defined as personal property.[153] Cognition of "mineness" and "non-mine-ness" was recognised as an essential feature of property even as early as the days of Medhātithi. The Maithilas never admitted fractional ownership. A lapse of time has been reckoned as a factor extinguishing property. When the land is taken by force in the presence of the owner and twenty years have elapsed without his disputing it, his property is extinguished and this is a case where a lapse of time extinguishes property.[154] It may be commented here that the extinction of property is due to a distinctive enjoyment. The point has been discussed at a great length in Jīmūtavāhana's *Vyavahāra-mātṛkā* and Vācaspati Miśra's *VC*.[155] Bhavadeva, as quoted in Vācaspati's *VC* (122, 307) leaves the difficulties unsolved when it is said that by dedication of water to all creatures, the aquatic inhabitants do not acquire property in their element. All dedication to the public use must be by way

152. *HOS*—XL. P. 37. Cf. Keith-*op. cit.* 213.

153. *Ibid*—P. 39. Cf. Gotama-*Nyāya-Sūtra* III, ii, 13-17.

154. Cf. Rocher-*VC*-112-16; 291-98; Yājñavalkya-II. 24.

155. Cf. Kane-*op. cit.* II. 175-6; IV. 22-23; I. 893.

of renunciation of personal ownership in favour of the enjoyment of the class of beneficaries. The king was under obligation to protect the dedication.

III

Religion

Introductory

Mithilā was the first tract of land to be aryanised in Bihar and that is why she is considered holier than other parts of the state. It was the missionary zeal of Māṭhava Videha that led to the introduction of Vedic religion and culture in Mithilā. The sacrificial aspect of the religion tremendously increased. It has been rightly held that local beliefs were superceded by the monotheistic and monistic tendencies of the early Vedic thought. The priests exploited the religious beliefs and superstitions of the masses. The relics of non-Vedic religion in north Bihar, though few, are important. The legend of the *Gajendramokṣa* at Hariharakṣetra (Sonepur, Chapra) suggests that the place may once have been inhabited by the enemies of Viṣṇu worshippers. Though the precise nature of the pre-vedic religion in Mithilā is not exactly known, the presence of Śiva's bow in the palace of Mithilā from the time of king Devavrata to Janaka is a factor to be reckoned with. The popularity of Śiva worship in Mithilā, even today, is not quite accidental. All these go to suggest that prior to the introduction of Aryanism in Mithilā, Śiva worship was in vogue here. Gradually the Vedic religion became rigid and the signs of unrest are discernible in the *Upaniṣadas*. It was left to the lot of Janaka Videha of Mithilā to refuse to submit to the heirarchical pretensions of the Brāhmaṇas. He asserted his right of performing sacrifices without the intervention of the priests and he ultimately succeeded. Another pre-vedic element in the religion of Mithilā is the worship of Śālagrama on the bank of the Gaṇḍaka. The worship of funeral mounds pre-supposes ancestor worship. Funeral mounds were not popular with the propounders of the Vedic religion. With the fusion of Aryan and pre-aryan cults,

Prevedic and Vedic

Chaitya worship was accepted by the Aryans, later on by the Buddhists as well. King Marutta of Mithilā is represented as having built a large number of Chaityas.[156] Janaka, Yājñavalkya, Gārgī and Maitreya were some of the important thinkers of the Upaniṣadic age of Mithilā who revolted against the "formalism" and "exclusiveness" of the early vedic religion.

Both Jainism and Buddhism had close associations with the land of Mithilā.[157] Vardhamāna Mahavīra was a native of Kundanapura in Vaiśālī.[158] His missionary activities were mostly confined to Bihar and the land of Mithilā claimed a major portion of his time. Mahāvīra, a Kṣatriya, was the son of Siddhārtha and Triśalā. His austerities lasted for about twelve years. He continued the propagations of the ideals of Pārśva. Though he organised a Saṁgha, he did not allow monks to live in monasteries. The Jaina religion emphasised forgiveness, softness, straightforwardness, purity, truth, self-control, austerity, renunciation, poverty and Brahmacharya or celibacy. These constituted the tenfold Dhamma. The *Nirgranthas* had to take four vows of non-killing, truth, non-stealing, non-possession and Mahāvīra added the fifth one, celibacy. The word *'Jaina'* is from *'Jina'* meaning one who has conquered and is free. Their tradition is that this religion is eternal and is revealed in each cycle by a series of teacher known as *Tīrthaṅkaras*. Even during the time of Hiuentsang, *Nirgranthas* were predominant in Vaiśālī. According to the Jainas, spirit and matter are the two elements in nature and are like the *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* of the *Sāṁkhya*. The seven categories of knowledge, called *'Tattva's* are *Jīva, Ajīva, Āsrava, Bandha, Samvara, Nirjara* and *Mokṣa*. The Jainas developed the system of *Syādvāda*.

Jainism

156. Cf. my article in the 1st volume of the Buddha Jayanti Number of the *JBRS* of 1956.

157. Cf. Dr. Upendra Thakur's articles on them in the *JBRS*.

158. Summaries of papers submitted to the Ahmedabad session of the *AIOC* (1953)—my article on the birthplace of Mahāvīra.

Siddhārtha Gautama was born in Lumbini.[159] He was married to Yaśodharā. He left his home and practised penance. His austerities extended over six years and he attained knowledge at Bodhgayā. He preached his teachings at Sāranātha. He adopted a very tolerant attitude towards other systems. Vaiśālī was one of his main fields of activities. The Saṁgha, organised by the Buddha, was largely democratic in character. The second Buddhist council, held at Vaiśālī, allowed a number of concessions to monks and nuns not permitted in other orders. The Buddha preached the doctrine of Madhyamapratipadā. The following important schools of Buddhism are known—

Buddhism

(i) *The Sarvāstivāda School*—popular in Kashmir and parts of northern India.

(ii) *The Sautrāntika School*—critic of the *Sarvāstivāda.*

(iii) *The Yogācāra School*[160]—seems to be ancient.

(iv) *The Mādhyamika School*—Nāgarjuna was its exponent.

Jainism and Buddhism found many followers among the inhabitants of Mithilā. Vaiśālī was one of the strongest centres of these two faiths. The Buddha was regarded as the chief adviser of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. Both Mahāvīra and Buddha are the names to conjure with in the history of Mithilā.

During our period, Buddhism had practically disappeared and the hold of Jainism was confined to a very narrow region. As a result of the Maithila logicians' sustained struggle against the Buddhists, Brahmanical thought had come to say and it reigned supreme in Mithilā. It was now not a homogenous sect. At one place Vidyāpati has suggested that though the followers of Buddha, other heretics and the Vedas mutually agree, in the uproar of their wordy wars even clear-headed intellectuals sometime go astray and at times, faith in austerity and

Vidyāpati

159. For details—Cf. My "*Siddhārtha*"-(Patna-1954); Also my book—"*Bihar, the Homeland of Buddhism*" (Patna 1956).

160. S. N. Dasgupta—*History of Indian Philosophy*-Vol. I. 132.

righteousness is lost.[161] *Śaivism, Śāktism, Vaiṣṇavism* and *Tāntricism,* as parts of Hinduism, had become predominant in Mithilā. *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* came to be regarded as two forms of the One Almighty.[162] Vidyāpati believed that in the universe, there is but one Almighty Lord and righteousness consisted in showing reverence to *Him,* through means of fasting, austerity, worship and the like[163] Vidyāpati's own writings show that the people of Mithilā had immense faith in *Śiva, Śakti, Gaṅgā* and a host of other deities. The *Kṛṣṇa* cult had also gained a footing, while the worship of *Viṣṇu* and *Bhairava* had acquired importance. A study of contemporary literature and other sources reveals to us the existence of a large number of festivals, the details of which we shall take up soon. These festivals further give us an insight into the general religious belief of the people of Mithilā. Caṇḍeśvara, one of the leading digest writers, has in his *Kṛtyaratnākara,* given us a graphic description of the contemporary festivals.

Festivals of Mithilā

The people of Mithilā are temperamentally religious and all the twelve months in Mithilā are definitely marked for one or the other types of festivals. We learn from Caṇḍeśvara that this cycle of festival began with the month of *Caitra* every year.[164] It was held that the creation of this world took place on the first day of the bright half of the *Caitra* and as such Brahmā, Maheśa and host of other deities were to be worshipped on that day. The *Homa* or sacrifice marked the beginning of this festival. *It may be noted here that the worship of Bhāratavarṣa was one of the redeeming features of the festival and that goes to show that the people of Mithilā also attached due importance to the concept of the fundamental unity of India, even in an age when there was hardly*

Caitra

161. *PP* (G) P. 126.

162. मलहरि मलहर मलतुअ कला, खनहि पीतवसन खनहि बघछला ।

163. *PP* (G) P. 126.

164. *Kṛtyaratnākara* (abbreviated *KR*) PP. 103–108.

any sign of central authority anywhere in this country. Bhāratavarṣa was considered to be one of the various gods meant for worship on certain dates. Skanda was taken to be the commander of the forces of the Devas on the sixth day of the bright half of *Caitra* and was worshipped with lamps, clothes, ornaments and live cock etc.[165] According to Caṇḍeśvara, cock was meant for play and not for sacrifice. The main purpose behind this worship was to secure immunity from diseases for children. The *KR* further informs us that the sixth and seventh days were also regarded important for the purposes of Sun-worship.[166] It has to be borne in mind here that Alberuni makes a mention of this function[167] and Caṇḍeśvara confirms it. The Brāhmaṇas were treated with sumptuous feasts on those days. On the *Caitra*[168] *Śuklāṣṭamī*, the taking of eight buds of Aśoka flowers was considered to be endowed with the virtue of freeing one from sorrows. *Caitra Śukla Ekādaśī* was held in honour of Rukmiṇī.[169] The twelfth day of this week was considered to be sacred as it was known as *Madana-dvādaśī*, when Kāmadeva was worshipped. The worship continued on the 13th and the 14th day.[170] This function was usually known as *Madana or Kāma Mahotsava* and was very popular.[171] Caṇḍeśara holds that 12th-13th days of this half Caitra were sacred to Hari.[172] There is a difference of opinion regarding the actual date of *Holi* festival among the *Smṛtī* writers. The spraying of dust or coloured water does not seem to have been prevalent in the days of Caṇḍeśvara. On the full moon day, a festival was held in which people decorated

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165. *Ibid*—P. 119.
166. *Ibid*—P. 121-23.
167. Alberuni—Cf. Sachau-II. 176.
168. *KR*—126-27. Cf. *ABORI*-XXXVI. 333.
169. *Ibid*—128.
170. *Ibid*—135-36; 128.
171. *Ibid*—137-139. Cf. *Modern Review* (March-1926) PP. 282-297 for *Holi* festival.
172. *Ibid*—137-39. Cf. Gupta-*Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials.*

with clothes and ornaments and took meat and drink etc. [173] The festival was associated with the worship of Viṣṇu. Caṇḍeśvara, further, refers to a festival of the *Jhallamallas* between the first and the fourth days of the dark Caitra. [174] The followers of the Brāhmanical religion, during this period, made a serpent of grass and tied it to a wood. On the third or the fourth day, it was torn into a number of pieces, kept and worshipped in every house secretly through the year. [175] On the fifth day, a festival connected with the Earth was held. [176] Somehow or other, the function was associated with agriculture. [177] On the fourteenth day of the dark half, Śaṁkara was propitiated. Trees, grazing grounds, roads, terraces, cremation grounds, trunks of trees etc. were worshipped and fish, meat and liquor were extensively used. [178]

Vaiśākha

According to Caṇḍeśvara, Vaiśākha opened with the worship of *Irā*. [179] The third day of the bright half was holy to Vāsudeva, when Viṣṇu was to be offered barley, and Śaṁkara, Gaṅgā and Himālaya were to be worshipped. [180] It was on this day that the *Akṣayatṛtīyā* festival was held. The *Vaiśākhaśuklasaptamī* was observed for the worship of the river Gaṅgā, [181] *Śarkarāsaptamī* and the birth of the Buddha. [182] *Śarkarāsaptamī* was observed in honour of the sun, while on the same day an image of the Buddha was to be made and the temples were to be decorated. The monks were to be honoured and the function continued for three days. On the

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173. *Ibid*—138-39.
174. *Ibid*—P. 532.
175. *Ibid*—139.
176. *Ibid*—PP. 532-35.
177. *Ibid*—533-34.
178. *Ibid*—535-36.
179. *Ibid*—150-51.
180. *Ibid*—154-157.
181. *Ibid*—159.
182. *Ibid*—159-60.

Vaiśākhī purṇimā day, *Tila* was offered to Vāsudeva, Dharmarāja and the manes. [183]

The fourth day of the bright fortnight of this month was celebrated as the birth day of Umā and was celebrated with great pomp and splendour by all sections of women. [184] The eighth day was observed as the birth day of Śuklā Devī, who killed the king of demons. [185] On the tenth day was celebrated the Gaṅgā Daśaharā. [186] Caṇḍeśvara places the event of the descent of the Gaṅgā on the Vaiśākha Śuklā Saptamī. [187] The twelfth day was celebrated as *Matsyadvādaśī* or *Rāghavadvādaśī*. [188] The *Jyeṣṭhapurṇimā* day was celebrated as *Vaṭasāvitrī day*, which according to Caṇḍeśvara, saved women from widowhood. [189] Caṇḍeśvara says that a jar filled with rice, fruits, sugarcane plant was to be provided and a copper plate was to be placed on the jar with the image of Brahmā and Sāvitrī. Food and clothes were to be offered to the Brāhmaṇas. [190]

Jyeṣṭha

The eighth day of the bright half began with the worship of Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka. [191] On the Seventh bright day, Sun or *Bhāskara* was worshipped when people indulged in ceremonial food and drinking. [192] On the 9th day, golden image of *Durgā* was worshipped and unmarried girls and Brāhmaṇas were offered food. [193] On the occasion of Viṣṇu's going to bed,

Āṣāḍha

183. *Ibid*—163–64.
184. *Ibid*—186.
185. *Ibid*—190.
186. *Ibid*—187–88.
187. *Ibid*—159, also 187–88.
188. *Ibid*—190–91.
189. *Ibid*—192–95.
190. *Ibid*—195.
191. *Ibid*—198.
192. *Ibid*—199.
193. *Ibid*—203–204. This ceremony was also held on the 9th day of *Mārgaśīrṣa* Cf. *Ibid*—445–46.

celebrations were held on the 11th, 12th and 13th day of the month. [194] There is a reference to the *Dakṣṇiyāna* festival in this month when the clouds were to be worshipped. [195] Caṇḍeśvara prescribes restraint of food in all nights of this month. [196]

Śrāvaṇa

Girls, desirous of good husbands, should worship Viṣṇu in this month when asterism, Rohiṇī and Śrāvaṇa, occurred. [197] The twelfth day of the bright half is to be observed as the *Buddhadvādaśī*. [198] A golden image of Buddha was to be worshipped and then offered to the Brāhmaṇas. It was a day of fasting.

Bhādra

On the eighth day of the dark half of this month, fell the birthday of Kṛṣṇa. [199] On the ninth day of the dark half of the *Bhādra*, the procession of the car of Durgā started. [200] Caṇḍeśvara's description of this festival leads us to believe that it was observed solely by the kings and the Brāhmaṇas were sumptuously fed on that day. The car was nicely decorated with flags and festoons, clothes, lion's emblem, umbrella, feathers of peacock, bells and other things. Animals were sacrificed. The Vedic Brāhmaṇas, then, began the worship and the citizens collected themselves on the eastern gate. Though the *Śūdras* were allowed to worship, they could not get on the car. [201] The festival continued till the 14th day. [202] The dark half of this month is also called *Pitṛpakṣa* and a special function was to be held on the *amāvasyā* day. [203]

194. *Ibid*—204–5, 206–7.
195. *Ibid*—218.
196. *Ibid*—203.
197. *Ibid*—P. 251.
198. *Ibid*—247–48.
199. *Ibid*—257.
200. *Ibid*—259–64.
201. *Ibid*—261.
202. *Ibid*—262.
203. *Ibid*—257.

Ṛṣpañcamī was observed on the 5th day of the bright half. [204] According to Caṇḍeśvara, one should not use oil on the sixth day. [205] He further suggests that sun is to be worshipped on the sixth day. [206] Eighth day is known as *Durvāṣṭamī* when men and women observed fast and worshipped Śaṁkara and Gaṇeśa. [207] *There is a reference to the raising of the flagstaff of Indra on the 8th day of the bright half.* [208] *The system of Indrapūjā is yet prevalent in Mithilā.* On the ninth day, Janārdana, Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Varuṇa and Vanaspati were worshipped with wheat. [209] The twelfth day was known as *Vijayadvādaśī* and was sacred to *Janārdana.* [210]

The sixth day of the dark half is associated with the birth day of Skanda. [211] The worship of *Vaiṣṇavī* took place on the eighth day. [212] Caṇḍeśvara recommends the holding of the car festival of Durgā on the 9th day. [213] It is also known as *Navamīrathavratam.* The bright half opened with the worship of *Satī* on the 4th day. [214] Horses and elephants used to be adorned from the fourth to the ninth day. [215] The eighth day was holy to *Bhadrakālī*, who destroyed the sacrifice of *Dakṣa.* Caṇḍeśvara refers to the sacrifices made on that day. [216] Caṇḍeśvara recommends the worship of Durgā from seventh to the tenth day of the bright half and it was

Āśvina

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204. *Ibid*—272-77
205. *Ibid*—277.
206. *Ibid*—278-79.
207. *Ibid*—283-85.
208. *Ibid*—285.
209. *Ibid*—285-86.
210. *Ibid*—287-91.
211. *Ibid*—309.
212. *Ibid*—309-10.
213. *Ibid*—314-15.
214. *Ibid*—348.
215. *Ibid*—347.
216. *Ibid*—350.

on the tenth day that a saturnalian festival was celebrated.[217] The four succeeding days were sacred to *Viṣṇu*.[218] Caṇḍeśvara calls the twelfth day as the *Padmanābhadvādaśīvrata*, when the gold image of *Padmanābha* is to be worshipped. On the fullmoon day, a large number of festivals used to take place. Houses were cleaned and decorated.[219] This is also known as the *Kojāgarāpurṇimā*, when people, keeping awake throughout the night, worship *Lakṣmī* and Indra. Dice was played on this occasion and even today female folks, specially new married couples indulge in *cowrie* sports on this occasion. *Kojāgarāpurṇimā* is observed with equal jest even today.[220] Caṇḍeśvara also refers to the *Kāntāradīpa* on the first and second days following the full moon day.[221] The second day was to be celebrated as *Udakasevā Mahotsava* or a saturnalia.[222] Caṇḍeśvara quotes *Devī-Bhāgavata* to show that if one does not behave indecently he incurs the wrath of *Bhagavatī*.[223] *Āśvina* is also associated with the harvest festival.[224] Caṇḍeśvara[225] prescribes the festival on the second day of the bright half and its continuance for seven days.

The Dīpāvalī festival was observed on the *amāvasyā* day in *Kārtika* and according to Caṇḍeśvara, it was to be observed as *Sukhasuptikā*.[226] People took part in gambling and the win or loss indicated good or bad fortune for the year.[227] On

Kārtika

217. *Ibid*—362.
218. *Ibid*—373-75.
219. *Ibid*—376-77.
220. Cf. Rudradhara—*Varṣakṛtya*—I. P. 99; *ABORI*—XXXVI 328; Śrīnātha Chuḍāmaṇi—*Kṛtyatattvārṇava*—folios. 71B-72B. Caṇḍeśvara refers to the importance of *Khañjanadarśana* in the month of *Āśvina*.
221. *KR*—PP. 379-386.
222. *Ibid*—386-95.
223. *Ibid*—362.
224. *Ibid*—303-304.
225. *Ibid*—334.
226. *Ibid*—410-11.
227. *Ibid*—411.

the second day of the bright half, was observed *Yamadvitīyā*.[228] The *Devotthāna-Ekādaśī* [229] was a great festival. The fourteenth day or even the full moon day of *Kārtika* was a day of immense religious significance. [230]

The first day of this month was celebrated with great eclact. [231] Caṇḍeśvara refers to the Gaurī worship on the third day of the bright half [232] and to *Mitrasaptamī* (in honour of the Sun) on the seventh day.[233] The eleventh and twelfth days were sacred to the Vāsudeva. Caṇḍeśavra also refers to the *Himpujā* on the 14th or the full moon day. [234]

Mārgaśīrṣa or Agrahāyaṇa

On the eighth day of the dark *Pauṣa*, people took vegetables. [235] Caṇḍeśvara also refers to the *Kūrmadvādasī* in the *Śuklapakṣa*. [236] The eighth day of the bright half was holy to Mahādeva. The Brāhmaṇas were fed and the Pāśupatas danced along the road, through which the car on which Mahādeva was placed, was taken. On the full moon day, Viṣṇu, Purandara, Soma, Bṛhaspati and others were worshipped. [237]

Pauṣa

On the eighth day of the bright half of Māgha, meat was offered to the manes. [238] Caṇḍeśvara refers to *Tiladvādaśī*.

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228. *Ibid*—413.—Observed in Mithilā as *Bhrātṛdvitīyā*.
229. *Ibid*—420, 427.
230. *Ibid*—413–14, 423–25. the 14th day is also the *Kaumudimahotsava* day and also the beginning of the *Hariharkṣetra* fair at Sonepur.
231. *Ibid*—490.
232. *Ibid*—452–53.
233. *Ibid*—460–466.
234. *Ibid*—471–72.
235. *Ibid*—478–479.
236. *Ibid*—482–484.
237. *Ibid*—484–496.
238. *Ibid*—495.

on the twelfth day of the dark half.[236] The *Rasakalyāṇivrata* took place on the third day of the bright half.[240] There is a reference to *Varacaturthī* and *Śrīpañcamī*.[241] The seventh day was sacred to the Sun named *Puṣā*[242] The full moon was a day for offering *Tila* to the manes.[243]

Māgha

The birth anniversary of Sītā on the 8th day of the dark half was celebrated and cakes were offered.[244] On the fourteenth day, people fasted on account of the *Śivacaturdaśī*.[245] This is called *Śivarātri*, when the people kept awake for the whole night. It was, as it is even today, a popular festival in Mithilā. The 8th–9th days of the bright half were celebrated in commemoration of the creation of the earth by Keśava.[246] Caṇḍeśvara refers to *Nṛsiṁhadvādaśī*.[247] Presents were to be given to the Brāhmaṇas in this month.[248]

Phālguna

These are, in brief, the details of the festivals observed in Mithilā in the age of Vidyāpati. Caṇḍeśvara, quoting from the *Brahmapurāṇa*, has tried to show the connection of rice with the religious life of the people of Mithilā.[249] The practice of keeping awake at night on the *Kojāgarāpurṇimā* day has been described by Caṇḍeśvara as a Gauḍa custom.[250] Caṇḍeśvara does not speak of the *Chaṭha* worship, though he refers to the Sun worship on the 6th and 7th day of the

239. *Ibid*—495–96.

240. *Ibid*—498–500.

241. *Ibid*—504. These were holy to *Vināyaka*.

242. *Ibid*—509. Cf. 510–11. for the worship of *Vārāha* on the 11th and 12th. day.

243. *Ibid*—512–13.

244. *Ibid*—518.

245. *Ibid*—520–21.—a ling fair in honour of Śiva is held at Singheśvarasthāna (Madhipura–Shaharsa).

246. *Ibid*—526–28.

247. *Ibid*—528–29.

248. *Ibid*—590.

249. *Ibid*—303–4.

250. *Ibid*—379.

bright *Caitra*, fifth of *Bhādra*, sixth of *Pauṣa* and seventh of *Māgha Śukla*.[251] Mathematically counted, more than half a year was considered to be sacred. It may be noted here that Caṇḍeśvara in his *KR* deals with the theories of religion.[252] On the theory of religion, he handles his subject most eruditely and the phases are discussed here in a new light which does not appear in many of the authoritative compilations of the subject. Most of the *Vratas*, described therein, have now fallen into disuse.

Religious condition of the People

During the period, under review, Hinduism had emerged stronger. Though the concept of *Trinity* (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa) was still there, Brahmā was gradually neglected and there came a gradual harmonisation of *Śaivism*, *Vaiṣṇavism* and *Śāktism*. As is apparent[253] from the *KR*, Buddha was absorbed into the Hindu pantheon. The reason for this new type of trinitarianism in Mithilā was her association with the Tantric belief and practices. In the scheme of the religious life of Mithilā, there was a multiplicity of gods and goddesses. Besides the above three forces, Sūrya, Kārtikeya, Balarāma, Aniruddha, Hanumān, Bhairava, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Pradyumna and others were equally worshipped. The Sun-image or the temple of *Bhavāditya* at Kandāhā (Saharsa) is an evidence of the fact that the Sun worship had attained immense importance in the land of Mithilā. It stands testified to by references in the *KR*. The images of a large

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251. *Ibid*—121, 509. For current festivals also Cf. *Varṣkṛtya*-I. 151–59; 133; 107; 112 etc.

252. Upto the first 80 pages.

253. Cf. the *BTA*-410—"A marked feature was the relation of religion to the conduct of life and far higher place given to moral qualities in the deity. It gave the message of a Lord of grace; and the worship of the Lord by a loving and devout heart was placed even above *Jñāna* and *Karma*. A more human attitude than before was adopted towards the weak and down-trodden and more prominence was given to the need of holding together by mutual cooperation."

number of gods and goddesses at Bheet Bhagwānpur, Bahera, Birpur, Baraipura, Uchaita, Balrājgarha, Śrīnagar, Sāran, Vaiśālī, Champāran, and other places go to show that all types of deities were worshipped in Mithilā and on all auspicious days, people congregated at one centre or the other. That is why that even today big fares are current in Mithilā. *Śiva* worship seems to have found favour with the people of Mithilā since, the pre-vedic days. Mithilā is rich in Śiva temples even today. Vidyāpati has paid great honour to Lord Śiva through his writings. Śiva was considered as the giver of *Mokṣa*. That, there was a regular system of the worship of *Mahādeva* and necessary arrangements were to be made for that purpose, is also evident from the *Likhnāvalī* of Vidyāpati (No. 45). Govinda Ṭhākura and his brother Caṇḍeśvara are said to have written *Govinda Mānasollāsa* and *Śaiva Mānasollāsa* respectively, dealing with the Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa worship. Like Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, Śāktism was equally prevalent in Mithilā. Vidyāpati's copying of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and his lyrical songs attributed to Kṛṣṇa, the obeisance paid to Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa by a host of *Nibandakāras*, lyrical songs of Umāpati and Govindadāsa and Vidyāpati's overt reference to Kṛṣṇa in almost all his writings go to show that Vaiṣṇavism held sway in Mithilā.

The people of Mithilā, in all walks of life, were equally orthodox as they are today. The sacerdotal influence on all aspects of life was predominant. The very religious outlook of the people can be gleaned through a number of treatises on the religious rites, gifts, rituals for consecration of houses, temples, images etc. and the elaborate philosophical disputations.[254] The Maithilas, as a whole, were the strongest supporters of the *Varṇāśramadharma*. *Śiva, Śakti* and *Viṣṇu* were the main inspirers of the people of Mithilā in the realm of religion. It has been pointed out that the three fold marks on the forehead of a *Maithila* represented the following symbols—the horizontal lines, marked with ashes, represent

254. Mitra—*Notices*. IV. Nos. 1830-31; 1839, 1841, 1856, 1874 etc. and also Cf. Śāstri—*Nepal Catalogue*.

devotion to *Śiva;* the vertical sandal-paste in white represents faith in *Viṣṇu* and the, vermillion red mark represents veneration for *Śaktī.* [255] Śiva was and is universally worshipped in Mithilā and the popularity of Vidyāpati's *Nacāris* and *Maheśavānis* [256] is an evidence of the fact that *Śiva,* through his various forms, *depicts the life of a common man. Śiva-caturdaśī* is celebrated with due serenity and the people of Mithilā still believe that Śiva alone can award *Mukti. Śakti* worship is equally important and reputed writers like Devāditya, Vardhamāna, Madana Upādhyāya, and others were closely associated with worship of *Śakti.* The late Mm. Gaṅgānātha Jhā, in his *Kavirahasya* (p. 10), has tried to show that the first verse taught to a *Maithila* child at the beginning of his educational career is in praise of *Śakti.* [257] The *Sābara* rites of Maithila women, the non-vegetarian character of the *Maithila* people, the predominance of Tantric belief in Mithilā, *Mātṛkāpūjā* in almost every house and the importance attached to the *Gosaunighara*—all these point to the great importance of *Śakti.* [258] This great importance of *Śakti* was responsible for the growth of Tantric cult in Mithilā *(infra).* The *Kāmadhenutantra* and the *Varṇoddhāra-tantra* have referred to the tantric character of the *Maithili* script (Vide-*Śabdakalpadruma*—old Bengali edition). Viṣṇu has equally influenced the religious life of Mithilā and the greatest evidence of this fact is that Mithilā has produced a

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255. J. K. Miśra—*HML*-I. 21 ff.

256. Cf. Blochman's *Aini Akbari*—III. 252. the Bengali metre *Lāchāḍī* is from the Maithila *Nachārī.*

257. साते भवतु सुप्रीता देवी शिखरवासिनी ।
उग्रेण तपसालब्धो यया पशुपतिः पतिः ॥
For details. Cf. *Mithilāṅka* of the *Mithilā Mihira* for various details about the daily life of the people of Mithilā; Sashināṭha Choudhary—*Mithilādarśana ;* Also cf. *Cultural Heritage of India* (old edition) Vol. II. 291 ff; R. P. Chanda—*Indo-Aryan Race* P. 153 fn.

258. Cf. गौडैरुत्पादिता विद्या मैथिलैः प्रकटीकृता ।
क्वचित् क्वचिन्महाराष्ट्रे गुर्ज्जरे प्रलयं गता ॥

huge mass of Vaiṣṇava devotional literature. Vidyāpati and his contemporary writers have shown greater respect for Vaiṣṇava cult.

Besides these we have occasional references to a large number of heretical and anti-Brāhmaṇical feelings and faiths, then current in this part of our country. The Buddhists seem to have been finally done away with in Mithilā in the age of Vidyāpati. The first thing, that is to be noted in this connection, is that like other deities Buddha was absorbed in the Hindu pantheon and we have seen above that Caṇḍeśvara, in his *KR*, has specified a day for Buddha's worship. The thirteenth century Tibetan traveller, Dharmaśvāmī, has candidly said that in India non-Buddhists were numerous. [259] Buddhists and Hindu *Sanyāsins* evoked considerable respect in the society. According to the Tibetan traveller, image worship in the Buddhist temples was similar to that in the Hindu shrines. The Mahāyāna Goddess Tārā had acquired immense importance. He also refers to the prevalence of *Tantricism* in Bihar. [260] According to Dharmaśvāmi, the main points of differences between Hinduism and Buddhism were—

(i) Offering of sacrifices involving slaughter of a large number of cattle before the images of Kālī and Mahādeva—sometimes they were even roasted alive. [261]

(ii) Hindus were blamed by the Buddhists for inflicting injury on animals.

(iii) Buddhists felt that the Hindus had no proper method of salvation and were grievously wrong in their belief in a real personality or soul.

It may be borne in mind that these bickerings were confined to the theologians. Jyotirīśvara denounces the Buddhists in strong terms. [262] Ordinary people of both the sects seem to have lived in amity or peace and the Hindus offered alms

259. Roerich—*op. cit.*—P. 87. Bodhgaya was the centre of Hinayāna Buddhism; Nālandā of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

260. *Ibid*—PP. 48, 56, 87.

261. *Ibid*—PP. 82–83, 96.

262. *VR*—39—बौद्धपक्ष अइसन आपातमीषग ।

to the Buddhists. The Tirhut king, Rāmasiṁha,[263] offered Dharmaśvāmī to become his chaplain but when the latter expressed his inability to do so, the king gave him a number of presents. Whatever might have been the general relation between a Buddhist and a non-Buddhist, the fact remains that in Mithilā, the struggle between the two continued. Jyotirīśvara's sarcasm stands well attested if we refer to the story of massacre of the Buddhists by Dronwāra Purāditya of Rājā Banauli.[264] The Buddhists failed to cut any ice in Mithilā, during the period under review, though they indirectly helped a lot. Jyotirīśvara refers to a large number of religious mendicants[265] and *Kāpālikas*.[266] The word "*Tāpasi*," used by Jyotirīśvara, in the list of *Mandajātiyas* shows the contempt in which this particular sect was held by the trinitarians of Mithilā. The *VR* gives an indication of the fact that at that time there were some ascetics in Mithilā who were used to the practice of self-mortification, austerity and self imposed poverty and begging. They seem to have been the reminiscient of the past Buddhist and Jain systems.

Only recently Sukumar Sen has brought to light the fact that *Manasāpūjā* or the snake worship was very common in Mithilā. At least, this was so in the age of Vidyāpati. Earthen images were to be made of all the gods and goddesses and they were to be worshipped. Vidyāpati has given a detailed account of the *Manasāpūjā* (also called *Surasā*). It was observed on such a grand scale as the *Durgāpūjā* and was popularly known as *Viṣaharikāpūjā*.[267] *Manasāpūjā*

263. Roerich—*op. cit.*—P. 100.

264. Cf. *MM*—P. 17 f. n.; U. Miśra-*Vidyāpati Ṭhākur*—PP. 56-57; Sukumar Sen-*Vidyāpati Goṣṭhī*—P. 18; *VC*—Intr. IX. X. *JASB*-LXXII. Pt. I. P. 27.

265. *VR*—Kallola I. तापसि……जग्गा, योगी, चतरिया, सुरतरिया etc.

266. *Ibid*—Kallola. VII.

267. In the *MSS* of *Vyāḍi-bhakti-taraṅgiṇi*, Vidyāpati says—
लक्ष्मीधरेण नौर्दत्ता यस्मिन्मधुकराभिधा ।
तस्मान् मनोरमां नावं कृत्वा तत्र प्रपूजयेत् ॥

was very popular in Bengal and the story of *Manasādevī* is told in a lucid style by Vipradāsa is his *Manasāvijaya* (edited by Dr. Sukumar Sen—*ASB*—1953 Calcutta). *The story depicted in the Maṅgalakāvya of Bengal between the devotees of Śiva and those of Manasā or Caṇḍi derives not from the rivalry between the philosophy of Saivism and Śāktism, but from a clash between the farming people and semi-nomadic tribes, who had encroached on cultivated land, a clash which naturally involved the deities they worshipped.* According to Dr. Dasgupta, it represented the struggle of decaying Śaivism against the growth and spread of Śāktism. [268] Snake worship was widely prevalent in Mithilā and the different versions of the Bihulā songs [269] in Mithilā go to show that the tradition is very old. The *Nāga*

मृण्मयीं प्रतिमां कृत्वा देवताद्यैः समावृताम् ।
वट्टयित्वा विचित्रां च पूजयेत् गीतनर्तनैः ॥
सन्निधौ भूतनाथश्च विपुलायश्चनर्तने ।
ये ये समागतेद्रष्टुं तांस्तुतत्स्थान प्रपूजयेत ॥
ब्राह्मणं माधवं रुद्रं वाणीं लक्ष्मीं च पार्वतीम् ।
कार्तिकेयं गणेशं च कालीयं पन्नगाष्टकम् ॥
जरत्कारुमास्तीकं च मर्त्ये चन्द्रधरं तथा ।
तत्पत्नीं विपुलां चापि श्रीधराख्यं द्विजं तथा ॥
यशोधरं च दैवज्ञं कर्णधारं च दुलर्भम् ।
अग्रेगणेशं नौकायाः पत्नीनष्टौ मनोहारान् ॥
माण्डारिणं चरित्रधरान् मध्येऽग्रे मूलके तथा ।
लेख्यां(तु) रजकीं चैव सुगन्धाश्च तथा पराम् ॥
सुरेश्वरीं तथा दुर्गां देवीं दिक्षु समन्ततः ।
इन्द्रादिलोकपालांश्च सायुधान् सस्ववाहनान् ॥

Also Cf. P. K. Maity—"*Historical Studies in the cult of Goddess Manasā*" (Calcutta–1966), pp. 126, 286.

The poet has mentioned worldly and other worldly aspects and says—विषहरी मंगलचण्डिका गीतादयैश्च and also तत्र प्रसिद्ध लोकवादाः । Bṛndāvana has also made a mention of the images of these made of earth. Vidyāpati further says—दर्शनाश्च विचित्रया वाग्दृष्टिहरणं भवेत् । नागो नाम्ना च गौहारी विख्याता सा महीतले ॥

Cf. The *Mithilā Darśana* (*Viśeṣāṅka*) of 1960 for details. D. C. Sen—*History of Bengali Language and Literature* (1911) for details.

268. S. B. Dasgupta—*Obscure Religious Cults*—Introduction. P. XXXI.

269. I have collected some songs through the efforts of my wife. Also Cf. *BSOAS*–XVII. Pt. 3. P. 503 ff.

Pañcamī is observed with due serenity throughout the country but in Mithilā, it has got special significance. The aim of snake worship is to ward off a manifest danger. The worship of *Manasā* guaranteed health and immunity from snake bite. The association of *Manasā* with *Behulā* is a fact to be reckoned with. The worship of *Śakti* brought in its train different forms of *Tāntric* worship. Vidyāpati has thrown sufficient light on the importance of *Śakti* worship in his *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇi*. The blending of pre-aryan and aryan culture seems to have been complete in Mithilā during our period when we find the triad of *Smārta* Brāhmanical Hinduism (*Śiva, Śakti* and *Viṣṇu*) being accepted by all sections of the people unhesitatingly.

Growth and Development of Tantric cult in Mithilā

Dharmaśvāmī informs us that in the thirteenth century Bihar was an important centre of Tantric cult. When he had fallen ill, a Tantric came to his rescue.[270] It was under the Pālas that Tantric Buddhism had gained foothold in Bengal and Bihar. Both the Hindu and the Buddhist esoteric schools conceive of absolute reality as possessing two attributes—*viz. nivṛtti* (rest) and *pravṛtti* (activity). The secret of all esoteric *sādhanā* is to destroy all principles of dualism and to attain the final stage of non-duality. In Hindu tantricism, these two aspects of the absolute reality have been conceived as *Śiva* and *Śakti*, the primordial male and female. Śiva resides in the *Sahasrāra* (thousand petalled lotus) and *Śakti* in the form of a coiled serpent. Their union produces the state of absolute. In the *Vaiṣṇava Sahajia* schools, the same is represented by *Kṛṣṇa* and *Rādhā*. The *Vaiṣṇava Sahajias* innovated an element of love in the form of physical and psychological discipline. All schools of *Tantra* speak of the final state as a state where enjoyment and liberation become one and the same. The first literary record of *Vaiṣṇavism* is to be found in the lyrics of Jayadeva, followed by Umāpati, Vidyāpati, Viṣṇupurī and others. These writings embody in them the quintessence of both *Rādhā* and *Kṛṣṇa*, realised in one

270. Altekar's introduction.

and the same personality. Similarly, *Śiva* in the medieval period represented much of Tantric Buddhism. In the Maithili literature, human interest of the family life of *Śiva* outweighs the interest of his divine nature and like the saivite devotional lyric of the south, we have some sweet songs of Vidyāpati on *Hara-Gaurī* and the tradition, so set, has been followed by a host of other writers and poets of Mithilā, the last in the series being Chandā Jha, whose *Maheśavāṇīs* have acquired equal prominence.

The Tantric Buddhism was a development of the Mahāyana cult which, in its turn, represented the religion of the dissenters and the protestants. The art and iconography of the period between 800 and 1200 A. D., also bear testimony to the fact. The seeds of the final break with the original school were sown in the second congress at Vaiśālī. The ideal of Ārhatahood was replaced by Bodhisattvahood and the latter concept continued to be predominant in all forms of Tantric Buddhism. *Mantras* and *Dharaṇis* gradually came to be introduced. [271] It may be noted here that Tantricism is neither exclusively Hindu nor Buddhist but it is heterogenous in its nature and spirit. The ancient Āgamas are taken to be sources of all Tantric texts. Jyotirīśvara in his *VR* (p. 60) has given a list of the following Āgamas—*Rudrajāmala, Gauriyāmala, Śivadharma, Śivarahasya, Śivadharmottara, Viṣṇudharma, Viṣṇudharmottara, Bhūtaḍāmara, Kālottara, Prapañcasāra, Prajñāpāramitākṣarā, Aṣṭasāhasrikā, Nārāyaṇī, Mañjuvajra, Mañjughoṣa, Catuḥśatī, Yakṣiṇī, Kampi, Caṇḍarośana, Uḍḍiśa* and *Sarāvalī*. These important *Āgamas* formed the basis of all the Tantric studies. Abhinavagupta's compilation of the *Tantrāloka* is based on many ancient *Āgamas* and is indicative of the fact that the Tantras had a common cultural background in the past.

The Tantric cult is characterised by a curious admixture of the alchemical processes on the one hand and the grotesque

271. Cf. *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, edited by H. P. Sastri *GOS*–No. XL. *IHQ*–IX. 1; Cf. P. C. Bagchi—*Studies in the Tantras*–P. 92 ff. Waddell—*Lamaism.*

obscene and something revolting rites on the other. The popular Tantric cult centred round the worship of *Śiva* and his consort. The *Tantras* have thus become the repositories of the gross superstitious beliefs, the hideous incantations, sordid magic and alchemy as also of speculative, metaphysical and esoteric phases of spiritual aspirations. The Tantric cult exercised a considerable influence on the society in the middle ages and the rites bore resemblance to the practies prescribed in the Atharvaveda.[272] The philosophy of *Tantra* has been described as a system of thought which formed the metaphysical background of the Tantric religion. The *Tantrics* describe it as a genuine expression of the mind seized with religious fervour and longing for liberation. With the merger of the dual aspects of *Śiva* and *Śakti* in the inscrutable unity, the Tantra philosophy becomes highly monistic in tone and contents.[273] The Tantric philosophers tend to grasp the basic tenets of the Upaniṣad when they declare the role of the *Śakti* in the evolution of the manifold world. We learn from the *Tattvaprakāśa,* that association of *Śakti* with *Puruṣa* is the cardinal principle of creation. The attainment of an absolute state of supreme bliss was accepted to be the *Summum bonum* of life by the Tantrics and for the realisation of such a state, they adopted a course of sexo-yogic practice. In view of the conflicting evidences with regard to the origin and nature of Tantricism, it is reasonable to agree with the view that "Tantricism..... is a religious under-current, originally independent of any abstruse metaphysical speculation, flowing on from an obscure point of time in the religious history of India" (*Obscure Religious Cults.* p. 27). The *Tantra* has been defined as the repository of esoteric beliefs and practices.[274] Mithilā has been one of the important centres

272. P. C. Ray—*op. cit.* P. 114.

273. Cf. *Kulārṇava*—IX. 42–जीवः शिवः शिवो जीवः सजीवः केवलः शिवः।
IX. 30–

Cf. G. N. Jha commemoration volume–P. 93 ff.

274. Cf. Avalon—*Prineiples of Tantra*; Bhattacharya–*Mātṛkābheda Tantram*; Cf. R. K. Choudhary—*'Vrātyas in Ancient India.'*

of the *Śakti* worship and Tantric culture since the days of Maṇḍana Miśra, if not earlier.[275] Vācaspati Miśra, in his commentary on the *Patañjali-Darśana,* has recommended the *Dhyāna* as prescribed in the *Tantras.* Various books on the methods and procedure of the *Tantric* worship were written in Mithilā during our period and our poet was one of such important writers. Mithilā was considered to be one of the important *Śāktapiṭhas* of India and the following sites are connected with the Tantric cults—*Ugratārāsthāna* at Mahesi (Saharsa), *Katyāyanīsthāna, Jayamaṅgalā* (in the district of north Monghyr), *Uchchaiṭha* (in the district of Darbhanga and *Janakpur* (in Nepal); Cāmuṇḍāsthāna in the district of Muzaffarpur. *Ugratārā* in Mithilā was considered to be an important *Śaktipīṭha.*[276] The very appearance of some of the important *Śaktipiṭhas* of Mithilā would convince even a lay man that they were formerly the centres of Buddhist esoteric cults later converted into the *Śāktapiṭhas*—the Jayamaṅgalāsthāna, Ugratārā temple and the Katyāyanīsthāna may be cited as examples in this connection. The worship of *Jvālāmukhī, Caṇḍī, Tārā, Kālī* and *Durgā* is yet very popular in Mithilā. There is no caste restriction among the Tantrics and according to *Rudrayāmala,* a woman could also be a Guru in Tantric performances.

The predominance of the *Śakti* worship in Mithilā can be gleaned through the following social customs, current even today—

(i) *Gosāuni pūjā* in every household.

(ii) First verse taught to a child is in praise of *Śakti* (quoted above).

(iii) *Aripana* is closely associated with the Tantric *Cakra* (most of them are now unexplained).

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275. Cf. my article—*Some recent discoveries in North Bihar*—in the *JBRS*—1957.

276. Avalon—*op. cit.* P. 60 ff; Cf. Upendra Thakur—*Development of Tantric religion in Mithilā* in *IHQ*-XXXIV. 193 ff. The image of Ugratārā has now been identified as Khadirvani Tārā by Dr. B. Bhattacharya. Cf. *Saharsa District Gazetteer.* Cf. the naked photograph of the image in the list of plates.

(iv) *Pāga* is also associated with the Tantric belief.

(v) *Pātari* ceremony *i.e.* feeding of *Kumārīs* (generally Brāhmaṇas) on all auspicious occasions.

(vi) Predominance of the Vijayadaśamī ceremony and its association with *Sādhanā.*

(vii) Worship of *Śiva-Liṅga,* the *Mātṛkāpūjā,* the *Naina-Yogin* sport and the custom of taking *Dīkṣā* from *Guru.*

(viii) the association of *Mithilākṣara* with Tantric *Yantra* is strongly defended. The *Varṇoddhāratantra* and the *Kāma-dhenutantra* give a succinct account of the peculiar development of the *Varṇas.* [277]

(ix) The predominance of *Vāmācāra* and *Daśa-Mahāvidyā* in Mithilā. *Dakṣiṇācāra* also seems to have been prevalent in Mithilā and there were innumerable *Sādhakas* of this branch in this line. [278]

The ideal concept of the unity of godhead in different sources are not unknown. Vidyāpati, a poet and thinker, seems to have philosophised things and the critics are at a loss to determine his actual point of view. [279] The concept of *Harihara* by Vidyāpati is a reflection of the views of Maithila scholiasts in his days as well as that of the *Śādhakas.* [280] Ananda Coomarswamy has rightly pointed out—"In India, we could not escape the conviction that sexual love has a deep spiritual significance. There is nothing with which we can better compare the mystic union of the

277. Cf. Woodroffe—*The Garland of Letters* for details; also his *Śakti and Śākta*–; Cf. *Journal of the Assam Research Society*– Vol. I. P. 3–; *JBRS*–XXXIII. 52–53.

278. Cf. U. Miśra—*Maithili-Sanskriti O Sabhyatā*–II. P. 18.

279. Cf. *Pratīka Vidya*—J. Miśra (Patna 1959)–PP. 88, 97, 278, also Cf. J. Miśra–*Vidyāpati*–; 366 n.; Cf. *Lokāyata*–269 ff.

280. खनहरि खनहर भल तुअ कला, खनपति वसन खनहि बघ छला ।
खनपञ्चानन खन भुज चारि, खनशंकर खनदेव मुरारि ।
खनगोकुलमय चरबधि गाय, खन भीखि माँगिय डमरु बजाय ।
खन गोविन्द भए ली महादान, खनहिं भसम धरु कान्होकान ।
एक शरीरे लेल दुई वास, खन बैकुण्ठ खनहि कैलाश ।
भनहि विद्यापति विपरीत बानी, ओ नारायण ओ सुलपानी ॥

finite with its infinite ambient..... the self oblivion of earthly lovers locked in each other's arms where 'each is both.' Physical proximity, contact and interpretation are the expressions of love, only because love is the recognition [281] of identity." Aurobindo has recently translated some poems of Vidyāpati into English with a view to acquaint the people with the highly philosophical and technical lines of the poet. In our analysis, Tantricism exercised a very patent influence on the development of Maithila culture. Its influence had been really much deeper than is ordinarily understood. The intimate connection between the *Tantra* and agriculture is evidenced by the *Yantras*. The *Yantras* are complex diagrams and even some of the *Aripanas* and *Kohabar* paintings are intimately connected with the fertility organs and agricultural products. The Tantrics believe that gods descend to take their seats on these diagrams. [282] The orthodox Tantrics readily concede that these diagrams also represent the female organs. The *Pañcamakāras*, [283] according to the Tantric text, are pleasing to the gods. The underlying principle is that the very sense objects which drag us down and bind us by attachment and enjoyment are capable of elevating us to the higher life if sublimated by contemplation. The two verses of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (61. 21-22) refer to the festivity which included sexual indulgence. The *Udakasevāmahotsava* was practically of the same nature and Caṇḍeśvara, on the authority of the *Devīpurāṇa*, has tried to show that if one does not talk or behave indecently, he incurs the wrath of the Goddess. [284] The *Gandharvatantra*, *Kāmākhyātantra*, *Mahācīnācāracakram*, *Nirvānatantra* and others

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281. A. Coomaraswamy—*The Dance of Śiva* (Bombay-1952) P. 140. Cf. for a similar feeling in Vidyāpati—एकही वचन बीच भेल रे।
पहु उठि परदेश गेल रे॥

282. N. N. Vasu—*Viśvakoṣa* (Bengali) XV. 545.

283. *Ibid*—VII. 531—*Madya* (wine), *Māṃsa* (meat), *Matsya* (fish), *Mudrā* (fried corn) and *Maithuna* (sexual intercourse).

284. *KR*—P. 362.

prescribe sexual connections as part of the ceremony.[285] The list of the *Pañcamakāras* is, no doubt, appalling.

In Mithilā, there were two prominent sects of the Tantric cult—*Dakṣiṇācāra* and the *Vāmācāra*. One was philosophical and devotional while the other was revolting. The sixtyfour *Tantras*, divided into three main groups, relate to the technique of worship, psychic subjects and occult phenomena. The Tantrics, in their own way, aim at sublimation through ritual and symbolism. It is a system of thought, action and ritual and they attach much importance to the meaning and significance of the word *"OM."* The *Vāmācārins* observe *Cakrapūjā*, consisting in a mass promiscuous gathering of the votaries of both sexes at midnight round a *Cakra* or Circle. The Maithila Tantric writer, Narasiṁha Ṭhākur, in his famous work entitled *Tārābhaktisudhārṇava* (chapter VI), has enumerated the types of women required for the *Cakrapūjā* and in this connection, he mentions *Naṭīs* (actresses), *Kāpālikās*, *Veśyās*, *Dhobinas* (washerwomen), *Nāpita*, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Śudra*, *Goālin* and *Mālinī*. Chapter IV of the same work gives a detailed description of the horrible *"Birasādhana"* practices, also known as *Citāsādhana*. These horrible practices are disowned by the *Dakṣiṇācārins*. This description, from a Maithila writer of repute, enables us to arrive at the conclusion that *Tantricism*, or at least a type of it, had been intimately associated with those castes and professions that were despised for many centuries.[286] The Tantras of the *Kubjikā* school originated among the potters.[287]

285. Cf. U. N. Bhattacharya—*Banglāra Baul O' Bāul Gāna*—PP. 456–468.

286. For other castes. Cf. Dasgupta—*op. cit.* Pt. I; Cf. PP. 62–63.

287. P. C. Bagchi—*Studies in the Tantras* (Cal. 1939) 45. Jyotirīśvara in his *VR* (P. 52) mentions—

8 Bhairavas—असिताङ्ग, रुरु, चण्डक्रोध, उन्मत, एकपाद, कपाली, त्रिपुरान्तक ।

8 Śakti—ब्रह्माणी, माहेश्वरी, वैष्णवी, ऐन्द्री, नारसिंही, कौमारी, चामुण्डा

Yogins—कालिका, कामाक्षी, रक्तनेत्री, त्रिशक्तितारा, वज्रतारा, उग्रतारा, झङ्कारिणी, हुँकारिणी, निरञ्जना, महामाया, पूतना, भूरुण्ठा, कुरुकुल्ला, जालनुनी सारमेया, अन्तरीक्षा, कुब्जिका, अन्धरोधिका, मूका, मोहिणी, आकाशकामिनी ।

Tantricism was no respector of caste distinction.[288] The Tāntrikas proclaimed the equality of all men and women and the rejection of the traditional marriage morals. Their contributions to alchemy and chemistry are unique. According to Seal, the Tantrics discovered that brain was the seat of consciousness.[289] According to the Tantrics, the world was created by sexual urge. In Mithilā, even the alphabet is intimately connected with the Tantric *Yantra.* The very first letter of *Maithili* is taken to be the *Kuṇḍalinī,* i.e., *Āñji* is the symbol of the *Tantric* divinity. Most of the Maithili letters are represented as *Tantric Yantras,* such as *Trikoṇa, Vindu, Vṛtta, Catuṣkoṇa* etc.

Mithilā is believed to have been closely associated with the development of the religion of the Tantras. Gaṅgeśa is believed to have been an accomplished Tantric. Mithilā also contributed to the development of Tantric literature and scholars like Devāditya, Vardhamāna, Madana Upādhyāya and Gaṇanātha are believed to have written on Tantric philosophy. Devanātha wrote *Mantrakaumudī* and *Tantrakaumudī* and these two works deal with the details of Tantra worship. Devanātha is described as *Saptakaumudīkāra.* The authorship of the *Āgamādvaitanirṇaya* is attributed to Vidyāpati (*JGNJRI*–VI. 241). Narasiṁha wrote *Tārābhaktisudhārṇava* dealing with the worship not only of Tārā but of other forms of *Śakti* as well. The above work is also known as *Kālībhaktasudhārṇava* in other manuscripts. *Tārābhaktisudhārṇava* has referred to and quoted from a number of authors. Harapati Āgamācārya (son of Rucipati) wrote *Mantrapradīpa* under the orders of Lakṣmīnāthadeva Kaṁsanārāyaṇa. The work is complete in fifteen chapters and deals with the details of the worship of various deities. Gadādhara wrote a commentary entitled *Tantrapradīpa* on *Śāradātliaka.* The work was composed when Rāmabhadra was ruling. We are

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Betāla—अग्निमुख, उल्कामुख, दरीमुख, सूचीमुख, तालजंघ, तम्रजंघ, कुम्भोदर, कुण्डोदर, कोकिलाक्ष ।

288. Avalon—*op. cit.* XVII.

289. B. N. Seal—*op. cit.* 218–19.

further told that Raghavendra and Bhairavendra removed the poverty of subjects (Mitra—*Notices* IV. 2172). Cūḍāmaṇi wrote *Sādhakamaṇḍana* and Śrīśānanātha wrote *Bhavānībhaktimodikā*. These two works belong to the leftist form of worship (*Vīrācāra* and *Kulācāra*). The first work quotes two verses from *Tārāpradīpa* defining the scope of the Vedas, Purāṇas and the Tantras. The Tantras are meant for the Kalī age and for low class people or Śūdras. [289a]

We have two streams of religious thinking in Mithilā, the Vedic and the non-Vedic. The Jains, Buddhists, Nigranthas, Ājīvikas, Kāpilas, Sāṁkhyas etc. were the non-Vedic sects. Rāma's breaking of Śiva's bow and his victory over Paraśurāma is indicative of the victory of Vedic Vaiṣṇavism. Orthodox scholars in Mithilā during our period propped up the Vedic studies. The Purāṇas record the stories of the conflicts of the rival groups headed by orthodox scholars and non-orthodox pedants. The struggle between the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas had been a prominent theme in the history of India and so also the struggle between the different sects in different parts of the country. The Maithila lawgivers tried to reconcile these sects and brought harmonious synthesis. In this respect, Śrīdattopādhyāya, Caṇḍeśvara, Vidyāpati and

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289a. अशुद्धा शूद्रकर्माणो ये नराः कलिसम्भवाः—

× × × ×

यद्यप्येते प्रयोगाः कालीं तारां वाधिकृत्य प्रोक्ताः, तमागमः ।
यथा काली तथा नीला यथा नीला तथोन्मुखी ।
यथोन्मुखी तथा दुर्गा नाम्ना भेदोऽस्ति कुत्रचित् ॥

Cf. Chanda—*Indo-Āryan Races*, P. 153 fn.

"गौडे प्रकाशिता विद्या मैथिलैः प्रबलीकृता ।
क्वचित् क्वचिन्महाराष्ट्रे गुर्जरे प्रलयं गता ॥

A similar verse in the *Padmapurāṇa* (Chap. 193–V. 51)

उत्पन्ना द्राविडे साहं वृद्धिं कर्णाटके गता ।
क्वचित् क्वचिन्महाराष्ट्रे गुर्जरे जीर्णतां गता ॥

Also consult—(i) S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa—*History of India Logic*;
(ii) *Mantrakaumudī* (edited by R. Jha)—Darbhanga–1960.
(iii) D. C. Bhattacharya—*History of Navya Nyaya in Mithila*—p. 189 ff.

others can claim superiority to the Gauḍīyas (like Śūlpāṇi) and Utkalīyas (like Vidyākara and Narasiṁha) (Cf. *Our Heritage*—X. Pts. 1 & 2).

The activities of Maithili Smṛti writers centred round the feudal lords of Mithilā who engaged themselves in discussion which were considered religious. Even though the great political changes were taking place, they clung to the idea of *Varṇāśramadharma.* They wrote everything for the Brāhmaṇas only. The Śūdras were treated as non-entities. Even when the Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras were treated with contempt by the foreigners, they failed to see the reality and prescribed punishment for the Śūdras (Cf. *Vivādacintāmaṇi*). To some extent, Vardhamāna was a realist as he cautioned the society against *Prakāśa-taskaras* (persons like traders and manufactures, physicians and druggists, false arbitrators and witnesses, māntrikas and Tāntrikas etc., who moved freely in the society in the guise of honest citizens). Rudradhara in his *Śrāddhaviveka* takes note of *vitiated Brāhmaṇas (Niṣiddha Brāhmaṇas) as blackmarkateers, profiteers, rebels, vicious etc., and precribes that they should be socially punished and debarred from participating in Śrāddha ceremony.* Even in matters of *Dāna,* it was only Vidyāpati who cared for the people of ordinary rank and prescribed gifts of less costly things like *masūra, tīlā* etc.

The Maithila thinkers of our period attempted to keep the *Varṇāśramadharma* in its proper place and wanted to give *Dharma* a higher status. They accepted the authority of the *Tantra-Pañcarātra* and Pāśupata texts. They established a *Pañcopāsūna* to avoid sectarian strife which stood in the path of harmonious synthesis. They made elaborate laws of *Dharma* to be observed in their daily life. In course of that they tried to solve their own problems in their own way and within the permitted boundary of a *Dharmanibandha.* Persons like Śrīdattopādhyāya, Rudradhara, Vidyāpati, Śaṅkara Miśra and others came as redactors and helped in the development of a sober outlook both in matters of religion, education and culture. The society might have remained

stagnant but persons like Śrīdatta and Vidyāpati were revolutionaries. In those days of Sanskritic studies, it was Vidyāpati who declared that vernacular was the sweetest of all the languages.

Tantricism exalted the female impulse and the Tantric religious ideas did not militate against some of the views propounded by the Bhāgavata. The *Harivaṁśa* and *Viṣṇupurāṇa* were influenced by Tantra. According to Dr. S. Chattopādhyāya, the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* contains the story of *Yogamāyā* showing how the followers of sub-sect were gradually making alliance with the Tantric mother cult (*Evolution of Theistic sects in Ancient India*–P. 153). The erotic tendencies in *Sahajiyā* and *Nātha* cults may have also fashioned the minds of the people in accepting erotico-mystic ideas of the *Bhāgavata*. Both Jyotirīśvara and Vidyāpati refer to the *Nātha* cults (Cf. *Gorakṣavijayanāṭaka* of Vidyāpati). The popularity of *Bhāgavata* did not appear like the success of a hostile religious sects, since the *Bhāgavata* transfigured the mighty sex impulse into a passionate religious emotion (S. K. De—*Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement*—P. 23). Maithilas were equally conservant with the different forms of *Pañcarātra* worship. We shall now pass on to discuss the development of *Vaiṣṇavism* in Mithilā during our period.

The Bhakti Cult and Vaiṣṇavism

The Vedic hymns are replete with the sentiments of piety and reverence and the origins of *Bhakti* and *Śraddhā* can be traced to the vedic age. The *Upaniṣads* further laid the foundation of the *Bhaktimārga*. It is impossible to read some of the soul-stirring hymns to *Varuṇa*, *Savitṛ* and *Uṣas* and not to feel therein the presence of true *Bhakti*, however inadequate may have been its philosophical background.[290] According to the *MBH* (XII. 340. 16–17) the revelation of God to man is the highest boon. The devotee

290. Cf. Belvelkar & Ranade—*History of Indian Philosophy*–II. P. 409. *Katha. Upn.* II. 23; *Muṇḍaka Upn.* III. 2; *Tatt. Upn.* II. 75; *Brh. Upn.* IV. 3. 32; *Svet. Upn.* VI. 23; *Gītā*–XVIII. 66; VII. 14; *Bhāgavat*–II. 4. 72; IV. 29. 50.

should meditate upon God with minds wholly concentrated upon Him. Nārada defines *Bhakti* as the nature of a intense love for God. It is of the nature of love which reaches its acme of perfection *(Parama)*. The word *"Parama"* indicates [291]

(i) Devotion is essentially undivided

(ii) It is never overshadowed by thought and action

(iii) It is not inert or idle

(iv) Devotion aspires for something imperishable or infinite. Bhakti is the attainment of God, *is the opposite of hate, is of the nature of nectar and the love of God*. The *Bhāgvata* preaches unmotivated devotion. Bhakti is an emotion of affection. Since the theory of *Bhakti* found favour with Vaiṣṇavas, it would be better to have an idea of Vaiṣṇavism at the outset.

Vaiṣṇavism has been one of the most important cults of India and its history goes back to hoary antiquity. According to the *Upaniṣads*, God is the protector of all beings, is the lord of all and dwells in the heart of everyman, that seeing him as he is and everywhere, is the eternal bliss to be attained by contemplation and purification [292] of soul. The Upanisadic thought played an active part in moulding the religious doctrines of the later period and, at the same time influenced the later thinkers. It is from here that conception of the supreme spirit, manifesting itself in various forms, sprang up and it resulted in the development of the theory of *Avatāras* or incarnations later on. In the *Mahābhārata*, and in some of the *Purāṇas*, various *avatāras* are mentioned but an attempt at systematisation is first met with in the *Bhāgvata-purāṇa* where there are three lists of twenty-two, twenty three

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291. N. L. Singh—*Bhakti Sūtras of Nārada* (1911) PP. 1–2; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*—I. 20. 17.

292. R. G. Bhandarkar—*Complete Works*—Vol. IV. PP. 1–144; H. C. Raichoudhary—*Early History of Vaiṣṇava Sect*; S. K. De—*Vaiṣṇavism*; S. N. Dasgupta—*History of Indian Philosophy*—Vol. IV; R P. Chanda—*Indo-Aryan Races*—for details.

and sixteen *avatāras* respectively. [293] In the epic, Vāsudeva is the eternal soul of all souls and the supreme creator. The worship of Vāsudeva had become prominent in the fourth century B. C. Pāṇini also refers to it. [294] About the second century B. C., Vāsudeva was worshipped as god of gods and his worshippers were known as *Bhāgavatas*. It was adopted even by the Greeks. The Besnagar Pillar inscription of Heliodoros, who was himself a *Bhāgavata* convert, refers to *Devadeva Vāsudeva*.

Hari, the supreme lord of Vaiṣṇavism, is to be worshipped with devotion. The religious idea of devotion arose and received a definite shape, when Vāsudeva revealed *Gītā* to Arjuna. Violence and efficacy of sacrificial customs were repudiated with candour. Vāsudeva came to be regarded as the supreme creator. It is to Vāsudeva that Obeisance is to be made. It is in the *Gītā* that we find the earliest clear cut exposition of the *Bhakti* system. The *Gītā* preached the eternity and indestructibility of the human soul and it insisted on concentrated mind and devotion to the deed alone, satisfaction and contentment, disinterested action and freedom from all sins through highest knowledge. *Bhāgavata* is the source and the last refuge of the world and man of passion should surrender oneself to God. God is further personalised and brought home to man by being declared as his father, mother, nourisher, grandfather, friend, refuge, etc. The attitude towards other gods is one of tolerance. *Caste is no barrier to the attainment af the highest ideal.* What is required is the single-minded devotion in adoring the *Bhāgavata*. By doing so, a man, irrespective of his caste, becomes holy and attains peace. Two paths, *viz., Bhakti* and *Yoga,* are indicated for the purpose. The *Gītā* systematised the theistic ideas about *Bhakti* scattered in the *Upaniṣads*. The *Bhāgavata* religion, a

293. The Pāla inscriptions refer to *Vārāha, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana* and *Paraśurāma avatāras*. Jayadeva gives a list of ten *avatāras, viz. Matsya, Kūrma, Vārāha, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Balarāma, Buddha* and *Kṛṣṇa*.

294. Pāṇini—IV. 3. 98; Cf. *JRAS* (1915) P. 168.

reform in action but conservative in spirit, came to fulfil the law of the old Hindu belief and not to supersede it. It made its way as a religion for all. *The liberality of outlook accounted for the influence of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa cult over the lower classes,*

The association of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu seems to have been an accomplished fact in the Epic when we find Yudhiṣṭhira identifying Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu. In the Puranic times, the cult of Vāsudeva ceased to be militant and three streams of religion, flowing from Nārāyaṇa (the cosmic and philosophical God), Viṣṇu (the Vedic God at its source) and Vāsudeva (the historical God) mingled together decisively and thus formed the later Vaiṣṇavism. Kṛṣṇa's *avatāra* is assumed for destroying all demons. The Pahārpur excavations have thrown a flood of welcome light on the Kṛṣṇa legend and it is apparent that the cult was highly popular in eastern India. The Senas show special leaning to the Vaiṣṇavite cult as their inscriptions usually begin with the invocation of Nārāyaṇa. R. P. Chanda has tried to show that there was some connection between the *Pañcarātra* system and the various kinds of *Tantra.*[295] The Vaiṣṇavism, as a cult, was fully established in eastern India as will be evident from the writings of Dhoyi, Umāpati, Govardhana Ācārya and others. Their writings are collected in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa. To crown all came Jayadeva who intensified the devotional strain of a class of mystics. Jayadeva's poetry has its counterpart in the *Belvā Inscription* of Bhojavarman which refers to Kṛṣṇa as sporting with hundreds of *Gopīs.* Beginning from the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of Hāla (C. 100 B. C.) down to the *Daśāvatāra Caritam* (1066 A. D.), the story has been maintained with necessary local variations. The association of *Rādhā* with *Kṛṣṇa* is a redeeming feature of the story. *Rādhā* was regarded as the *Śakti.* Nimbārka, in his *Vedāntadaśaka,* pays homage to *Rādhā,* daughter of Vṛṣabhānu. Nimbārka's sect regarded *Rādhā* as his spouse in the divine sport and worshipped as an incarnation of *Kṛṣṇa* in his energetic power. A class of mystics

295. Chanda—*op. cit.* 90 ff; Cf. *PIHC*–IX. for a discussion on the *Pañcarātra* system.

tried to realise the highest spiritual ideal through *Śṛṅgāra-rasa.* [296] While the attainment of *Brahman* through *Rasa* was preached on the one hand, the *Vajrāyāna* cult of Buddhism, on the other, had degenerated into gross sensualism and the *Sahajiyās* openly preached the necessity of an intimate association with women and looked upon an erotic enjoyment as the highest ideal of life. *'Śakti Subhodaya'* gives us a picture of such a degenerated society. Hemādri (14th century A. D.) held that the erotic longings of the *Gopīs* towards *Kṛṣṇa* should not be followed by others. Mālādhara Vasu *(Śrīkṛṣṇa Vijaya)* did not attach any importance to the sports of *Kṛṣṇa* with *Gopīs* and he depicted mainly the heroic deeds of Kṛṣṇa. It was with a view to counteract the degenerating influence that due stress was laid on the *Bhakti* aspect.

The theory of *Bhakti* found favour with the Vaiṣṇavas. They regarded Kṛṣṇa as the manifestation of entire godhood. *Bhakti* was considered to be of supreme importance. The true devotee found a natural pleasure in chanting the name of God and absorbing himself in meditation upon god's merciful action for the sake of humanity. The path of *Bhakti* was regarded superior. *Bhakti* has a dual relation as it existed both in God and in the devotee. [297] *Bhakti* was considered much higher than the philosophic knowledge since mere knowledge without *Bhakti* was only external and superficial and could produce neither realisation nor bliss. The reality of God could be properly realised only through the medium of *Bhakti,* which, in its turn was itself the emancipation. Knowledge and realisation sprang out of *Bhakti. Bhakti* was eternal realisation of truth and that is why a devotee wanted neither ordinary emancipation nor rituals. Nine characteristics of *Bhakti* have been laid down in the *Ṣaṭsandarbha* (p. 541). [298] The true devotee preferred his position as the

296. Cf. *Kāvyaprakāśa*—4. 20.

297. S. N. Dasgupta—*op. cit.* (IV) PP. 399-433.

298. Quoted in Dasgupta—*Ibid.* P. 421—

श्रवणं कीर्तनं विष्णोः स्मरणं पादसेवनम् ।
अर्च्चनं वन्दनं दास्यं सौख्यमात्मनिवेदनम् ॥

servant of God to any other so called higher position of power and glory. [299] He confessed to God all the imperfections of his nature (as we find Vidyāpati doing in the last days of his life) and all the bad deeds that he had performed and then prayed to *Him* for *His* grace by which all his sins could be washed away. The devotee wished to be intoxicated by love for *Him* in the same manner as a young woman was smitten with love for a young man or *vice-versa*. *Bhakti* is the burning faith in God. *Śraddhā, Anurāga* and *Preman* (faith, intelligent appreciation and overpowering love) are invariable concomitants of a life of devotion. [300] *Bhakti* is free from desire. The whole being is dedicated to the God. Devotion to God gives rise to knowledge, social laws should also be observed till we acquire devotion to God. One should not cherish any thought that might disturb the social order. One should not neglect the observance of social customs. Devotion arises from the renunciation of egoism, pride and other passions. Only supreme devotion can liberate us from bondage. A devotee should have the courage to swim against the stride of public opinion and rise above all fear of the crowd. [301]

Caitanya was the last of the Vaiṣṇava reformers in the series of Nimbāraka and Vallabha and no account of Vaiṣṇavism can be complete without a reference to him. His life unfolds unique pathological symptoms of devotion which is perhaps unparalleled. His emotional flow is more sublime and deeper. He was highly impressed by the writings of Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa. The *Bhāgvata Purāṇa* anticipated Caitanya. Chaitanya's *Bhakti* aimed at attaching oneself

299. *Ibid*—को मूढो दासताम् प्राप्य प्रामवं पदमिच्छति ।

300. Cf. B. K. Śāstri—*The Bhakti cult in Ancient India*—P. 319. Cf. *Bhāgavata*—X. 29. 15; III. 13. 49; IV. 29. 37; VII. 5. 18.

301. *Cultural Heritage of India*—Vol. II. The following articles may be studied—(i) J. N. Sinha—*The Bhāgavata religion*; (ii) G. N. Mallick—*The Contributions of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism*; Chintaharan Chakravarti—*Śakti worship and Śākta saints of Bengal*;

to Kṛṣṇa for *His* satisfaction alone without being in any way influenced by the desire for philosophical knowledge, *Karma* and *Vairāgya* and without being associated with any desire for one's own interest. [302] Caṇḍīdāsa's conception of *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa* found new spiritual value in Caitanya who demonstrated the height to which the love of a devotee can rise. The Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism emphasised on the *Mādhurya* or sweetness. They knew *Kṛṣṇa* to be their own and affection flowed naturally towards him. They feel the poignant grief arising out separation from *Kṛṣṇa.*

The indebtedness of Caitanya to the love lyrics of Jayadeva, Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa is known to us through the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta.* Vidyāpati's practical culture of the divinisation of human love had supplied him with deep inspiration that made him the immortal poet of *Rādhākṛṣṇa* songs. Dr. S. B. Dasgupta holds that the lyrics belonging to the *Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā* school are ascribed to Caaṇḍīdāsa, Vidyāpati, Rūpa, Sanātana, Narahari, Locana, Caitanya and others. [303] The lyrics of Vidyāpati influenced all the substrata of society. At that time there was intimate connection between Mithilā and Bengal. The post-caitanya Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal deviated from the main current. Jayānanda's *Caitanyamaṅgala* indicates the growth of some new tendencies within Bengal Vaiṣṇavism and some of their practices surpassed the worst vagaries of the later *Sahajiyā* thought. Prabodhānanda, in his *Śrī Caitanya Candrāmṛta,* laments the sad degeneration among the followers of Caitanya who had fallen far from the ideals of the Master. [304] The love lyrics of the Vaiṣṇava singers brought the deification of human love and with it, the humanity, as a whole came to be deified and heaven above and earth below met together in these songs. [305]

302. S. N. Dasgupta—*op. cit.* P. 389; *IHQ*-XXIII & XXIV; Sir J. N. Sarkar—*Life of Chaitanya.*

303. *op. cit.* 133.

304. T. K. Raichoudhary—*Bengal under Akbar & Jehangir* (Cal. 1953) PP. 44, 80 ff; 93, 103, 112 ff; 149, 232-33.

305. Cf. my article—'*Vidyāpati's Faith*' in the *Prabhudha Bhārata.*

Vaiṣṇavism and Vidyāpati (a study of Vidyāpati's faith)—

In so far as Mithilā is concerned, we have no authenticated epigraphic and archaeological evidences to support the point of Vaiṣṇavism because no systematic archaeological explorations or excavations have hitherto been conducted in this hoary land of antiquities. Naturally the data on this point are few and far between and we have to piece them together with due caution. The scattered images of *Vārāha, Viṣṇu, Kamalāditya, Lakṣmināārāyaṇa* and other gods and goddesses in different parts of Mithilā and the literary references thereto throw some light on the problem. An image of *Garuḍa,* the *Vāhana* of Viṣṇu, has also been noticed in Mithilā. Inspite of all these, no systematisation has yet been possible and no iconographic interpretation has been done so far. What can, at best, be said in the present state of our knowledge is that Viṣṇu worship was not unknown and the people of Mithilā were not unacquainted with the Vaiṣṇava thought. Along with Śiva and Śakti, Viṣṇu also continued to inspire and animate the people. The vertical white sandal paste on the forehead of a Maithila represents his faith in Viṣṇu. In keeping with the traditions of the *Bhāgavata, Harivaṁśa* and *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa,* all Vaiṣṇava fasts and festivals are observed and the *Śālagrāma* of Viṣṇu is even worshipped today. All these go to show that Vaiṣṇava form of worship was not totally absent. Śrīdharadāsa *(Sadukti-karṇāmṛta)* refers to a number of poems dealing with *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa* episode. Umāpati, in his *Pārijātaharaṇa,* relates to *Kṛṣṇa's* sports with *Gopīs.* Jayadeva's influence on Umāpati's lyrics is apparent.[306] Umāpati has borrowed his story from the *Harivaṁśa* (chapters 124–135). Somewhat different versions of the same story are found in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (V, 30, 31) and in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (X. 59). Umāpati deviates from the *Harivaṁśa* at one particular place, when we see that Kṛṣṇa's assistant, in his fight with Indra, is not his son Pradyumna but his friend Arjuna Dhanañjaya. Umāpati's

306. Cf. Song No. 24–कमल वदन कुवलय दुहु लोचन अधर मधुरि निरमाने ।
सगर सरीर कुसुम तुअ सिरिजल, किए तुअ हृदय परवाने ॥

lyrics are of dainty poetic styles.[307] He unleased a force of *Kṛṣṇa* legend to be followed by his successors in Mithilā and he may be regarded as the precursor of sweet Maithili lyrics in the field of poetry. He pays obeisance to Bhavānī, Hari and Śiva.

Caṇḍeśvara in his *KR* pays tribute not only to Gaurī and Śaṅkarī but also to the fish and tortoise incarnations of Viṣṇu (Verses 1–2). In the *Pūjāratnākara,* he discusses the Tantric rules regarding Śiva, Durgā, Viṣṇu and Sūrya. The catholicity of Jyotirīśvara is evident from the *VR.* The contemporaries of Vidyāpati offered salutations to Śiva, Viṣṇu, Rādhā, Harī, Kṛṣṇa and others (Cf. *Mithila Cat.* I. 367–68; Mitra—*Notices*–VI. 2011). The festivals connected with Viṣṇu and his manifestations are described in details by Caṇḍeśvara in his *KR* and also in the *Pūjāratnākara.* Viṣṇu was worshipped in *Caitra, Āṣāḍha, Śrāvaṇa,* in different forms like *Matsya, Vārāha, Nṛsiṁha, Buddha, Janārdana, Padmanābha,* Nārāyaṇa, Keśava, etc. He also refers to the festivals connected with Kṛṣṇa and his associates. Misaru Miśra also pays obeisance to Śrīkaṇṭha and Vaikuṇṭha. In his *Viṣṇupūjākalpalatā* Bhairavasiṁha describes himself as a devotee of Hari, Kṛṣṇa and Sūrya. Vācaspati Misra also invokes Viṣṇu and we find Lakṣmīnātha Kaṁsanārāyaṇa describing details of the worship Vaiṣṇava deities like Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva, Narasiṁha, Puruṣottama, Gopāla, Vālagopāla, Madanagopāla, etc. in his *Mantrapradīpa.* Vidyāpati's obeisance to Sāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa, shows that Mithilā, in the age of Vidyāpati, continued to worship Sāmba (*JBRS*—XLVIII). The Maithilas were conversant with the different forms of the Pañcarātra worship as is evident from the mention of the worship of Sālgrāma by Govindadatta. The writings of Govindadatta (*Govindamānasollāsa*), Bhairavasiṁha, Viṣṇupurī (*Bhaktiratnāvalī*) and Devanātha Śarmā (*Tantrakaumudī*) satisfied the religious needs of the Vaiṣṇavas in Mithilā. Maithila writers were influenced by the theme of the Bhāgavata and Viṣṇupurī, Vidyāpati and Raghupati Upādhyāya can

307. *JBORS*—III. 22–23.

be cited as examples (Cf. *Bhaktiratnāvalī* of Viṣṇupurī). Viṣṇupurī was a Maithila and he preached *bhakti* as the means of *advaitamukti*.

Mithilā and Bengal, though politically separate, were culturally connected. The influence of Jayadeva was immense on the life and culture of these provinces. *Gītagovinda* was in its early days the *Bible* of the Vaiṣṇava thinkers. [308] Vācaspati in his *Tithinirṇaya* [309] starts with an invocation of the *Parmātman* while most of his works are begun with an obeisance to Hari or Kṛṣṇa. [310] The Maithila king Bhairavendra had the *Viruda Harinārāyaṇa*. Vardhamāna in his *DV* has referred to *Rādhākṛṣṇa*. [311] Govindadatta's *Govindamānasollāsa* is yet another important evidence on the prevalence of Kṛṣṇa legend in Mithilā. The contemporaries of Vidyāpati have also paid obeisance to Viṣṇu, Hari and Kṛṣṇa in a reverential manner and the Kṛṣṇa legend was responsible for the output of a huge amount of literary works. Even Vidyāpati himself was aware of such legends as otherwise how could he be attracted towards it for his literary themes. Kṛṣṇa legend became the vehicle of his poetic excellence and that could not have reached perfection without his being conversant

308. P. D. Barthawāla—"हिन्दी काव्य में निर्गुण सम्प्रदाय" (लखनऊ—सं० २००७)—पृ० १३..... विपति में पड़े हुए हिन्दुओं ने..... एकमात्र आनन्द को प्राप्त करने के लिये... वे वैष्णव आचार्यों द्वारा प्रचारित इस भक्ति की धारा में उत्सुकता के साथ डुबकी लगाने लगे। इसका उद्रेक कवियों की मधुर वाणी में छलक-छलक कर बहने लगा··· जयदेव के राधा-माधव के क्रीड़ाकलापों की प्रतिध्वनि मैथिल कोकिल विद्यापति की कोमल कान्त पदावली में सुनाई दी।

309. Mitra—*Notices*—V. 149 No. 1139.

310. Kane—*op. cit.* I. 401.

311. सार्धं राधिकया वनेषु विहरंस्तस्याः कपोलस्थले
घर्माम्भोविसरं प्रसारिणमपाकर्त्तुं करेण स्पृशन्।
तत्र प्रस्तुतसात्विकाम्बुमिलनादोजायमाने जवा-
दव्याद्वो विफलप्रयासविकलो गोपालरूपो हरिः।

"May that Hari as Gopāla protect you, who, while moving with Rādhā in forest failed to wipe out the sweat on the cheers of Rādhā, because, Rādhā's sweat increased instead of lessening, due to the touch of the fingers of Kṛṣṇa."

fully with the Vaiṣṇava thought. A gloss over the *PP*[312] will acquaint the readers with a number of stray references about the Vaiṣṇava sect. The Puranic traditions about Mathurā and Dvārkā were known to him. The *PP* reveals to us the prevalence of the worship of *Nārāyaṇa* and *Lakṣmī*. In the *Bhūparikrama*, he chooses Balarāma, elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, as his hero. Had Vidyāpati been a believer in any other sect, he would have easily chosen another character of which there is no dearth in our legend. This particular point may help us in ascertaining his personal views and that stands all the more verified if we look to his copy of the *Bhāgavata*. Even when he was staying at Raja Banauli, he, of his own accord, copied the *Bhāgavata* and that amply demonstrates his personal inclination. He did it simply to console himself and he found solace in copying that *MS* in his own handwriting as that gave him an opportunity to enliven his association with the *Bhāgavata-līlā*. The spontaneous poems from his pen relate to the story of *Rādhākṛṣṇa* and nothing else. Vidyāpati's knowledge of the ancient Vaiṣṇava text is evident from a number of his lyrics and we can easily differentiate between the erotic and Vaiṣṇava hymns (Cf. *Bangiya Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā* B. S. 1363—PP. 153-166; 233-248; S. Jha—PP. 187-193). His erotic songs are sometimes secular and sometimes devotional. In composing devotional lyrics, Vidyāpati utilised his knowledge of Vaiṣṇava scriptures. Kṛṣṇa is also taken as an incarnation of Viṣṇu (S. Jha-90; *MM*—407).

It has been rightly surmised that the finest flowering of the Kṛṣṇa-cult in Bihar was in the poetry of Vidyāpati. The passionate encounters of *Rādhākṛṣṇa* take place against a background of great romantic beauty on the banks of the river Yamunā. According to the Vaiṣṇava thought, only love can produce the highest spirituality in man or woman and it does that best when it attains the utmost degree of intensification through the enhanced pain and pleasure of an illicit relationship. Ecstatic oneness is the highest in the Vaiṣṇava thought and that gives it a naturalness to make the greatest poetry out of it. His poetry is a green shot in the arid waste

312. *PP* (G)—Tales 7, 42, 25, 36, 43 and Page 123.

of devotional literature. The story, conceived by Vidyāpati, develops through six stages—*viz. Pūrvarāga* (Dawn of Love), *Dautya* (message), *Abhisāra* (tryst), *Saṁbhogamilana* (union), *Viraha* (separation) and *Bhāvasammilana* (re-union in spirit). [313]

The medieval age did not offer any practical solution of all problems and naturally disappointment prevailed all along. When the national vigour was at its lowest ebb, the people began to seek compensation in the worship of God. Islam had come to stay and its contact with Hinduism was responsible for new thoughts in literature and philosophy. Alberuni's [314] India presented a different picture altogether. Buddhist Tantricism held sway in Bengal, Jainism in Gujerat and Rajputana while the dominant creed of Hinduism, with Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa at its head, was prevalent in India. At one time a heterodox system, Vaiṣṇavism had earlier been appropriated by the Brāhmaṇas as their own with necessary rituals. The religious upheavels, set in motion by the *Bhakti* movement, culminated in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* which conceived of God as pure, free and omniscient and described at length the events of his incarnation, *Kṛṣṇa,* in order to stimulate the love. *While preaching for the spiritual emancipation of the individuals, it did not remove the chains of social slavery. Acting in consonance with one's own caste, prescription of idols and image worship and other technicalities failed to counteract the growing rigidity of either the caste or the priesthood.* The grandest description of Viṣṇu's universal forms and attributes in the *Gītā* and the allegorical legends relating to his various incarnations, no doubt, stimulated the creation of beautiful art objects in different forms and colour.[315]

Islam was essentially a religion centred upon this world and attached equal value to empirical and transcendental considerations. It brought a dynamic message of social democracy and taught men that equality and fraternity must

313. G. T. Garret—*The Legacy of India* (Oxford–1948)–P. 284 ff.

314. Sachau—*Alberuni*–Vol. I. P. XLVII.

315. Cf. M. N. Datta—*Bhāgvatpurāṇa*–Book XI; E. B. Havell–*Ideals of Indian Art.* P. 78.

be realised in this life. It had no priest-ridden society and no caste system and naturally, therefore, it shook Indian faith to its very foundation. The oppressed and the destitutes responded to the new appeal. The Muslim occupation did not mean any change to common man as to who ruled. The simple faith and democratic ideals of Islam infringed upon this society and produced a ferment. It insisted upon the superiority of man and declared him to be the lord of creation. This aspect of thinking greatly affected the Hindu thought and culture and we find an echo of this feeling in Vidyāpati and other contemporary Vaiṣṇava thinkers.[316] *Vidyāpati proclaimed that man was the highest truth and nothing was more essential than the realisation of the basic truth. It was therefore, in the field of Vaiṣṇavism that we find the fusion of two ways of thinking (Hindu and Muslim). The fusion was of the active mentality with a passive philosophy of illusion. The dullness of the medieval age and the emphasis on complete indifference to inequalities were removed to a certain extent, by the new Vaiṣṇava thinkers among the Hindus and the Sufis among the Muslims.*[317] According to Sufism, there was only one way to knowledge and it was here in India that popular Islam presented the most bewildering diversity of orders, rituals[318] and beliefs. North Bihar[319] was the centre of Sufism. The sufi saints had practically little *or* no concern with the ruling circle and they tried to pick up the language of the people, evinced partiality for India's

316. हे सखि मानुष जनम अनुप—Similar feelings have been expressed by Chaṇḍidāsa and Rabindranātha Tagore.

317. Sukumar Sen—*Bāṅglā Sahityer Itihāsa* (Calcutta–1948) PP. 279–306—Where he gives a brilliant exposition of Vaiṣṇavism and Sufism.

318. Cf. H. R. A. Gibb—*Mohammedanism* (London–1953) PP. 160–61; R. A. Nicholson—(i) *The Mysties of Islam* (London–1914); (ii) *The idea of personality in Sufism* (Cambridge–1923).

319. *Historical Miscellany* (Patna–1952) for Askari's article on Sufism—G. D. College Bulletin No. 4. (Edited by R. K. Coudhary)—Askari's article. Cf. *Sources of Indian Tradition*–Chapter on Sufism.

culture and manifested a liberal outlook. Sufi insistence on love influenced the Indian thinkers and since Vidyāpati had some association with the then Muslim rulers of Bengal and Jaunpur, we can not preclude the possibility of his living contact with the contemporary Sufi saints. Love became the central motif of the Vaiṣṇava faith, though it was not able to throw off its past shackles of surrender and subjection. Love was the path for spiritual salvation.

It is in this background that we should present our study of Vidyāpati's faith and his conception of *Bhakti* and *Mādhurya*. *Bhakti* is selfless devotion. It leads one to self realisation and destroys *Rajas* and *Tamas* qualities. It is one of the five means of concentrating mind on Hari.[320] The movement itself took its inspiration from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. A host of reformers preached a thorough reform in the conventional form of worship because that was shaken to its foundation by the Islamic impact. Vidyāpati was influenced by the contemporary reformers, though he was himself fully conversant with the Puranic conception of *Bhakti*.[321] The Puranic influence brought *Kṛṣṇa-līlā* to the forefront.[322] The advent of Islam acted as a catalytic agent which brought the loose elements together and gave birth to Vaiṣṇava poetry.

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320. V. R. Dikshitar—*Puranic Index*—II. 522.

321. S. S. Das—*Hindi Sāhitya*—PP. 273-74 (Prayag-1944)—"परन्तु विद्यापति पर माध्व सम्प्रदाय का ही ऋण नहीं है, उन्होंने विष्णुस्वामी तथा निम्बार्काचार्य के मतों का भी ग्रहण किया था। न तो भागवत पुराण में और न तो माध्व मत में ही राधा का उल्लेख किया गया है। कृष्ण के साथ विहार करनेवाली अनेक गोपियों में राधा भी हो सकती है, पर कृष्ण की चिरप्रेयसी के रूप में वे नहीं देख पड़ती। उन्हें यह रूप विष्णुस्वामी तथा निम्बार्क सम्प्रदायों में ही पहले पहल प्राप्त हुआ था··· निम्बार्क ने विष्णुस्वामी से भी अधिक दृढ़ता के साथ राधा की प्रतिष्ठा की और उन्हें अपने प्रियतम कृष्ण के साथ गोलोक में चिर निवास करनेवाली कहा। राधा का यही चरम उत्कर्ष है। विद्यापति ने राधा और कृष्ण की लीला का जो विशद् वर्णन किया है उस पर विष्णुस्वामी और निम्बार्क मतों का प्रभाव प्रत्यक्ष है।" इन्होंने विद्यापति को वैष्णव साहित्य का प्रथम कवि कहा है और साथ ही भक्ति काव्य का भी प्रथम कवि माना है।

322. लीलावत्तु कैवल्यम्—*i. e. Līlā is Mokṣa*—लीलायां एवं प्रयोजनत्वात्।

On the basis of the *Bhāgavata* and the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, the conception of love was interpreted as a mode of play. It was supposed to symbolise the creative power, though to a rational mind it appears like an adventure into the uncharted future from the certainities of his past and present. The greatest defect was that it did not overcome the philosophy of illusion. The only difference was that the old wine was now kept in a new bottle. The basis of the whole medieval religious reform was *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*. *Līlā* in the form of sports was first popularised by Jayadeva. [323] Through *Līlā*, *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa* legend was brought down to the level of the people. The whole theory of love came to be based upon the concept of love as existed between *Gopīs* and *Kṛṣṇa* or *Rādhā* with *Kṛṣṇa*. Grierson is of opinion that it dealt allegorically with relation of soul to God under the form of love which *Rādhā* bore to *Kṛṣṇa*. [324] Here *Rādhā* represented the soul, the *Dūti* (Messenger) and *Kṛṣṇa* the deity. [325] The immortality of Vidyāpati's *Rādhākṛṣṇa* songs [326] is an eloquent expression of his *Bhakti*. [327] By means of *līlā-Bhakti*, Vidyāpati wishes to attain communion with Hari.

The feeling of devotion or *Bhakti-rasa* comprises the following sentiments—*viz. Śānta*, (quiescent), *dāsya* (servantal), *sakhya* (friendly), *vātsalya* (filial) and *Mādhurya* (sweetness). The greatest depth of emotion is reached in sweet sentiments.

323. यदि हरिस्मरणे सरसं मनो, यदि विलासकलासु कुतूहलम् ।
मधुरकोमलकान्तपदावलीं, शृणु तदा जयदेवसरस्वतीम् ॥

324. *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*—PP. 9–10.

325. *JASB* (1882)—Part I. P. 29.

326. Beames—*Vidyāpati and his Contemporaries*—P. 31.

327. *MM*—No. 855–
माधव जाए केवाड़ छोड़ाओल, जाहि मन्दिर वसु राधा ।
चीर उघारि अधर मुख हेरल, चान उगलि छवि आधा ॥
चीर करपूर पान हम वासलि, और सांठल पकमाने ।
सगर रैनि हम वैसि गमाओल, खण्डित भेल मोर माने ॥
मथुरा नगर अटकि हम रहलहुँ, किअ न पठाओल दूती ।
माणिक एक माणिक दश पथरल, ओतहि रहल पहु सूतो ॥
कमल नयन कमलापति चुम्बित, कुम्भकरण समदापे ।
हरिक चरण धै गावथि विद्यापति, राधाकृष्ण विलापे ॥

An intimate personal tie is established between *Kṛṣṇa* and the devotee in his mental attitude. The *Madhura* or the *Śṛṅgārarasa* was pronounced to be the sweetest in the Vaiṣṇava faith. Among the several approaches to divine experience, the *Madhura* approach is estimated to rank very high. It restores the primitive unity and expresses not only a vital ideal but also a metaphysical fulfilment. Medieval poets were adept in sublimating the erotic sentiments and that is why, the *Madhurabhāva* is known as the psychology of eroticism.[328] The Vaiṣṇava poets drew largely upon the *Upaniṣads*, wherein the sweet sentiment between man and woman was recognised as the dominant influence.[329] *Śṛṅgārarasa* was regarded as capable of making the universe permeated by sweetness.[330] According to Abhinavagupta, the commentator on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (*GOS*-p. 269), love elicited a response in the heart of every living being. Vidyāpati took to *Madhurarasa* because it included all other *Rasas*.[331] Love and sweetness are the remarkable features of Vidyāpati's poetry and it is through these two media that the devotee hopes to attain God. Our poet's *Bhakti* was based mainly on the *Madhurarasa*. It is to *Rādhākṛṣṇa* that he diverted his attention for everything and it was his conviction that people attain their objectives by pinning unlimited faith in Kṛṣṇa. His ultimate faith is evinced by the fact that he, himself in the last part of his life, turned to Hari for guidance, nay for deliverance. It was devoid of all rituals. His influence on the later Vaiṣṇava literature is immense.[332] In Caṇḍīdāsa,

328. Cf. *Proceedings of the Indian Philosophical Congress* (Baroda–1953) PP. 311–315.

329. *Brt. Upn.* IV, 3, 21.

330. *Agnipurāṇa*–339, 11.

331. Cf. S. K. Chakravarti—*Vaiṣṇava Sāhitya*–P. 139; Also Gulab Rai–*Navarasa*–PP. 23–26.

332. S. K. Chakravarti—*ep. cit.*–PP. 210 and 247; D. C. Sen–*Bangabhāṣā O Sāhitya*—विरह ओ विरहान्तर मिलन वर्णनाय विद्यापति वैष्णव कविदेर अग्रगण्य ; Rabindranāth says—चण्डीदास गंभीर एवं व्याकुल, विद्यापति नवीन एवं मधुर । Cf. Chittaranjan Das—*Kāvyer Kathā*–PP. 36 and 40.

the erotic passions of *Kṛṣṇa* and *Rādhā* play a very prominent role. As a poet of beauty and pleasure, as Rabindranātha called him, Vidyāpati in his early youth wrote entirely secular lyrics nodoubt but his study of the *Purāṇas* and other Vaiṣṇava literature enabled him to identify himself with the wave of the age. After Jayadeva, he was the greatest master singer of the Vaiṣṇava philosophy and there are poems, without *bhaṇitās,* where *līlā* has been sung with full devotion. These songs epitomise his Vaiṣṇava leanings. [333] His description of the physical charms of *Rādhā* is indicative of the fact that he was highly impressed by the *Śakti* [334] form of *Rādhā. Rādhā* stood for energy. *Rādhā* is nothing but the transfiguration of the infinite potency of love contained in the very nature. Vidyāpati, through his poetry, ever longed for the opportunity of witnessing from a distance the eternal love-making of *Rādhā* and *Kṛṣṇa* in the supra-natural land of Vṛndābana. This eternal *līlā* is the eternal truth and a peep into it is the highest spiritual gain. [335]

There is unmistakable influence of Jayadeva on Vidyāpati. According to Jayadeva, Mādhava pleaded Anaṅga not to punish him by wrongly identifying him with Śiva (*Gītagovinda* III. 11) and a similar request to Anaṅga is made by Rādhā in one of the songs of Vidyāpati (*MM*—245). Both Jayadeva and Vidyāpati refer to the use of flute by Kṛṣṇa and both depict the intense love of Rādhā. Both are erotic poets. Being influenced by the Bhāgavata, our poet refers to the *mādhurya* aspect of Kṛṣṇa worship. While depicting the four hands of Murāri-Kṛṣṇa in one of his lyrics, our poet

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333. *MM*—P. 98; *Nos*–467 to 569; 719 to 757 (in all there are 195 such poems).

334. विदिता देवी विदिता हो, अविरल केस सोहन्ती ।
एकानेक सहस को धारिनि, अरि रंगा पुरनन्ती ॥
कज्जलरूप तुअ काली कहिओ, उजलरूप तुअ वानी ।
रविमण्डल परचण्डा कहिये, गंगा कहिये पानी ॥
ब्रह्माघर ब्रह्माणी कहिये, हरघर कहिये गौरी ।
नारायणघर कमला कहिये, के जान उतपत तोरी ॥

335. S. B. Dasgupta—*op. cit.* P. 145, Cf. *Padakalpataru*–Song No. 484.

says—"with one he pulls the hair; with the second he presses the neck; he puts over the temples of cheeks with his third hand and with fourth he touches the nipples of the breasts." (S. Jha P. 188). Kṛṣṇa was Hari and Mādhava and also a cowherd (S. Jha. No. 90). He cracks jokes with cowherds and has his sports with cowherdesses (*MM*—Nos. 473 and 477). Rādhā recognised the divinity of Kṛṣṇa (S. Jha—No. 14). Vidyāpati describes the constant association of Kṛṣṇa with Vṛndāvana. In one of his *padas*, he describes the *rāsalilā* after the *Bhāgavata* (*MM*—No. 110). His scheme of Rādhākṛṣṇa relationship was largely mystic-erotic. Amṛtakara describes the divine of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (Cf. *Rāgataraṅginī*—P. 85). Vidyāpati's daughter-in-law, Candrakalā, refers to the transcendental character of their amorous relationship (*Ibid*—pp. 53–54). Govindadāsa pays glowing tributes to Vidyāpati for his contribution to Vaiṣṇavism. Govindadāsa says—"Glorious is the wise poet, Vidyāpati, whose sweet songs, dealing with the exploits of Govinda and Rādhā (Gorī) have captivated the heart of the world" (S. Jha—P. 189). Though Vidyāpati recorded some advance in Vaiṣṇava philosophy, giving a new tinge, he should not be taken as a precursor of Vaiṣṇavism of the type we find in Bengal. He was essentialiy a poet of the people and wrote on diverse themes.

Vidyāpati believed in the unity of Godhead. He conceived of *Śakti* behind *Nārāyaṇa* as the nourisher and sustainer. He did not make any distinction between the Gods. [336] It

336. एक शरीर लेल दुई वास । खने वैकुण्ठ खनहि कैलाश ।
× × × ×
मन जयदेव हरिहर क दास । नीलकण्ठ हरि पुरथु आस ।
Cf. **कालिका पुराण**—अतस्त्वं च विधाता च तथाहमपि न पृथक् ।
गरुड़ पुराण (द्वितीय अध्याय)—अहं ध्यायामि तं विष्णुं परमात्मानमीश्वरम् ।
गंगा वाक्यावली—स्वस्त्यस्तु वस्तुहिनरश्मिभृतः प्रसादादेकं वपुः स्थितवतो हरिणा समेत्य ।
पुरुषपरीक्षा—विष्णुं केऽपि निवेदयन्ति गिरिजानाथञ्च केचित्तथा
ब्रह्माणं प्रभुमुल्लपन्ति भुवने नाम्नैव भिन्नम्महः ।
निर्णीतम्मुनिभिः सतर्कमतिभिश्चेद्विश्वमेकेश्वरं
तच्चिन्ता परमानसे त्वयि पुनर्भिन्ना कुतो भावना ॥
For a similar quotation Cf.–'विभागसार' ।

matters little by which name you call them. Vidyāpati has been generally described as *śaiva* and the conservative scholars of Mithilā fastidiously cling to this point merely on the ground that his ancestors were *Śaiva. All poems, written on palm-leaf, hitherto discovered are songs in praise of Rādhākṛṣṇa and not one of them deals with Śiva.* Similar is the case with the songs in the *Kīrtipatākā*. In the first nine pages of the manuscript of this book, the subject matter is love and amorous sports of Kṛṣṇa with Gopīs. According to Vidyāpati, love tempered with piety is ideal. His similes and metaphors are, nodoubt, brilliant poetic feats. He found spiritual satisfaction by writing Vaiṣṇava songs. The senses of sensuality and lust are redeemed by others and are platonic and spiritual.[337] He moves all day in the sunny grooves and floral meadows of the earth, but in the evening rises high and overtakes his fellow poet. He occupies a unique position among the singers of the Kṛṣṇa saga. Looking through the vista of centuries we see him standing in pure light as the guide and saviour of Vaiṣṇava faith. He founded no sect and laid down no dogmatic creed. Like other Vaiṣṇava singers, he conceived of the eternal love on the philosophy

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337. N. N. Das—*Vidyāpati Kāvyāloka*—P. 21;

(i) कि कहबु हे सखि आनन्द ओर, चिर दिन मन्दिर माधव मोर ।

(ii) भनहि विद्यापति सुनुवर जोवति, हरिक चरण करु सेवा ।

(iii) धन धन तोर भाग गोआलिन, हरि भजु हृदय हुलसिवा ।

(iv) कपटि तेज कहु भजह जे हरि सजे अन्तकाल होय ठाम हे ॥

Cf. D. C. Sen—*Madhyayuger Vaiṣṇava Sāhitya*—P. 149; D. C. Sen & K. N. Mitra—*Vaiṣṇava Padāvalī* (Calcutta-1930) Introduction—अवश्य विद्यापति ओ चण्डीदास गीति कविता साहित्येर अविंसवादित सम्राट । ···एई गीतिकाव्येर प्रधान श्रीराधाकृष्णेर प्रेम··· वैष्णव कविता नानारूप पार्थिव सौन्दर्येर पथ वाहिया चलियाछे किन्तु ताहार परमलक्ष्य सेइ अशेष दुरधिगम्य महासत्य । विद्यापति राधार मुखे बलितेछेन—हे कृष्ण ! तुमि आमार माथार फुल, चोखेर काजल, गलार मुक्ताहार, ताहा इहतेओ वेशी, तुमि आमार निकट पाखीर पाखा—तोमाके छाड़ा आमि ऐकेबारे अचल इइ—माझेर पक्षे जल याहा, तुमि आमार काछे ताहाइ, डाङ्गाय तुलिले से तखनई मरिया याय—आमि तोमावे सब दियाछि ।

Cf. S. B Dasgupta—*Rādhāra Kramika Vikāśa.*

of *Rādhākṛṣṇa*. The divine love is the most intense and most romantic where the two are the eternal enjoyers with the sole aim of realising infinite potency of bliss. That is why the songs of this master singer exercised potent influence on the different faiths of Eastern India. [338]

Even when he used the name of his patron in the *Bhaṇitās*, he did not forget his allegiance to Hari. [339] About half of his poems deal with the theme of *Rādhākṛṣṇa*. [340] His ultimate hope lay in Kṛṣṇa or Hari. Whenever he felt desperate and became morose, he kept his own feelings in the mouth of *Rādhā* [341] and expressed his oneness with Kṛṣṇa. Unless one is inspired by a particular faith, one can not display one's poetic excellence for a particular type of belief. It is true that there are two types of poems in his *Padāvalī viz.*— (i) gross sensual type which he wrote for pleasing his masters and (ii) highly intellectual and spiritual type which inspired the Vaiṣṇava poets like Caṇḍidāsa and Caitanya. Charm and grace of his poetry have been the subject of literary

338. Grierson—*LSI*–(Cal. 1927). Vol. I. Pt. I. Introduction. P. 149

339. *MM*—Nos–41–हरि सरीसे जगत आनिअ 89; 103; 185; 177—
माधव कठिन हृदय परवासी
तुअ पेयसि मोय देखल वियोगिनी, अवहु पलट घर जासी
हिमकर हेरि अवनत कर आनन, करु करुणापथ हेरी ॥ For a different reading–Cf. *Pada Kalpataru* No. 1879.

340. Some of his poems are purely secular. Thirty five poems refer to *Haragaurī* and *Gaṅgā* and more than half are devoted to *Radhākṛṣṇa*–Cf. *MM*–P. 93.

341. *MM*–No. 218–माधव देखल वियोगिनी बाने
अधर न हास विलास सखीसंग, अहनिस जप तुअ नामे ।
आनन सरद सुधाकर समतसु, बोले मधुर धुनि बानी ।
कोयल अरुन कमल कुम्भिआएल, देखिगव अ अइलहु जानी ।

× × × ×

रगड़ल चानन मृगमद कुंकुम समतेजल तुअ लागि ।
जनि जलहीन मीनजक फिरइछ, अहो निस रहइछ जागि ॥
Cf. No. 767–कि कहक ऐ सखि आनन्द ओर, चिरदिन माधव मन्दिर मोर । Caitanya is said to have fainted while singing this favourite song of Vidyāpati.

criticism but his platonic and spiritual themes have been the basis of higher thinking of the Vaiṣṇava philosophers. It was his association with the court that stood in his way of frank expression of thought, otherwise he was himself thoroughly identified with *Hari.*[342] *Hari* was the enlivening force for Vidyāpati.[343] The *Rāsalilā,* a patent story of the *Kṛṣṇa* legend, demonstrates the ideal of erotic relationship. Love takes the form of adventure.[344] Vidyāpati's wailing for *Mādhava* is a sign of poet's affectionate feeling for the Lord. His description of the wisdom of the *Gopīs* and Kṛṣṇa's anxiety for *Gopīs* in a dark rainy night are some of the places where the poet is at his best. His attachment with *Kṛṣṇa* is evident from the huge mass of his poetical writings. Sincerity

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342. *MM*–No. 543–दरसन लागि पुनए निते काम । अनुखन जपए तोहरि पए नाम
× × × ×
तुअ गुन बान्धल अछए परान । परवेदन देखि परनहिं जान ॥
No. 559–सरस मृनाल करइ जपमाली । अहनिस जपइरि नाम तोहारी ।

343. *Ibid*–No. 535–नाम लइत पिअ तोर । सर गदगद करु मोर
No. 554–कि कहब माधव ताही । तुअ गुने लुबुध सुगुधि मेल राही ।
× × × ×
केओ बोल आएल हरि । समरि उठलि चिरनाम सुपरी ।

344. *Ibid*—No. 478–मधुसूदन राधावन विहार । Cf. No. 482.
No. 479–कृष्ण राधा वन विहार ।
No. 480–देखि देखि माधव मन उलसन्त । विरदावन भेल वेकत वसन्त ।
× × × ×
दिसि दिसि संभमि विपिन निहारि । रास बुझावए मुदित मुरारि ।
भनइ विद्यापति ईरसगाव । राधा माधव अभिनव भाव ।
No. 335–झाँखथि देव बनमाली । एहि निसि कोने परि आओति गोयालो ।
भनइ विद्यापति बानी । तोहहु तह कान्ह नारी सयानी ।
No. 337–तइअओ चलल धनि तुअ गुनमने गुनि, तसु साहस नहि सीमा ।
× × × ×
तुअ अनुराग मधुरमते मातलि, किछु न गुनल वर नारि ।
Rādhā's restlessness for Kṛṣṇa and urge for union have been depicted in the following lines—
No. 539–कत दिन ताकब बाट, हे सखि रहला जमुना कघाट ।
ओतहि रहथु दृढ़ फेरि, हे सखि दरसन देथु एक बेरि ।
Also Cf. No. 546.

of feelings is not possible unless one has completely identified himself with the cause which is so dear to him. His poems manifest the actual extent of pangs experienced by his hero and heroine. *Rādhā* is attracted not by the physical beauty of *Kṛṣṇa* but by the qualities he possesses. *Rādhā's* longings for *Kṛṣṇa* have been picturesque and can be described as the spontaneous outflow of poet's own feelings. Through the *Bhāgavatabhakta-ratnākara,* we learn a good deal about the *Rādhākṛṣṇa* cult. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padāvalī* (Edited by S. K. De–Dacca–1934) gives a detailed account of the Krisnaite writings of the *Tairabhukti Bhaktas.* It clearly shows that the attitude towards the *Kṛṣṇa* cult in Mithilā and Bengal was almost the same. Govindadāsa and his brother Rāmadāsa[345] developed the Krisnaite theme in the field of drama and rare lyrical notes are found therein. Both Viṣṇupurī and Vidyāpati not only digested but developed the philosophy of the Vaiṣṇavas. Vaiṣṇavism was a faith with Vidyāpati. His aim was ultimate salvation. Caitanya did not care for *Mokṣa.*[346] According to Caitanya, services to *Kṛṣṇa* with all senses working in harmony constituted pure Bhakti and herein lay the distinction between Vidyāpati and Caitanya. It is true that Vidyāpati also identified and found himself lost in *Kṛṣṇa.* He ultimately sought refuge in him but with an eye on the theory of ultimate salvation. With a heritage of fatalistic philosophy of life in which ultimate salvation was the only objective, Vidyāpati could very well say—"thus far and no further." Vidyāpati was, nodoubt, forced by time and circumstances. In his last stage of life, he was confined more to a personal longing for a salvation than to a wider imagination.[347]

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345. Cf. आनन्द विजय (a drama). Cf. R.K. Choudhary–'*Sanskrit Drama in Mithilā.*'

346. चैतन्य Says—भक्ति मुक्ति सिद्धि काम सकलि अशान्त ।
× × × ×
आनुकूल्य सवेन्द्रिय कृष्णानुशीलन ।

347. *MM*–No. 757–अनुखन माधव माधव सुमरइत सुन्दर भेल मधाई ।
ओ निज भाव स्वभावहिं विसरल आपन गुण लुबधाई ॥
माधव अपरुव तोहर सिनेह ।
अपन विरहे अपनतनु जर जिवइते भेल संदेह ॥

Believer as he was in the unity of Godhead, he could make his both ends meet by proclaiming that there was no difference between *Hari* and *Hara* but even for his mental satisfaction he composed Vaiṣṇava *Bhajanas*. Vaiṣṇavism was his personal acquisition. The picture of *Rādhā Kṛṣṇa* is so deeply engrafted on his mind that he always likes to see *Kṛṣṇa* present before him. His longings and desires were unfulfilled

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भोरहि सहचरि कातरि दिठि हेरि छल छल लोचन पानि ।
अनुखन राधा राधा रटितहिं आधा आधा बापि ॥
राधा सञो जब पुनतहि माधव माधव सञो जब राधा ।
दारुन प्रेम तबहु नहिं टूटत बाढ़त विरह क बाधा ॥
दुहु दिसि दारू दहने जइसे दगधइ आकुल कीट परान ।
ऐसन वल्लभ हेरि सुधामुखि कवि विद्यापति भान ॥ Cf. *Bhāgavat* X. 3 —Also सूरदास ।

Ibid–No. 769–तातल सैकत वारि विन्दु सम, सुत मित्तरमनि समाजे ।
तोहे विसारि मनतोह समापलु, अब मझुहोब कोन काजे ॥
माधव हम परिणाम निराशा ।
तुहुँ जग तारन दीनदयामय, अतए तोहर विशुआसा ।
आध जनम हम निन्दगोङ्गायलु, जरा सिसुकत दिन गेला ।
निधुबने रमनि संग रसे मातलु, तोहे मजब कोन बेला ॥
कत चतुरानन मरि मरि जाओत, न तुआ आदि अवसाना ।
तोहे जनमि पुन तोहे समाओत, सागर लहर समाना ॥
भणये विद्यापति शेष समन भय, तुया बिनु गति नहिं आरा ।
आदि अनादि नाथ कहायसि भवतारन भार तोहारा ॥

Ibid–No. 771–माधव बहुत मिनति करि तोय ।
देइ तुलसी तिल देह समर्पिलुँ, दया जनि छाड़ब मोय ॥
गनइते दोस गुन लेसन पाओब, जब तुहुँ करबि विचार ।
तुहुँ जगन्नाथ जगते कहायसि, जग बाहिर नहिं मुञ छार ॥
किये मानुस पसु पाखिये जनमिये, अथवा कीट पतंग ।
करम विपाक गनागत पुनपुन, मनि रहु तुया परसंग ॥
भनइ विद्यापति अतिसय कातर, तरइते इह भव सिन्धु ।
तुआ पद पल्लव करि अवलम्बन, तिल एक देहु दिनबन्धु ॥

Cf. *Mādhuri* (July–1936)—Vidyāpati called a *Śākta*; H. P. Śāstrī called him a *Pañcadevopāsaka* (Introduction to *Kīrtilatā*–P. 19–Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Durgā and Sūrya); Cf. J. Miśra–*Vidyāpati* (Patna–1935)–Called him a monotheist, N. N. Gupta called him *Śaiva* (*Vidyāpatipadāvalī*–Introduction–P. 12) Shyamsundar Das–*Hindi Bhāsā Aur Sāhitya* (1932) calls him a Vaiṣṇava.

and thirst for *Kṛṣṇa* could never be quenched.[348] His constant faith in sin and other allied conventional philosophy is a part and parcel of his Vaiṣṇava songs. With the coming of salvation, he believes that all his sins will be washed away. He becomes conscious of the fact that on the day of Judgement, he is all alone and naturally, therefore, he returns to his only friend *Hari*, who is the destroyer of all sin.[349] *Hari* is the only solace and the last refuge. In the face of these evidences, it can be said with some amount of certainty that Vidyāpati was a Vaiṣṇava by faith and instinct. We can not call him a *Smārta Pañcadevopāsaka*, since there is no

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348. *Ibid*—No. 768—सखि हे कि पुछसि अनुभव मोय।
सोइ पिरीत अनुराग बखानइते, तिले तिले नूतन होय॥
जनम अवधि हम रूप निहारल, नयन न तिरपित भेल।
सोई मधुर बोल श्रवणहि सुनल, श्रुतिपथे परसन गेल॥
कत मधुयामिनी रभस गमाओल, न बुझल कैसन केल।
लाख लाखयुग हियहिये राखल, तैयो न हिय जुड़न गेल॥
यतयत रसिकजन रसे अनुमगन, अनुभव काहु न पेख।
विद्यापति कह प्राण जुड़ाइत, लाखे न मिलल एक॥

There is a good deal of controversy over the authorship of this poem. Dr. Śrīkumar Bandhopadhyaya in *Bangla Sāhityer Katha*—PP. 22–23. Says—"विद्यापति को छोड़कर किसी अन्य कवि को इसका रचयिता नहीं कहा जा सकता है··· कल्पना की विशाल, विश्वव्यापी, असीम काल में प्रसारित, सृष्टि रहस्योद्भेदकारी परिधि चण्डीदास वा ज्ञानदास में नहीं है (Cosmic imagination)। प्रेम की चिरन्तन अतृप्ति, आदर्श और वास्तव के बीच अनतिक्रम्य व्यवधान, सौन्दर्य के खण्डित आंशिक प्रकाश से उसका मूल प्रसवण की ओर दुरुह अभियान, रूप में रूपातीत की व्यंजना, अनायत्त की ओर व्याकुल हस्तप्रसारण··· प्रेमकी दुखगाह महिमा और आकर्षण का सूर इस कविता में इस आश्चर्यकारी रूप में अभिव्यक्त हुए हैं कि इन कारणों से पृथ्वी के श्रेष्ठ गीत समूह में इसको स्थान मिलना उपयुक्त है। कीट्स की सौन्दर्योपभोग अपरितृप्ति और शैली का आदर्श सन्धान में उर्द्धाभियान पिपासी हृदयावेग मानो इस महागीत में निविड़ एकात्मता में युक्त हो गये हैं।"
(Quoted in *MM*—P. 499).

349. *Ibid*—No. 770—जतने जतेक धनपाप बटोरलुँ, मेलि परिजने खाय।
मरन क बेरि हेरि कोई न पूछत, करम संग चलि जाय॥
हे हरि बन्दौ तुअ पदनाए।
तुअ पद परिहरि पाप पयोनिधि, पाप हर कोन उपाय॥

mention of Sūrya worship in his poems.[350] In assessing his personal faith, we should take into consideration only such palm leaf poems as are without *Bhaṇitās*. Worshipping ancestral deity is a part of household duty and holding a particular view is altogether a different thing. Perhaps this aspect is overlooked by those who try to prove him otherwise.

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350. *Ibid*—P. 86. There is no reference to sun worship anywhere in the Padāvali. Vidyāpati wrote on almost all of them except *Sūrya*, hut he did so at the instance of masters at the court. Left to himself, he would have devoted himself more and more to the singing of Kṛṣṇaite *Bhajanas*. Ramanath Jha in his Introduction to the *PP* (P. 57) says—"if there is any particular manifestation of the Almighty that Vidyāpati adored and paid devotion to, it was beyond doubt, Shiva." The above assertion is nothing more than a travesty of truth. Various incarnations of Viṣṇu were known in Mithilā before the advent of Vidyāpati and it was he who popularised the theme of Kṛṣṇa-Mādhava though differing from the Bhāgavata in many respects. Among all the writers on Vidyāpati, only *MM* and N. N. Das (*op. cit.* PP. 1–24) take a sober view of the whole thing and while the former is inclined to accept him as a Vaiṣṇava, the latter calls him a "वस्तुतंत्रवादी"—For other views of conventional type, Cf. S. N. Thakur—*op. cit.* PP. 157–181; U. Miśra–*op. cit.* PP. 184–87; Inspite of everything, it must be remembered that Vidyāpati was a believer in the unity of Godhead. Dr. Subhadra Jha, after examining all the theories hitherto advanced by different scholars, observes—"...all that we can say is that Vidyāpati was devoted to Viṣṇu also. We might be able to accept him as a Vaiṣṇava had we not come across texts where Vidyāpati is showing equal reverence to some other gods as well." (*The Songs of Vidyāpati*—Introduction–P. 72). Here it may be added that he has not added any new material to the existing stock of knowledge nor has he adduced any relevant arguments. If Vidyāpati wrote many other things which a Vaiṣṇava would not do, that was due to his association with the court and nothing else.

One can continue to be a Muslim and a communist at the same time. According to cultural tradition, he will continue to be a Muslim even after conversion to communist doctrine. What amount of *Siddhi* in *Śaiva* or *Śākta* cult he had acquired is yet a matter of conjecture, but his *Padāvalī* is before us for close and critical scrutiny. To say that his *Bhajanas* are not popular so he cannot be called a Vaiṣṇava is a vague argument and can be controverted like this—since there are practically no Buddhists in India, so there was no Buddhism at all. Buddhism, a living force for centuries, is not so now. Are we, therefore, to conclude that Buddha did not propagate Buddhism ? These types of conventional arguments do not stand in face of the evidences collated above. The unpopularity of Vaiṣṇava songs in Mithilā was due to her orthodox outlook. The wide prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism would have meant the end of a class who thrived on the possession of the socalled spiritual knowledge and guided the people at the altar of worship. When man can communicate with God without any medium, what is the necessity of a priest or the like. That is why the conservative people refused to make it popular. By checking the growth of Vaiṣṇava *Bhajanas,* they stood in the way of the development of the language of the people whose growth was already stunted and overshadowed the all pervading canvas of Sanskrit language. Sanskrit was the vehicle for predominating over the unlettered mass to whom knowledge in a sealed book was something like an inverted comma. In all states, the rising people's language had to face these difficulties. In Bengal, the Vaiṣṇava movement gave rise to Bengali language and literature alongside Sanskrit.

Any account of Vidyāpati's faith would remain incomplete without a reference to his treatment of the *Rādhākṛṣṇa* theme in the *Padāvalī*. In the presentation of this theme, Vidyāpati has displayed his originality and set a new line. There is difference between his theme and the *Bhāgavata* theme. Vidyāpati has twisted the story according to his convenience. The story begins with *Rādhā's Vayaḥ-sandhi. Rādhā,* according to our poet, is younger than *Kṛṣṇa.* The messengers talk

to *Rādhā* about *Kṛṣṇa* and vice-versa. Both of them see each other and thus begins the *Pūrva-rāga*. This first occasion was also caused through the attempts of the messenger. In this period of *Pūrvarāga*, the messenger depicts the beauty of each other to both of them. It is here that Vidyāpati, through various illustrations, and examples, paints different traits of *Rādhākṛṣṇa*. Then the stage is set ready for *Abhisāra* and the first meeting takes place. Rādhā narrates the experience of her first meeting with *Kṛṣṇa*. Then begins *Māna* and they meet again when *Kṛṣṇa* entreats *Rādhā*. *Abhisāra* goes on and they meet each other in the groves and while doing so, *Rādhā* is conscious of the unfavourable criticism of the society in which she lives. In the meantime. *Kṛṣṇa* informs Rādhā about his departure from Gokula to Mathurā. The event takes place and the pangs of separation become unbearable to both of them. Even with everything at her command, *Rādhā* does not feel happy and same is the case[351] with *Kṛṣṇa*. The go-betweens describe each other's feelings to them. Imaginary and real meetings take place. The meeting is generally on a mental plane and *Rādhā* feels satisfied.

The story, on the whole, is *Ekāṅgī* and the poet has taken only such episodes which he thought necessary for his poetic drama (Cf—*Gītināṭyakāra Vidyāpati*—published in Vol I of the Papers submitted to the All India Maithili writer's conference, Darbhanga—1956). Vidyāpati has changed the episode wherever necessary. It is said that when *Kṛṣṇa* went to Mathurā, the messenger took *Rādhā's* message to him and this is Vidyāpati's own innovation. He again brings *Kṛṣṇa* back from Mathurā and arranges a meeting between the two.

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351. करिधरि मथुरा अनुमति माँगल, ततहि पड़ल मुरझाय ।
× × ×
कठिन सरिर मोर तेइ चल आएल चित्त रहल सेइठामा ।
ता बिनु रात दिवस नहिं जानत ताहि रहल मन लागी ।
× × ×
दुइ एक दिवस निचय जायब परबोध न ताई ।
विद्यापति कह चित्त रहल तह प्रेम पिलाइब जाई ॥

The pangs of separation are gone. In the original story of the *Bhāgavata,* reference is made to *Gopīs* and not to *Rādhā* in particular. He has referred to *Uddhava,* but here, again, a departure has been made from the original story. The poet does not send him to *Braja.* From Vidyāpati's description of *Uddhava,* it appears that the poet was thoroughly acquainted with the original form of *Kṛṣṇa.*[352] *The originality of Vidyāpati lay in the fact the he took episodes for the theme of his poetry and succeeded in constructing a connected whole of a living story. He gave a new shape to the Kṛṣṇa episode and utilised his poetic genius in decorating it. It is actually here that his genius stood exposed.*

Vidyāpati has introduced Kṛṣṇa in his vigorous youth. Kṛṣṇa, introduced by Jayadeva, was brought to perfection by Vidyāpati.[353] Following S. K. De, Dr. J. K. Miśra has

352. ऊधव ! कब हमसों ब्रज जाइब ।
कब पितुनन्द यसोमति कोरेबसि फिरि माखन खाइब ।
Caturbhuja form of Kṛṣṇa—
एक गह चिकुर दोसर गह गाम । तिसर चिबुक चउठे कुच सीम ॥
निबिबन्ध फोयक नहिं अवकास । पानी पचमक बाढ़ल आस ॥

353. (i) *Kṛṣṇa's features*—
अभिनव जलधर सुन्दर देह । पीतवसन जनि दामिनी रेह ।
सामर झामर कुटिलहि केस । काजर साजल मदन सुवेस ॥
(ii) *Pūrvarāga*—नन्दनक नन्दन कदमक तरुतरे धिरे धिरे मुरलि बजाय ।
समय संकेत निकेतनि बइसलि बेरि बेरि बोलि पठाय ॥
सामरी तोरा लागि अनुछल बिकल मुरारि ॥
जमुनक तीर उपवन उदबेगल फिरि फिरि ततहि निहारि ॥
गोरस बेचन अवइत जाइत जनि जनि पुछे बन मारि ॥
There is no reference to this aspect in Jayadeva.
(iii) *Kṛṣṇa as a hero*—
एक दिन हेरि हेरि हँसि हँसि जाय । अरु दिन नाम धरि मुरलि बजाय ॥
आज अति नियरे करल परिहास । कए जानिए गोकुल केकर बिलास ॥
सजनी हे नागर सामराज । मुल बिनु परधन माँगे बेआज ।
परिचय नहिं देखी आन काज । ना करे सम्भ्रम ना करे लाज ॥
(iv) *Bṛndābana Kṛṣṇa*—
लखिल नहे रूप लखिल नय । सकल अंगे तेय दिनयान होय ॥
× × × ×
विद्यापति कह कि बलिब आर ! सुन कएल बिहि मदन भाण्डार ॥
For an exhaustive discussion on the subject. Cf. Dakṣiṇā-rañjan Ghosh—*Vaiṣṇava Gītāñjali*-(Calcutta B. S. 1331) PP. 1–50. There is a good discussion on Vaiṣṇavism in this book.

observed that Vidyāpati, inspite of his deep study of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, in his treatment fundamentally differed from it.[354] According to Dr. Miśra, Vidyāpati was largely influenced by Jayadeva and the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*. A great poet generally takes clue from different sources and constructs the story in his own way. Kālidāsa's *Ābhijñana-Śākuntalaṁ* is a living example of this type where Kālidāsa is at his best though he was indebted to the *Mahābhārata* for his story. Vidyāpati's deep feelings, expressed in connection with the *Kṛṣṇa* cult, were based on the actual experience of life and were not merely the result of a feeling for poetry as some writers would have us believe. The poignant and deep feelings of separation are unique.[355] *Rādhā's* love attainment, at a particular moment, reaches perfection to a degree, unheard of, so much so that the poet pictures *'Viparitarati'* in the coming of a *pralaya*.[356] Lila Roy observed that Vidyāpati's poetry was comparatively but frequently obscure.[357]

354. Cf. *HMT*—I. PP. 160-61; S. K. De—*Vaiṣṇavism* P. 1, fn. 1; PP. 7-10; P. 412. Cf. Devānand—*Uṣāharaṇa*.

355. अंकुर तपन ताप जदि जारब, कि करब वारिद मेहे।
ई नव यौवन विरह गमाएब, कि करब से पिया नेहे॥
हरि हरि कि इह दैव दुरासा॥
सिन्धु निकट जदि कंठ सुखाएब, के दुर करब पियासा।
चन्दन तरु जब सौरभ छोड़ब, ससिधर बरखब आगि।
चिन्तामनि ज गुण छोड़ब, को मोर करम अभागि॥
साओन माह घन बिन्दु न बरखिय, सुरतरु बाँझ कि छाँदे।

356. सखि हे कि कहब किछु नहिं फूरे।
सपन कि परतेक कहएन पारिय किय नियर किय दूरे॥
तड़ितलता तले जलद सभाँरल आँतरे सुरसरि धारा।
तरल तिमिर शशि सूर गरासल चौदिश खसि पड़ु तारा॥
अम्बर खसल धराधर उलटल धरणि डगमग डोले।
खरतर बेग समीरण सञ्चरु चंचरि गण करु रोले॥
प्रणय पयोधि जले तन झाँपल ई नहि युग अवसाने।
के विपरीत कथा पति आएत कवि विद्यापति माने॥
In *MM*—No. 704. In the first line, there is—
सखि हे कि कहब नाहिक ओर।

357. *Bengali Literature* (P. E. N. Bombay); Cf. R. K. Choudhary—*Maithili Sāhityika Nibandhāvalī*—Chapter on Vidyāpati.

Vidyāpati expressed everything in artistic and musical language which stirred Rabindranātha's youthful imagination and in the words of *Gurudeva*—"His poems and songs were one of the earliest delights that stirred my youthful imagination and I even had the privilege of setting one of them to music." [358] Vidyāpati succeeded in painting nature in the background of human emotions.

All these bear the stamp of his sincerity born of actual experience and they are recorded with force and vigour. His joy knew no bounds when he sang about *Kṛṣṇa's* sports with *Rādhā*, beginning from longing right down to the stage of conciliation. Human touches are always there. Even when there is repetition of facts, freshness of beauty is not absent. He was a marvellous poet of love. Like a gardener, he succeeded in weaving out a beautiful garland of songs. Like other Vaiṣṇava poets, Vidyāpati longed for the opportunity of witnessing from a distance the eternal love sports of *Rādhākṛṣṇa*. He enjoyed the eternal *līlā* in the eternal youth and he aspired to have a peep into that eternal [359]

358. Rabindranātha Tagore's letter to Śri Narendranātha Dass, dated, the 23nd. November, 1937.

359. Cf. *Padakalpataru*—No. 484—दुहु जन आकुल दुहु करु कोर
दुहु दरसने विद्यापति भोर।

H. P. Śāstri Says—विद्यापति वहिर्ज्जगत तइ दूआ क अन्तर्ज्जगतइआक सुन्दर सुन्दर जिनिस विछिया लइया, साजाइवार समय से गुलिके सुन्दरतर सुन्दरतम करिया तुलिया छेन।

Rabindranātha Tagore—*Ādhunika Sāhitya*—"विद्यापतिर कविताय प्रेमेर भंगी, प्रेमेर नृत्य, प्रेमेर चाञ्चल्य·····एई जन्य छन्द, संगीत एवं विचित्र रंगे विद्यापतिर पद एमन परिपूर्ण·····

Vidyāpati's description of the Vibrations of Rādhā's heart—
हे सखि हमर दुखक नहिं ओर।
ई भर बादर माह भादर शून्य मंदिर मोर।
झम्पिघन गरजन्ति सन्तति भूवन भरि बरखन्तिया।
कन्त पाहुन कामदारुण सघने खरशर हन्तिया॥
कुलिश कतशत पातमोदित मयुर नाचत मातिया।
मत्त दादुर डाके डाहुकि फाटि जायत छातिया॥
तिमिर दिगभरि घोर यामिनी अथिर विजुरिक पाँतिया।
विद्यापति कह कैसे गमाओब, हरि बिना दिन रातिया॥

sport. Posterity remembers Vidyāpati for his love-lyrics attributed to *Rādhākṛṣṇa* and he, thereby, proclaimed that *"God is love."* In the words of Grierson—"God is love" is alike the motto of the eastern and of the western worlds..... The

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Cf. *PIHC*–VI. 237. Vidyāpati has been described as a *Yuga-dharmānusāsan Kavi* whose aim was लोकरञ्जन, by Pandit Rāmāvatāra Śarma in his भारतीय ईश्वरवाद, 518.

Cf. Rabindranātha—तुम यदि न दाओ देखा, करो आमाय हेला।
के मनकरे काटबे आमार एमन बादल वेला॥

Describing *Māna*—Vidyāpati sings (*MM*–No. 442)—
मानिनी आब उचित नहिं मान।
एखनुक रंग एहन सन लगइछ जागल पए पंचबानी।
जूड़ि रयनि चकमक कर चाँदनि एहव समय नहिं आन।
एहि अवसर पिय मिलन जेहन सुख जकरहि हो से जान॥
रभसि रभसि अलि बिलसि विलसि करि जेकर अधर मधुपाने।
अपन अपन पहु सबहुँ जेमाओल भूखउ तुअ यजमान॥
त्रिबलि तिरंगि सितासित संगम उरज सम्भु निरमान।
आरति पति मंगइछ परतिग्रह करुधनि सरबस दान॥
दीप दीपक देखि थिर न रहए मन दृढ़ करु अपन गेआन।
संचित मदन वेदन अतिदारुण कवि विद्यापति मान॥

Cf. For a similar feeling in Chaṇḍidāsa—
एखन कोकिल आसिया करुक गान, भ्रमरा धरुक ताहार तान
मलय पवन बहुक बन्द, गगन उदय हउक चन्द।

About the above poem of Vidyāpati, S. K. Chakravarti (*op. cit.* P. 240) Says—"एई पदेर तुलना जगतेर गीत साहित्ये जगते कोथायओ मिलेना"—

Describing the *Viraha*, Vidyāpati says (*MM*–No. 766)—
आज रजनी हम भागे पोहायलु, पेखलुँ पिया मुख चंदा।
जीवन जौवन सफल करि मानलुँ, दसदिस भेल निरदन्दा॥
आज मझुगेह गेह करि मानलुँ, आज मझु देह भेल देहा।
आज विहि मोहे अनुकूल होयल, टुटल सबहुँ सन्देहा॥
सोई कोकिल लाख डाकउ, लाख उदय करु चंदा।
पाँच बान अब लाख बान होउ, मलय पवन बहु मंदा॥
अवहन यबहुँ मोहे परि होयत, तबहि मानब निज देहा।
विद्यापति कह भागिनह, धनि धनि तुआ तब नेहा॥

These extensive quotations bave been given just to give an idea about Vidyāpati's philosophy of love. His indebtedness to old Sanskrit poets and dramatists is evident from his poetry.

warmer climates of the tropical countries have led the seekers after truth to compare the love of the worshipper for the worshipped to be that of supreme mistress *Rādhā* for her supreme lord *Kṛṣṇa*. It is true that it is hard for a western mind to grasp the idea, but let us not, therefore, hastily condemn it; the glowing stanzas of Vidyāpati are read by the devout Hindu with as little of the baser part of human sensuousness, as the song of Solomon is by the christian priest."[360] These *Vaiṣṇava bhajanas* inspired the people with a new hope. It was ultimately Caitanya who immortalised Vidyāpati's songs. The later Vaiṣṇava singers of eastern India, as a whole, claimed Vidyāpati as their own. It was not the sensous part of his poetry that made him so popular in these days but the aspects of eternal truth embodied in his poems. While all other writings have passed into oblivion, his charming *Padāvalī* is yet honoured and is one of the finest treasures of the Maithili literature.

Other minor cults

Like various other cults, Mithilā seems to have been associated with the *Nātha* cult during the period under review. The tradition of the *Siddhas* had not yet died out and Dharmasvāmī bears testimony to this fact. Various cults had, by now, got mixed up with the *Tāntric* and *Śaivite*. There are *Yogins* of these cults even today and some of them have the air of

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Vidyāpati utilised his knowledge of Sanskrit in flowery style of poetry and a comprehensive study of these aspects has been nicely presented by Śrī N. N. Dās in his *Vidyāpati Kāvyaloka*, a work which has not yet been surpassed. Cf. *PIHC*—VI. 237; Rāmāvatar Śarmā–भारतीय ईश्वरवाद, P. 518 ff.

360. *JASB* (1882) Part I. P. 36.
Cf. *Bible*—Let him Kiss me with the Kisses of his mouth.

.....he shall lie all night hetwixt my breasts
His left hand is under my head
and his right hand doth embrace me.

According to Browning, when passion and Philosophy meet in a single individual, we have a great poet and judged from this standard, Vidyāpati was really a great poet. Cf. *MM*–P. 124 for the chart showing the use of Kṛṣṇa's various names.

Śaivism in them. Mostly *nātha* cult temples were converted into *Śaivite* ones. Since *Śiva* is considered to be the highest *Yogi*, followers of the Nātha cult dress themselves in that fashion.[361] The Nātha cult has many thing in common with the Buddhist and Hindu Tantra, rather they are common to all esoteric *Yogic* schools, *that is*, the culture of body through the process of *Haṭhayoga*. The *Nātha Yogins* frequently use the mystic sound of *Vama-Vama* and that goes to show that though associated with the Tantric Buddhism, they had an air of Śaivism. The *Vallālacarita* refers to *Rudrajabrāhmaṇa* (*i.e.* Brāhmaṇas deriving their origin from *Rudra* or *Śiva*). Matsyendranātha, the founder of the *Nātha* cult, is deified in Nepal as *Avalokiteśvara*, and in Tibet with *Luipā*, the first among the Buddhist *Siddhācāryas*. According to S. C. Das, Gorakṣa was the founder of the *Nātha* cult.[362] From the list of eighty-four *Siddhas*, it appears that they are anomalous lists containing names of many Buddhist *Siddhācāryas*. The tradition is referred to in the *Nātha* literature and *Santa* literature of northern India. *Eighty-four is rather a mystic number. The mystic nature of eighty-four is also the accepted number of Yogic postures. The Skandapurāṇa also gives a detailed description of eighty-four Śivaliṅgas in eighty-four consecutive chapters and side by side we find the tradition of nine Nāthas.*[363] In a well known poem of Govindadāsa, there is a reference to this cult. Kṛṣṇa disguised himself as a *Kaṇaphaṭakā yogi* to propitiate *Rādhā* who had got angry with

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361. For details—Cf. (i) H. P. Śāstri—*Bauddha Gāna O Dohā*; (ii) Sukar Muhammad—*Gopichandrer Sanyāsa*; (iii) N. K. Bhattasali—*Mayanāmatir Gāna*; (iv) H. P. Dwivedi—*The Nātha Sampradāya* (v) R. Sānkritāyana—*Purātattva nibhandhāvali*.

362. *Pag Sam Jon Zang*—Index—P. IX; Cf. Iyengar—*Haṭhayogapradīpika* 1. verse 5–9.

363. Cf. *Kalyāṇa*—Yogānka Number; Dr. Shahidulla's introduction to *Śūnyapurāṇa* PP. 3–4; *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* of B. S. 1329; 1331; 1341–; M. Abdul Karim has compiled a collection of Songs entitled *Gorakṣa Vijaya*–; Briggs–*Gorakhanāth & the Kaṇaphaṭayogi*.

him. He went as a *yogin* to *Rādhā's* house explaining the name of *Gorakha* and blowing the horn. [364]

The *Nāthās* are also associated with the Tantric texts. Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka* refers to *Machchanda-vibhu* (Machandara). In a work, entitled, *Gorakṣa-Siddhānta-Saṁgraha,* many orthodox schools have been severely criticised and the supremacy of the *Yoga* school has been established (Cf. Gopinātha Kavirāja's edition). The tradition of the eighty-four *Siddhas* is very important inasmuch as the tradition is found frequently mentioned in the Vernacular literature. The *VR* enumerates a list of eighty-four *Siddhas,* though actually there are only seventy six names—Silanātha, Gorakṣanātha, Chauraṅginātha, Chāmārinātha, Tantipā, Halipā, Kedāripā, Ḍhoṅgapā, Dāripā, Virupā, Kapālī, Kamārī, Kāṁhakaṇa, Khala, Meṣala, Unmana, Kāntali, Dhovi, Jālandhara, Ḍoṅgī, Makhavaha (= Saraha), Nāgārajuna, Daulī, Bhiṣaṇi, Achiti, Champaka, Medini, Cheṇṭasa, Bhūsurī, Dhākali, Kūjī, Charppaṭi, Bhāde, Chāndana, Kāmari, Karvata, Dharmapā, Pataṅgabhadra, Pātalibhadra, Pālihita, Bhāṇḍa, Mino, Nirddaya, Savara, Sānti, Bhartṛhari, Bhisana, Bhaṭi, Gagaṇapā, Gamāra, Meṇḍrā, Kumārī, Jivana, Aghosādhara, Girivara, Siyarī, Nāgavāli, -dhibharaha, Sāraṅga, Magaradhaja, Achita, Vichita, Nevaka, Chātala, Nāyana, Bhīlo, Pāhila, Pāsala, Kamala, Kaṁgāri, Chipila, Govinda, Bhīma, Bhairava, Bhadra-Bhramari, Bhūrukuṭi—(PP. 57–58). Some of the names of the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* (Chapter I–verses 5–9) are common. Albert Gruendel & Rahul Sankrityayan have given a full list of these eighty-four *Siddhas.* In the *Tantramahārṇava,* eight *nāthas* are said to be residing in eight directions and they are—Gorakhanātha (east), Jālandhara (north), Nāgārjuna, (in the south), Dattātreya (west), Devadatta (South west), Jaḍa Bharata (North-west), Ādinātha (Midland) and Matsyendranātha (South-east). The Kāpālika school was introduced by the *Nāthas* and there are twelve of them, *viz.*— Ādinātha, Anādi, Kāla, Vaikālika, Karāla, Vikarāla, Mahākāla, Kāla-Bhairavanātha, Vaṭuka, Bhūtanātha, Vīranātha and

364. *Vaiṣṇava Padāvali* (Vasumati edition)–P. 234. Cf. Mohan Singh–*Gorakhnātha & Medieval Hindu Mysticism.*

Śrīkaṇṭha. Twelve *mārga pravartakas* are—Nāgarjuna, Jaḍa Bharata, Hariścandra, Satyanātha, Bhīmanātha, Gorakṣa, Carpaṭa, Avadya, Vairāgya, Kaṇṭhādhari, Jālandhara and Malayārjuna (Cf. *Gorakṣa Siddhānta Saṁgraha*). The conflicting evidences are so confused that it is difficult to make out a connected story of the whole thing.

Vidyāpati, in his *Gorakṣavijaya* (a drama), has brought out the following story. The traditional story how Matsyendranātha, the preceptor of Yogi Gorakṣnātha, was brought back to the path of *Yoga* by his disciple, Gorakhanātha and his friend Kananipāda. In the *Maithila* tradition, it is interesting to note that Mīnanātha and Matsyendranātha are identical and that the son of Matsyendranātha, killed by Gorakṣanātha, was called Bauddhanātha or Rudranātha. The play, in itself, is very interesting. Matsyendranātha becomes a king and is engrossed in worldly pleasures. His disciples, Gorakhanātha and Kananipāda, go on searching [365] him. The two *yogīs* had supernatural powers and in disguise of dancers they show excellent poses and sing charming songs. Matsyendranātha, however, learns that these yogīs (who were really his *Śiṣyas*) were responsible for the death of his son. On being threatened with death, they with the aid of supernatural power, bring king's son back to life and king's joy knew no bounds. It is then that Gorakhanātha is recognised and Matsyendranātha realises what power he had lost by becoming a king. Gorakhanātha rebukes the king for his engrossment in worldly pleasures and ultimately Matsyendranātha leaves the palace and joins the path of spiritualism or the *yoga*. It has been held that Gorakhanātha was influenced by the writings of the *Siddha* poets of Bihar. Bihar served as a link between Rājasthān and the Punjab on the one hand and Bengal on the other. The *Siddha* tradition was not forgotten in Mithilā and their rhymes appear to have influenced Vidyāpati. [366] The Nātha cult seems to have been well-established in popular estimation and had been

365. Cf. *Song* No. 4.

366. Cf. *BTA*-357.

ingratiating itself with the orthodox by its frank and open allegiance to Śiva and other Yoga practice.[367] The popularity of the *Nātha* cult is also attested by frequent references to it in the Persian and Hindi writings of the Sufi saints of Bihar, specially in the *Mirgāvati* of Sheikh Qutban. The *Nāthas* were, in one way or the other, connected with Śaivism and the practice of Yoga was an important feature of this cult. Śiva has been described as Kapālī in the *VR* (P. 58).

An overall survey of the religious condition of the period under review reveals to us that *Śaivism, Śāktism, Vaiṣṇavism* and other minor cults (such as *Nātha,* snake worship, tree worship, etc.) were prevalent in Mithilā. Worship of Śiva image and *Liṅga* was popular (Cf. the *Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla*). Images of *Umā-Māheśvara* and *Śiva-Pārvatī* in amorous poses are abundantly found in Mithilā. The worship of the *Pāśupata* sect of Śaivism was not unknown. The whole family of Śiva has been immortalised by Vidyāpati. The worship of *Mahiṣamardinī Durgā* (Cf. my article in the JBRS—XLIII) and Saptamātṛkās was also very popular. The *Dūrgā pujā* was ceremoniously observed throughout Mithilā. The cult of mother goddess was very popular. *Viṣṇu* and *Lakṣmī* formed an integral part of the cult of Vaiṣṇavism and gradually Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and other incarnations of Viṣṇu were absorbed in this fold. Viṣṇu's association with Lakṣmī is evident from Bhagwānpur sculpture whereas Viṣṇu's standard eagle is seen through the remains discovered at *Āsī* (Matiāhi). Though sun images and temple have come to light, sun worship does not seem to have been very popular. As opposed to this, the popularity of snake worship was greater as will be evident from the huge mass of folk-songs associated with *Behulā.* Manasā was worshipped in Bihar, specialy in its northern part. Throughout the month of Śrāvaṇa, the people gather together and indulge in singing, dancing and worshipping Lakhindar and Behulā. The antiquity may be traced back to the medieval period and Vidyāpati's *Vyādi-Bhakti-Taraṅgiṇī* refers to *Manasā* worship. According

367. *Ibid*—411.

to G. C. Basu, the popular story current in Bengal was adopted by the people of Mithilā...a local tradition was formed or the same story was prevalent in Mithilā from older days (Cf. *New Indian Antiquary* Vol. III. Nos. 3 and 4, 1944, pp. 49–57). Sukumar Sen in his introduction to Bipradāsa also supports the contention that Vidyāpati was the author of the above mentioned book. Buddhists were in a minority. The sacrifice in the name of Tantric mother goddess was popular. Circular square or triangular maṇḍalas were made in the embers of the sacrificial fires. All important religious ceremonies were observed and on all auspicious occasions people visited important *Tīrthas* or places of pilgrimage, a list of which has already been appended earlier. Religious toleration was there.

IV

Art and Architecture

Introductory—

Like all other aspects of life, art, in India, has been intimately connected with religion. The *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa,* in a pregnant passage, says—"*Mūrti* (image of art and religion), the wife of *Dharma* (the principle underlying Order in the cosmos and the human social structure) is form, luminous and charming." The concept is symbolised in the female deity, so often seen in Indian art, the transcendental power or *Śakti.* Art does not admit of any precise analysis, though it is the vehicle of abiding values that civilisation creates and nurtures in different epochs. Art depicts the deepest instinct and aims at the reconciliation of emotion and experience. Indian art has always been dominated by the idea of the unity of life and all its symbols stand for some metaphysical meaning. A proper study of art is closely linked up with the study of history.[368] It has been rightly held that art lifts the individual to the universal through the visions of one in the many and according to the *Viṣṇudharmottara,* the universal is given artistic representation. It

368. For details—Cf. Radhakamal Mukherjee—*The Social Function of Art* (Bombay 1951) and also–Cf. A. Mukherji—*Folk Art of Bengal.*

says—"Worship and contemplation are possible only when he (worshipper) is endowed with form because human beings are limited and finite." Art is an integrated and total experience brought about by the fusion of individual feelings and striving with social values, judgement and experience. Art is conditioned by moral, religious and economic values. *The distribution of surplus wealth and leisure and the relation of social classes to each other largely define the forms and emotional contents of art.* We see that in Islam the logical consequence of the absolute unity and omnipotence of God was incompatible with His representation in material objects. The Islamic prohibition of paintings led to the development of geometrical and decorative art.[369] *Each distinctive social system has its own characteristic art form.* True art expresses the valuable ideas of a national culture. *The art of upper class and the art of the people represent difference in style and technique.*[370]

The whole of north-eastern India was noted for its artistic contribution so much so that it developed a new school of its own, popularly known as medieval school of eastern sculpture. Under the Pālas, the eastern school of sculpture blossomed into a prolific elegance and ornamentation. Under the Karṇāṭas and the Oinwāras, *new cultural forms took shape and they are the most distinct ingredients of the present day culture of Mithilā.* Under them, music, dramaturgy and literary forms acquired a bewilderingly rich variety. A lyrical and colourful stream of music and fine art flowed uninterruptedly in Mithila during the period under review. A wave of popular Hinduism in the form of Bhāgavata creed and saivism was refleeted in drama, song and dance and in the festivities, domestic rituals and folklore of the common people. Art under the Pālas was sophisticated and ornamental but almost parallel with it, pottery, textile, printing, painting on walls and various domestic crafts grew up under the influence of popular Hinduism.

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369. R. K. Mukherji—*op. cit.* P. 14.

370. *Ibid*—205.

The sculptures in bronze, stone, ivory, etc. have been found in abundance in Bihar. The theme, on those sculptures, is predominantly religious but undue importance to sex aspect can not be ignored. Indian thought generally takes a much wider view of art. Beauty, according to the Indian philosophical concept, is subjective and not objective. It belongs only to spirit and can only be apprehended by spiritual vision.[371] Art reveals life and soul within the matter. The images of *Trimūrti* are not rare in Mithilā and each aspect of *Trimūrti* is correlated to *Puruṣa-Prakṛti-Brahmā*, Śiva representing truth, Viṣṇu representing equilibrium and rhythm and *Śiva* representing the power of regeneration. The Hindus had *Śiva-Pārvatī* as the vehicle of their expression in art and the Buddhists, in order to satisfy their sexual obsessions, dragged Buddha from the noble height to his new role *Vajradhara* (holder of *Vajrayāna*) and united him with a female *Śakti* (*Prajñāpāramitā*) and called this union *'Samputayoga.'*[372] The *Sādhanamālā* of the 12th century A.D. strictly enjoined to conceive of the female partner in this *Yoga* as a young woman of the most exquisite beauty and has also given her qualities.[373] The Tāntric mode of *Śakti* worship in Mithilā was largely influenced by Buddhism. The most popular form of the combination of *Śiva-Pārvatī* is the *Sukhāsana* pose (cf. Images discoverd at Jayamaṅgalāgarh—*G. D. College Bulletin No. 2*) whose beginning can be traced to the early Pāla period.[374] The *Matsyapurāṇa* gives a detailed prescription for carrying the image of *Śiva-Pārvatī* in amour.[375] Four images, conceived in accordance with the above prescription, have been reproduced by the late R. D. Banerjee.[376] Some such images discovered in Bihar are preserved in the Patna Museum.

371. Havell—*The Ideals of Indian Art* (London 1920) P. 23–24.

372. B. Bhattacharya—*Buddhist Iconography*.

373. *Ibid*—PP. 106, 108, 109, 110, 111.

374. R. D. Banerjee—*Eastern School of Medieval Sculpture*—P. 111. Similar images have been discovered at Srinagar (Saharsa).

375. *Matsya*-P. *Adhyāya* 260; 12–19.

376. *op. cit.* Plates LV–a, b, c and LIV-d; Cf. T. A. Gopinātha Rao—*Hindu Iconography*-Vol. I. Plate LXXIV; Vol. II. Plate LXXIV. for similar images from Rajputana and south.

Though not exactly rare, the amorous image of *Śiva-Pārvatī* is very rare. *Pārvatī* with her hand placed on the right shoulder of her consort is seen sitting on the left thigh of *Śiva* in a *Sukhāsana* pose. *Śiva* is seen closely embracing *Pārvatī* with front left hand on her breast. The amorous portrayal of *Śiva-Pārvatī* seems to have been a regular feature of the artists for centuries. One of the most ancient symbols of Hinduism is the four headed *Liṅgam* (one such image of immense importance is to be seen at *Bheeṭha,* near Naulāgarh, [377] Begusarai). The four heads are those of the four central deities of the Hindu pantheon. Vidyāpati's description of the different poses of *Śiva'* are interesting. Cobra has been represented as *Śiva's* special emblem because its spiral coil is taken as the symbol of the principle of cosmic evolution, or of life. The deadly poison contained in its fangs represented the principle or involution or death and its habits of shedding its skin periodically was a symbol of re-incarnation or re-birth. Śiva's *Vāhana,* Bull or *Nandī* (specimens of which have been found at numerous places in Mithilā) carried the sacrificial wood and symbolised his generative force. On the spiritual plane *Nandī* represents *Dharma.* Śiva's *tāṇḍava* performed on the prostrate body of the demon dwarf, *Tripura,* represents the world. *Ḍamaru* symbolises the vibrations or the life principle and *Gaṇeśa* represents the wisdom. The Śiva-cult is the oldest in India and its worship has been prevalent since the days of Janaka (Cf. Havell–*op. cit.* pp. 75–80). Though there is abundance of amorous treatment of *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa* in the medieval literatures of Mithilā, Bengal and other parts of India, the absence of the motif in sculpture is conspicuous and unaccounted for. The Belwa (Saran) door frame (in the Patna Museum) is an important piece of art. It has two representations of man and woman in embrace. Uncontrolled sexual exuberance has been depicted here in art. This is matched by another set of two representations of man and woman in embrace, now lying at Bheet Bhagwanpur (Darbhangā). These sculptural remains, having

Past heritage and Vidyāpati

377. *G. D. College Bulletin* No. 1.

sex as their motif, have a marvellous counterparts in the love-songs of Vidyāpati, which give pictures exactly similar to those given in the sculptures. Vidyāpati's amorous woman is matched here with exquisite care and delicacy and masterly finish of medieval plastic art (they have not yet been photographed). The Bhagwanpur art throws sufficient light on the life and condition of the people of Mithilā. The "mother and child" representation is indicative of the fact that poverty had its all powerful grip on the life of the common man. Vidyāpati expressed in his works both the lust for life and the spirit of denial and devotion. In Mithilā homes for generation, two contradictory environments could prevail simultaneously—the scholar husband dedicated to knowledge and the maidens doing household work in a spirit of gaiety and life absorbing artistic activities. The common people have preserved the vivacity of life and culture Mithilā had in the past. A noteworthy development under the Oinwāras was the dissemination of courtly art into the village. When the court ceased to be powerful, the cultural forms remained alive.

Architectuare

The period, under review, was not devoid of artistic achievement. References about the big royal palaces and ordinary huts, in the contemporary accounts and literature, show that the period was marked by two types of house-building. Though devastated by the ravages of *Kośī* and other rivers, the available pieces of broken images and dilapidated structures, discovered from different parts of Mithilā, speak volume of the prevalence of developed art and architecture. Mithilā, though full of rich historical tradition and important archaeological sites, has not yet been treated well by excavator's spades and there is no room for any doubt that the excavations, if carried on, would yield marvellous results. Both Dharmasvāmī and Vidyāpati refer to the magnificence of the royal palaces and writings of the contemporary *Smṛtikāras* also refer to the existence of such houses. Vidyāpati, in his *Kīrtilatā*, has given a graphic description of the royal palace and has given us an insight into the architectural design of the period. The following architectural terms in Vidyāpati deserve

notice—(i) *Krīḍāśaila,* (ii) *Dhārāgṛha;* (iii) *Pramadavana;* (iv) *Puṣpavāṭikā;* (v) *Yantravyajana;* (vi) *Śṛṅgārasaṅketa;* (vii) *Mādhavimaṇḍapa;* (viii) *Khaṭvāhindola;* (ix) *Kusumasajjā;* (x) *Catuḥ Sampallava;* and (xi) *Citraśālī* etc. It is evident that till his time, the old ancient tradition of ancient architecture continued in its entirety. It may be noted with satisfaction here that Vidyāpati has not failed to make a mention of the additions made therein by the muslims, specially of Jaunpur. Vidyāpati refers to (i) *Khāsadarbār* (Audience Chamber—Cf. *Bhuktāsthāna maṇḍapa*), (ii) *Darasadara* (the great gate house—Cf. *Rājadvāra*), (iii) *Nimājagṛha* (Royal chapel—Cf. *Devagṛha*) (iv) *Khvvārgṛha* (*-Āhāramaṇḍapa*) and *Ṣoramagṛha* (= *Sukhamandira*). The Sharquis seem to have drawn largely upon the old Indian tradition in so far as the conception of architecture was concerned. The *VR* also gives a detailed account of the palace and the temples. The continuous contacts achieved a remarkable synthesis.

Jyotirīśvara's account of the royal court is not only interesting but marvellous. The word [378] *'Sthāna'* indicated an exalted place (derived from the Persian *astān* = threshold) or the exalted dwelling of a *Pir*). The Muslim architecture at Jaunpur presented a blending of the Indian and Islamic style and that, in return, led to the growth of new Indian style in every province. [379] At Jaunpur, local styles enjoyed greater ascendancy. The Jaunpur style of architecture shows indubitable influence of Hindu art, having sloping walls, square pillars, smaller galleries and cloisters without minarets of the usual type. It is here that Hindu and Muslim architectural elements coalesce to form a new type of architecture.

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378. *VR*—P. 9. स्फटिक भूमि, कर्प्पूरक कञ्जुसिस, सोनाकपगारी, मञ्जूरुषीकाचकचनवा, श्रीखण्डक स्तम्भ, मरकतकशीर, गौभेदकभवन, वेकण्ठजधरणि, चन्दकवात, अगरकमुहओत, कस्तुरीकवडरा, मुक्ताकवोह, चतुःसमक विलेपन, पद्मरागक कलश, एवं सर्वगुण सम्पूर्ण आस्थानमण्डप देषु । Cf. *PP* 20-21- where he mentions—प्रतिमा रचना, वास्तुविद्या, शिल्पविद्या etc. as qualities and characteristics of art.

379. In that respect, Ibrāhim Shah may taken as the precursor of Mughal art in India.

According to Vidyāpati, there were Śiva temples, decorated with mast flags and pictures, at Jaunpur. The value of medieval style lay in harmony of structural achievement rather than splendour and variety of the constituent units. It is remarkable to note that this [380] synthesis could be achieved even in Temple architecture. In the temple architecture, Mithilā did not lag behind.

The people of Mithilā were adept in the art of temple building. Spooner [381] has presented a detailed study of these temples and has called them as "*Tirhut types of Temples.*" Refuting Fergusson's point, Spooner calls northern types as '*Tirhut types*' consisting of a cella, tower and porch. In the vast majority of cases, the relationship between the divisions of the cella wall and those of the *Śikhara* is faithfully maintained. [382] The Tirhut temple architecture stands for a plain undecorated walls, undecorated painted roofs and square in plan. There was a small square room to contain the sacred image, a sloped roof and a narrow portico. A series of temples, with utmost culmination of the temple architecture, illustrate the development of this style. [383] Some remains of the palaces have also been noticed, The literary concept of the *VR* about the finely carved stone basement with accessories can be gleaned through the few remnants of the Karṇāṭa palaces (now in the Nepal territory).[384] The ruins of the old temples and palaces can be seen even today at Bheeṭ Bhagwānpur, Andhrāthārhi, Bhagirathpur, Uchchaitha, Birpur (Begusarai) Bahera and a number of other places. The Tilkeśvara temple (Darbhanga) and Sun temple at Kandāhā (Saharsa) have not yet been studied from the artistic point of view. These two are very old temples of Mithilā and speak volume about the architectural designs. The recent discovery of the remnants of a full-fledged temple

380. The lotus and pitcher supplied a constant motif in the construction of the Hindu temples.

381. *JBORS*—II. 121 ff.

382. *Ibid*—126.

383. *Ibid*—121–134, for details and examples.

384. *JASB*—IV. 122–23.

at Bahera [385] shows that the architects conformed to the old rules and regulations. The Bahera and the Bhagirathapur discoveries give us an insight into the architectural development. Ornamental and decorated bricks (one of rare type at Bahera) and fine stone slabs and door frames go to suggest that this type of worksmanship was not neglected in our part. It has been suggested that Bhagirathpur bricks bear the specimen of *tantric cakras* and some of them exhibit an example of artistic workmanship. [386] The long stretches of temple corridors, the symmetrical arrangements of the entrances, quadrangles and staircases, the construction of halls, the remarkable simplification, elongation of massive and squared figures, etc. illustrate the geometrical pattern of the artists.

In so far as the architecture is concerned, the construction of forts rather fortifications in general claimed the attention not only of the writers on polity but of the architects as well. [387] From the time of the *Jātakas* the city of Mithilā is said to have been well-fortified. [388] In those days, there were seven moats. The sides of the ditches were generally lined with the bricks. Generally there were a water moat, a mud moat and a dry moat. Even during our period, forts were not few and far between. The fort builders of Mithilā conformed to the standards set in by the ancient writers. According to the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (chapter 8, 216) the ditches were excavated with the mouths connected with the river. According to the *Devīpurāṇa* (chapter 72-27) the construction of a brick-built wall is indispensable in artificial forts and the maximum height, prescribed by the *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa,* should be twenty cubits (chapters 103-20). The *Matsyapurāṇa* (chapter 217-8) states that the forts should have ditches. Kauṭilya divides fortifications

385. Cf. my article—*Some recent Archaeological Discoveries in North Bihar* in *JBRS*—XLIII.

386. *JBRS*—XL-347 ff. Cf. *Indian Nation* (Patna) of 25/11/54 (Dak edition).

387. *Supra*—S. V. Fortifications.

388. *Mahā Ummagga-Jātaka*—No. 546.

into seven kinds (AŚ-Bk-II. Śukta-IV. 6 chapter 3). Artificial fortifications were not unknown. There were three types of artificial forts—*viz.* by the construction of wall, the construction of trenches and the construction of forests. The Maheśvarā inscription (dated 1291 A. D.), discovered and edited by me (*ABORI*-XXXVI), refers to the construction of a strong fort. Even earlier than this. Dharmaśvāmī has given a graphic description of the fort of Simaraongarh. The fact, that the capital of Mithilā was surrounded by strong forts, is confirmed by Feristha, Barni, and Mulla Taqia. The existence of a number of *Garhs* or Forts in Mithilā confirms our point of view that the people of Mithilā were adept in this type of architecture. Almost every part of Mithilā has yet ruins of old forts and the names of some such important sites are—Asurgarh, Alauligarh, Śrinagar (Madhipura), Sāhugarh, Jalalgarh, Garhi, Naulagarh, Jaimangalāgarh, Mangalagarh, Bheet Bhagawanpur, Havidih, Harisiṁhapur, Sivasiṁhapur, Balirājagarh, Khajouli. Bawanagarhi, Simaraongarh, Bijalgarh, Kāpgarh, Ekma and others.

Sculpture

The sculptural brilliance in Mithilā was no less important and from a study of the contemporary literature, it appears that the *Maithilas* attached equal importance to the canons of iconography. Even the few images, noticed so far at Simaraongarh, are sculpturally superior. No thorough survey of the sculptures of Mithilā has yet been made and it is beyond the scope of our present work to do so. Images of almost all popular gods and goddesses are frequently met with and they are important from the artistic point of view. A number of Viṣṇu images, in various incarnations, have come to light from different parts of Mithilā. The tradition of black stone was continued by the rulers of Mithilā. Beginning from the time of Nānyadeva, the art of this part was acquiring importance and ruins at Simaraon, Hāvidiha, Āsi, Bhagwanpur, and the reliefs of Sanghoul, Kandāhā, etc., the image of Kamalāditya at Andhrātharhi, Sūrya images at Barouni, Baraipura and Jayamaṅgalāgarh, and a large number of images, spread over here and there, speak volume about the sculptural

brilliance of this land. The precious relics of art and architecture still lie buried under the ground and await to be explored by the antiquarians. References to temples are also found in the *VR*.[389] Dharmasvāmī refers to an image of *Tārā* in *Vaiśālī* and that stands confirmed by an inscription of the same region. [390] Bihar had a long tradition of sculpture making. The Pāla and Sena sculptures are efflorescent in poise and repose, characteristic of spacious epoch in Indian culture. It profoundly influenced the later art of Nepal, Tirhut, Burma, Ceylon, Java, etc. The Imadpur metal images are exceedingly beautiful and some metal images were also noticed at Bahera and Jaymaṅgalagarh, now lost to us. It has been held that where authority and tradition hold their sway, architecture becomes the central and most dominant in art, subordinating ilself to sculpture and all other art forms. [391]

The sculpture produced a remarkable combination of monumentality and stillness with a quiet but alluring physical grace and pliable exuberance of human moods. In Mithilā, it was the outcome of strange spiritual discipline associated with the development of Tantricism in which erotic rupture and spiritual bliss were one and the same. In the execution of icons, the suggestion of the sex is the full rounded breast and heavy slanting hips of the female deities and in the broad shoulders and thin strong waist of the male deities, along with their caressing poses and gestures, was coupled with the elaborate flow of garlands and garments and the lively sport of the *Gandarvas*. And yet these deities overwhelm us with a profound abstraction that set them far above the plane of the senses. The *Tantric* ritual, thereby, had its own contribution to sculptures in the middle ages in which transcendentalism and humanism were so marvellously blended. We have referred to above a familiar erotic pose of

389. Cf. *G. D. College Bulletin*—Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4; My articles already referred to; *JBORS*—XX. PP. 15–19; *VR*-Kallola–3.

390. Roerich—*op. cit.*; R. K. Choudhary—*Inscriptions of Bihar—Vaisali Inscriptions.*

391. R. K. Mookherji–*op. cit.* PP. 23–24.

Śiva fondly embracing *Śakti* on his lap. In his *Durgābhakti taraṅgiṇī*, Vidyāpati has given detailed account about the (i) *Pūjāgṛhanirmāṇa*, (ii) *Pratimāniveśa*, and (iii) *Pratimālakṣṇa* [392] etc. In the age of Vidyāpati, the cult of divine child, Kṛṣṇa, was the focus of awakening of the national spirit and the hymns of Vidyāpati made a definite contribution towards this aspect. The abolition of distinction between human and spiritual desires and sentiments linked art and vernacular literature indissolubly with religion. The Pālas had given a local colour to the sculptural and architectural art of Bihar and the tradition was continued by the later rulers of Mithilā. The stray finds from different parts of north Bihar confirm our statement and it can be said, with some amount of certainty, that Mithilā in her own humble way contributed to the gliding stream which aimed at seeking a common and glorious destiny in harmony with the entire humanity.

The universal observance of the rites formulated at the time of Harisiṁhadeva (C. 1324 A. D.) was strictly followed under the Oinwāras. The modes and motifs of the drawing pattern were influenced and the folk ritual came to be elevated into a sacred mythological system and was ultimately given even a literary base. We can cite here for example the story of *Sāmā–chakewā*, a folk festival with its accompanying colourful toys and artistic figures. The story is preserved in the *Skanda purāṇa* in the following manner—Sāmā is shown to be the sister of Sāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa. Her husbands' name is supposed to have been Cakravāka. Chudaka, a low caste person, reported that Sāmā had an illicit relationship with the seven *ṛṣis* of Vṛndāvana. Kṛṣṇa cursed Sāmā to become a bird and her husband also chose to transform himself into a bird. The seven *ṛṣis* were also cursed and became birds. Sāmba underwent a penance and got the release of his sister and others from the bird life. The *Sāmā–Chakewā* festival is commemorated in the Maithila folk art. The scarecrows are the slanderers who are installed in the fields for public ridicule.

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392. *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*—P. 2 ff.

The festival is celebrated in Mithilā in October-November (Kārtika). *Sāmā* and *Chakewā* are the names of particular kinds of birds while the scarecrows are given the names of *Chugalā* and Bṛndāvana. Women make earthenware figures of *Sāmā* and *Chakewā*, of seven other birds called *satbhaiyā*, six other figures called *Sheeri Sāmā*, two back to back figures of birds called *Batobahino* and finally the two scarecrows made of straw and jute with earthen faces. These are colourfully and artistically made and is placed on equally colourful plate like basket (*Changera*) along with a decorative earthen vessel. For fifteen nights, women go forth to their respective fields every night carrying the basket on their head. They sing and indulge in playful skit and group dances. On the final full moon night they place an artistic four-faced lamp (*Chaumukha deepa*) in the filed and fix the scare-crow. The purpose of the ritual seems to have been the installation of the scarecrow in the field. The folk ritual had to be incorporated into the *Skanda Purāṇa* possitly during the rule of the Karṇāṭas-Onwāras. The fusion of folk art with the court art and the extension of court art to the ordinary home are interesting sociological phenomenon and desereve further study.

Painting

Painting is an important medium of expression of moods and sentiments. It is the spirit of a people and environment that determines the dominant trend in painting. In the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, we find a definite prescription of the use of colours in painting according to religious symbolism. Colour symbolism in Indian art underlies not only the painting of statues which according to *Sātvika* (truth), *Rājasika* (activity) and *Tāmasika* (ignorance) aspects had to be painted in white, red and dark respectively. *Love was to be painted in Śyāmā hue, anger in red, pity in grey, fear in black and supernatural in yellow colour.* [393] Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* has emphasised the importance of colour. The themes of the Vaiṣṇava poets and artists were generally derived from the legends of the love of Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa is considered as the divine soul. The mode of expression of the Vaiṣṇava poets and artists is

393. Stella Kramrisch-*Viṣṇudharmottara*-P. 19.

rather imagist than allegorical, in the sense in which "in imagist art things are what they suggest, while allegory, however, appropriate, is always arbitrary; to understand the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā* as an allegory is to misunderstand it, since it is neither fanciful, nor pseudo-historical, but a drama perpetually enacted in the heart of every bhakta." The hymns of Caṇḍidāsa and Vidyāpati, which so much influenced Rabindranātha, were indebted to Vaiṣṇava thought which inspired medieaval art and poetry.[394] The medieval painting was inspired by *Bhakti* mysticism. It was lyrical in tone and truly national in appeal.[395] Its subject-matter was based on folklore, mythology, religion, music and erotics. *The Vaiṣṇava poets humanised the art more and more and brought it into closer association with the daily routine of life, toil, ordinary happiness and sorrow of men and women. Here was the conception of oneness of life which was brought home to the rural masses by poetry, music and paintings in terms of popular Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa motif. Vidyāpati equally succeeded in depicting penances of Śiva-Pārvatī in painting with deep lyrical tenderness and reverence. Śiva represented* the common man.

During the age of Vidyāpati, various forms of art were prevalent in Mithilā and painting was just one of them.

Aipana

Besides the more known and prevalent forms, in the fields of painting Mithilā had two special contributions to her credit—(i) *Aipana* (*Alpanā* or *Aripaṇa*).[396] It was an important folk art.

394. M. R. Ananda—*The Hindu View of Art* (Bombay-1957). PP. 46-47. Cf. A. Coomaraswami—*Catalogue of Indian Collections* (Boston) P. 23.

395. K. Bharatha Aiyer—*Indian Art* (Bombay-1958) P. 71.

396. *Aipanaprākāśa* (unpublished) by Jīvānanda Ṭhākur—Summary published in the list and summaries of Papers of the *AIOC*-(Darbhanga-1948).
Also Cf.—(i) मिथिला क चित्रशैली by Dr. Brajkishore Varma in *Vaidehi*.
(ii) मिथिला क लोककला पद्धति by Prafulla Kumar Singh Mour in *Vaidehi*—June 1958.

On almost all auspicious occasions, nay daily among the orthodox sections, the women of Mithilā sketch auspicious drawings in the court yard, door front and other places. They draw circular patterns of designs with a white liquid paste of ground rice. In various *Aipana* designs, painted in various colours *Śiva-Pārvatī, Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī* and various other gods and goddesses are produced with great originality and imagination. *Aipana* is an example of the prevalence of the *Śakti* cult in Mithilā. Maithila women specialise in it. Even in the earlier writings like the *Purāṇas* and *Harṣacarita,* we come across references to *Aipaṇa.*[397] It represents the traditional folk art of Mithilā. It is associated mostly with the *Tantrika* designs and its various forms now remain unexplained by many of such women who actually carve them. The *aṣṭadala Aipana* is one of the most popular forms, a beautiful eight petalled lotus. This form is connected with *Durgā,* who, on ceremonial occasions, is depicted on eight petals—conch, disc, lotus, sword, shield, mace and rope, etc. Mithilā has been able to maintain her tradition in this field.

Maithila home-art can be broadly divided into four main classes, *viz.*—

(a) line-drawings on the ground known as *aripaṇas*
(b) wall-paintings
(c) terracotta figurines and dolls of other materials
(d) utility articles in colourful forms.

The Brāhmaṇa and Kāyastha women specialise in the first three categories of the artistic work. The *Kulīna* home art was the extension of the palace art of the Karṇāṭa and Oinwāra dynasties. In all these we can see traces of basic symbolical pattern of the Vedic sacrifices and even more pronounced than these are the Tantric symbols. The *Sarvatobhadra (Svastika)* pattern is drawn near the *Tulasi* plant in the month of *Kārtika* and is composed of fortyone *Svastikas* interlinked in a complex

397. V. S. Agrawal—*Harṣacarita* (Patna–1953) PP. 70-72. We have a further reference to the inscribed miniature painting of the two palm-leaf *MSS* of the 12th century A. D. Cf. *ARASI*–1903-4. P. 82.

design. There are directives for making attractive drawing on the ground in works like *Saṃskāraratnamālā, Kṛtyaratnākara, Anuṣṭhānaprakāśa* and *Devītantra,* etc. The art of beautifying the ground was known all over India. In the Tantric works there are references to the decorative patterns drawn on the ground in connection with rituals, *Saṃskāras* and ceremonies. The square circles are also called *maṇḍalas.* In *Mithilā,* for every major *Saṃskāra* a different kind of *aripaṇa* is drawn and its authentic form is maintained in the home.

In drawing *aripaṇas,* no brushes are employed but only the nimble fingers. Apart from the natural white colour of the powdered rice (*piṭhāra*), often turmeric is mixed to produce yellow effect and *Sindoor* for the red. The outer forms of *aripaṇas* are often symbolical of the Tantric designs, some inner features are related to the *Śākta* creed. The red dot symbolises the power of mother-goddess. Patterns are generally representing natural phenomenā and objects like flowers, leaves, trees, fish, peacocks, snakes, sun, moon, shrines, things associated with deities like drum and *triśūla,* conchshell, ploughmen, sweeper, triangle connected with Gaurī, etc. The geometrical shapes, mainly triangular and circular, are often used in *aripaṇas* for certain kinds of worship such as *Tusāripujā* for unmarried girls, *Pṛthvīpūjā,* etc. The Leaf pattern is the commonest form used for social festivities like marriage, etc. The *Daspāta aripana* is the richest among the leaf pattern (ten-leaved designs). *Ṣaṣṭhī pūjā aripaṇa* uses a single leaf. The *Madhuśrāvaṇī aripaṇa* is based on one large and ten small leaves of *Maina* tree. The *Kojagaraka aripana* (using the *Makhhāna* leaf base) is meant to welcom Lakṣmī. Similar *aripaṇas* are drawn on the *Dipāwali* or *Sukharātri* day. Ploughmen and sweeperess are drawn in *Chatursankha aripana,*

Another important aspect of the folk art in Mithilā is known as *Kohabara* so frequently referred to in the poems of Vidyāpati. The word *Vilepana* for painting has been used in the *VR* (*Supra*). *Kohabara* indicates painting on the wall of a house where newly married couples enter after marriage for their first meeting. This house is specially

(ii) *Kohabara*

made at the time of the marriage *or* a separate room in the house is set apart for the purpose and the walls of that particular room are painted with stories and legends, from folklore and mythology. This painting is done with *Gairika,* a mineral pigment, *i.e.,* red colour. No other colour, except this, is allowed in this drawing as that colour is taken as auspicious. This is also one of the important folk arts of Mithilā and some women specialise in this particular form of art. These drawings deserve careful study. On this auspicious occasion, womenfolk assemble and sing songs. Wall paintings of different forms and kinds are not new. Earliest extant of wall paintings are to be seen at caves IX and X at Ajanta. References to wall paintings are also found in the Buddhist literature.[398] Vidyāpati also refers to the art of painting. Śaśī and Mūladeva were two artists. Mūladeva was an accomplished artist who drew a picture, depicting the entire incident of the two deer on one side and the potrait of the princess and himself on the other. It was merely by his skill in painting pictures that Mūladeva obtained the desire of his heart. [399]

Wall paintings are more direct and reveal to us the variety of life in spirit. These paintings are generally found in the *Gosaunighara* (family deity), *Kohbara* (honeymoon room) and the verandah of the *Kohabar,* more popularly known as *kohabaragharakakoniya.* These paintings are glimpses of life and nature. An important painting of narrative type is *Harisaun pūjā ka citra,* done only in *Sindoor* on the wall. There are twenty sketches depicting the life of two girls of whom one is married. *Sarovarcitra* includes various kinds of fishes, turtles, etc. In the *Kohabara* four women known as *Nayana yoginas* are seen carrying various articles on their heads. There is also a bamboo bush (known as *Bāṅsa*) complete with birds and a lotus plant depicting moon. The paintings on the verandah of the *Kohabara* are profusely illustrated from the scenes of rural life.

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398. Cf. Kramrisch—*op. cit.* Part III-Chapt. 40; Cf. *SBE*-XX.9 170-73; Vārāhamihira—*Bṛhatasaṁhita*-Chapter 57.

399. *PP* (G) Tale 21.

The peacock's love dance in all its glory and naughty scenes from Kṛṣṇa's life when he stole the clothes of maidens swimming nude in the river have an obvious appeal to the marriage party. This art of Mithila has refinement, continuity and a literary base which one can expect in tribal art, or in the folk art of the village people.

Archer styled the wall-paintings of Mithilā as the *"Maithila Paintings."* Besides the wall, pottery, fans, dishes, paper and other articles of daily use are painted. These paintings apparently display a sense of sensuality. It is an ordinary domestic art and forms an important part of Mithila's rituals. According to Archer, the Maithila painting has been as natural and as necessary as sweeping the courtyard or going to a well. Pink, yellow, green, blue, and red colours are generally used. The subject matter of such paintings falls into two groups—(i) a series of heavenly forms to which are sometimes added the more mundane figures of bride and bridegrooms along with the members of their wedding trains and (ii) a series of animal forms. *Raina, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Durgā, Kāli, Sītā, Rādhā* and other gods and goddesses are generally painted. At the wedding ceremony, painting is considered essential and at marriage paintings, sun, moon, bamboo-tree, lotus, parrots, turtles, and fish come into prominence. *The bamboo tree and the ring of lotuses represent the diagrams of sexual organs and fertility, parrot symbolises the love birds, turtles the lovers' union and fish the emblem of fertility. The Sun and Moon symbolise the life giving qualities.* About the Brāhmaṇas' and Kāyasthas' paintings, Archer says—"the colours of the Brāhmaṇa paintings are parallel to those in paintings by Mīro, while those of the Kāyastha paintings resemble the black terracotta colours of Greek vases..... the Brāhmaṇas' paintings bear thin, wavering and nervous lines, the Kāyasthas' *paintings have firm, vigorous and precise lines ..... they are series of neatly regulated panels."* [400] The Vaiṣṇava poetry, itself, is of the

400. Cf. Archer's article in the *Mārg*–III. PP 25–33. The figures of *Bak* (heron) and *Thug* (robber) are shown of the bride groom as he arrives at the *Maṇḍapa*. A large toy elephant is

nature of most delicate painting and it is here that poetry and painting interpreted each other. The universal love drama of *Rādhā Kṛṣṇa* has sustained the vigour of painting for centuries. The subject matter of these paintings can be divided into two types—(i) Gods who bring their blessings to the bridal pairs such as Śiva, Pārvati, Rādhākṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu in all his incarnations, Durgā, Kāli and Gaṇeśa; figures of bride and bridegrooms with all their attendants; (ii) Various symbols of fertility and prosperity like elephants, fish, parrots, turtles, sun and moon; a bamboo tree and a great circular lotus flower. The variety and inventiveness make them perhaps the most sophisticated and elegant of all popular paintings in Bihar. The Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas have preserved in an unbroken tradition, though the work of the two castes has remained clearly distinguishable.

Painting as a craft in Bihar continued as is apparent from a recently discovered palmleaf manuscript of *Kālacakratantra* (a Buddhist Tantric Text) in the Combridge University Library and it is dated (V. S. 1503 = 1446 A. D.). The wooden covers of this *MSS* are printed on both sides. The *MSS* was written by the scribe, *Karaṇa-Kāyastha*, Jayarāmadatta who was the *Śāsanika* of the village Ara in Magadha.

In one of the scenes, Buddha is accompanied by the three principal Brāhmanical Gods, Brahmā, Kṛṣṇa and Śiva and by the thousand eyed Indra. Some form of *Nāga* worship is portrayed in one of the scenes, where a man is seen in the art of adoring a serpent, coiled round a tree. The hood of the serpent is adorned with a jewel. Next we come across the worship of a hare, a goose and peacock and these are indicative of some sort of esoteric symbolism.

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placed near the *Maṇḍapa*, along with two descriptive earthen pots such as *Purhara* and *Pātila*, the latter containing also a lamp. Inside the *Kohabara* also, there is an elephant but on its back are two figures representing the bridge and the bridegroom. The scheduled and backward people express their artistic interests in certain utility articles, some of which are prepared for use at the festivities in upperclass homes.

How this painting came to originate in Magadha is yet an enigma to many. Jayarāmadatta appears to have been a cosummate master of pen and he was possibly responsible for the illumination of these paintings. He may have been a traditional craftsman without any formal training and he might have carried the tradition of folk painting from his native land of Mithilā. The paintings on the cover show signs of synthesis between the elements of local styles and contemporary folk traditions. This indicates that in the middle of the 15th. century A. D. the tradition of painting was still alive in Bihar. The artist has drwn his iconographic scheme from the Pāla style and has derived cretain stylistic characteristics from the contemporary style of the *apabhraṃśa* school. (Cf.—*JRAS*–London–1965–pp. 103–111).

Besides these specialised art of painting, there were minor domestic arts preserved by women-folk. The needle work is a very old art in Mithilā and Vidyāpati, in his *Kīrtilatā*, refers to the prevalence *Kasidā*. The Muslims were equally expert in this branch. This word is yet in vogue in Mithilā. This folk art was carried out in every home with an innate sense of design and a variety of technique. It is prepared by women. The *MARG* issue on embroidery has brought to the public notice the importance of this art of Bihar. *Sujanis* containing stylised embrodery work are remarkable for detailed and complete workmanship. The *prasādhana* is an extremely sophisticated art.

Needle-work

The cultivation of music as an art in Mithilā is a very old practice. [401] Since the days of Vedic Civilisation, Mithilā has remained the centre of the Vedic *mantras*. The history of Mithilā school of Music can be traced to the Vedic *Mantras* and even now there are places associated with the different Vedas. Yajuāra and Rigā are said to be connected with the *Yajurveda* and the *Ṛgveda* respectively. There has

Music and Dancing

401. *Indian Nation*–Pujā Issue–1947; Chetanātha Jha's introduction to *Pārijātaharaṇa*; *Jayanti* (Ram Lochana Saran Jubilee volume); PP. 291–297; *Mithilā Mihira* (1944)—Jsnātha Jha's article—विद्यापति वो इनक संगीतकला ।

been a continuity in so far as the history of the development of music is concerned. The first ruler of the historic period, Nānyadeva, (also known as Abhinavagupta) was a great musician and a prolific writer on art and aesthetics. His commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Bharata Koṣa) [402] is still regarded as a masterpiece. Singing or Music is connected with the *Sāmaveda* according to Bharata. The music of Mithilā developed on lines different from the present day Hindustani music of northern India is partly explained by the South Indian influence. The Karṇāṭas brought with them south Indian talents. In the *Gorakṣavijaya*, a drama by Vidyāpati, there is a reference to a dancer from Tailaṅga deśa (Modern Andhra). It was the Karṇāṭa ruler, Harisiṃha, who introduced a mixed Sanskrit-Vernacular operatic form of drama.

The *VR* (Kallola sixth) concerns itself with gentle art of music and dancing. The *Vidyāwanta*, a professional singer and music master is not inferior to that of the exalted Bhāṭa. Here the names of the *Rāgas*, of the *Śrutis* and *Gāyana-doṣa* (defects of singers) and fourteen kinds of *Gīta-doṣa* (defects of singing) are mentioned. We have, then, enumeration of various kinds of dancing, ten qualifications of drum players, twelve kinds of drum-music, the time-beats (Tāla), ten *rasas*, thirty *Vyabhicāribhāvas* or opposed sentiments, eight *Sāttvika* or proper sentiments and so forth. The dancing girl *(Pātra)* is well-practised in thirty two kinds of movements and thirty two kinds of graces. There is a list of twenty seven kinds of lutes. [403]

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402. For different views—Cf. *IHQ*–VII; Levi–*Nepal*–II. *JBORS*–IX–X; *JAHRS* (1926). K. C. Pandey–*Abhinavagupta-an Historical and Philosophical study* (Benares–1935) pp. 121–125; *JBORI*–XXXV–91–ff.

403. *VR*—p. 44 ff. p. 48. Rāgas—वागश्री, कौशिक, मल्लार, मेघ, मानसी, मुदुकी, मलारी, देशापी, दीपक, देशि, वसन्त, बंगाल, कामोद, कर्णाट, भैरव, भैरवी, गान्धार, गुजरी, हिन्दोल, रामकरी, etc. Cf. Lochana's description of Maithili *Rāgas*—

ललिना विभासी नदनु भैरव्यहिरानि वराड़ी च ।
गोपी वल्लभ गुजरी रामकली कापिशारङ्गी ॥

Music was not only a favourite pastime of the rulers of Mithilā but it was widely cultivated by all sections of people. Vidyāpati names one Kalānidhi, who sang hymns so exquisitely as to gain applause of all the courtiers and also a reward of gold by the king of Gorakhpur.[404] Umāpati, in his *Pārijātaharaṇa*, Jyotirīśvara, in his *Dhūrtasamāgama* and Vidyāpati in his *Gorakṣavijaya* have given us the list of musical *rāgas*, then prevalent in Mithilā *e.g. Naṭarāga, Mālavarāga, Vasantarāga, Barāḍirāga, Āsāvarirāga, Pañcamarāga, Rājavijayarāga, Kedārarāga* and *Lalitarāga*, etc. Vidyāpati himself was a great musician of repute. He represented the golden age of Mithilā music, when its influence on Nepal and other adjoining states is also visible. A large number of works on music and allied subjects sprang up. A whole picture of the *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs* of Mithilā can be gleaned through the pages of Locana's *Rāgataraṅgiṇī*. The lyrics of Vidyāpati are meant literally to be sung. He exploited almost all types of lyrics in Maithili. The distinguishing characteristics of *Maithili* lyrics are—(i) extraordinarily musical; (ii) directness and spontaneity; (iii) length is invariably suited to the expression of one powerful mood or emotion; (iv) range is wide and unlimited; (v) chief sources of inspiration are the events and experiences of everyday life; (vi) Sanskrit

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कौशिक कोडारव्यौ वसन्तो धनछी तथा।
असावरी च श्रीरागो गौड़ामालव मालवो॥
भूपाली राज विजयनारा: कामोद देशारवौ।
केदारोऽथ मलारी इत्येते मैथिला: कथिता: ॥ (*Rāgataraṅgiṇi*–P. 119).

VR p. 49—For description of *Nṛtya-Varṇanā*—, See the plate of (i) a dancing figurine, distovered from Uchaitha (Darbhanga), (ii) the plate of a modern Vidyāpata dancer from Moranga (Nepal); Cf. *VR*–p. 50—requirements of a dancer—p. 52. *Viṇāvarṇanā*–Various kinds of dance are also described. Mithilā, it is *said was renowned for her original rāgas, which, according to some, were 83 in number.* Cf. J. K. Miśra–*op. cit.* 76; Cf. S.N. Thākur–*op. cit.*; Lochana has quoted a good number of Vidyāpati's poems to illustrate various *Rāgas*. It may be noted *her that Lochana had made a mention of the first fourteen Rāgas of Jyotirīśvara's list.*

404. *PP* (G)–Tale 22.

stories and legends and (vii) Sanskrit poetics and erotic conventions provide eternal background to its colour and imagery.[405] Our poet wrote in certain traditional *rāgas* and setting tune to his poems was one of his greatest achievements. The following important *rāgas* found favour with Vidyāpati—*Mālava, Sūhaba, Gurjari, Vasanta, Ahira, Śrī, Dhanacchi, Varāli, Kolāva, Sāmari, Kānal, Lalita, Bibhāsa, Abhogya, Manāri, Mallāra, Narita, Sārangi* etc.

In Mithilā, each *rāga* comprises the distinctive notes associated with a particular mode and emotion elicited universally in the cyclical recurrence of seasons and hours in human heart. Each *rāga* comprises five or six *rāgiṇīs*. Rabindra nath has rightly observed—"Our songs speak of early dawn and the embroidered, starry midnight sky.....our song is the world.....pain of dripping rain and the worldless ecstacy of the deep madness of the early spring as it reaches the utmost limits of the forest."[406] The *Bhairavī-rāga*, hymn of worship of Śiva, is sung in the early dawn and arouses a poignant sense of futility, impermanence of life and the mystery of the infinite. *Basanta* and *Hindola* depict Kṛṣṇa dancing with his flute in hand. They are well-known for their representation of melody. In the *Meghamallāra*, the pictorial representation is that of a woman, draped in the skirts of leaves that are agitated by high winds. Both the lyrical poetry and music seek to express in the famous *Bārahamāśā* songs of Mithilā which take the form not of a symbol or icon but illustrate a dramatic situation, appropriate for various seasons. *The descriptive*[407] *imagery in these lyrics, the harmony in the Rāgas or Rāgiṇīs and scenic representations in painting symbolise universal sentiment of wholeness. During the period under review, poetry, music and painting, expressing the same impersonal moods in different idioms, were impregnated with religious motifs from the legends*

405. J. K. Miśra—*op. cit.* 76.

406. Quoted from *Jibanasmṛti* by A. Coomarswami in *Rājaputa Painting*—Vol. I. P. 65.

407. R. K. Mookherji—*op. cit.* P. 168.

of the Bhāgavata and the Purāṇas that reached the masses through poets and artists. It has been rightly suggested that "rarely in the history of world's culture has there been such collaboration of the arts expressing the communal vision of a whole people and epoch as was then witnessed in northern India"—(Mookherji—*op. cit.* 168 ff).

Nanyadeva is credited with the compilation of a work entitled *Sarasvatīhṛdayālaṅkārahāra* and this particular work is the most exhaustive commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra. Karṇāṭarāga* possibly came with him. He has given a list of about 180 *rāgas*. Jayadeva also influenced the music of Mithilā and all his twenty four *prabandhas* or songs are assigned to definite *Tāla* and *Rāga.* Harisiṁhadeva [408] was also a great musician and his court was an important centre of musical studies. The *Rāsārṇavasudhākara* of Siṁha Bhupāla (probably a Maithila) is a short but interesting treatise on poetics and his *Saṅgitaratnākara Vyākhyā* is a treatise on music (*JBORS*–XIV. P. 2). Jagaddhara wrote *Saṅgītasarvasva.* Locana divides *Gīta* into instrumental and vocal and controlled and uncontrolled. He refers to a work, entitled *Rājasaṁgītasaṁgraha,* now lost to us. He gives a legendary origin of art in Mithilā and says that Śivasiṁha appointed Jayata *(Jayanta ?)* for the poet laureate Vidyāpati. He is believed to have determined new type of *Rāgas.* Mithilā was the centre from which radiated the light of the art of music and dancing in different directions. The Maithila musicians enriched Nepal, U. P., Bengal, Assam and Orissa. Buddhana Miśra went to Bengal as expert in Music and Vaṁsamani Jhā and his descendants created name in Nepal. Maithila musicians were invited to the court of Tripura.

In the field of dancing too, Mithilā did not lag behind. From the *Nṛtyavidyakatha* of the *PP,* we learn that dancing was developed in the age of Vidyāpati. He has quoted verse from Bharata (*Nāṭyaśāstra*—I. 17) to show that from the *Ṛgveda* came the text, from the *Sāmaveda,* the art of singing, from the *Yajurveda,* the lore of gesture and from the *Atharvaveda,*

408. *PP* (G)—Tale 22.

the expression of emotion.[409] *Nṛtya* has been declared of two fold kind.[410] Nṛtya of women is called *Lāsya* by which *Gaurī* is delighted and that of men is called *Tāṇḍava* by which *Mahādeva* is delighted. According to Grierson, *Lāsya* is a ballet in which emotions are indicated by attitude and gesticulations. He means by *Tāṇḍava* a frantic dance performed by men in honour of Śiva.[411] Its importance in society has been well-discussed on the authority of Bharata. The use of words *Naṭa* and *Naṭina* in Maithili folklore and poetry shows the prevalence of miming art. The art of drama rendered benefit to the whole world. We have already referred to the description of the dancing girl as given by[412] Jyotirīśvara. Dancing has played a significant part[413] in the finer as well as coarser spheres of life. Religious dances, folk dances, etc. have often given clearer interpretations of the mode of life of the people. Dancing in India has been conceived of as an expression of spiritual energy on the earth plane through senses and intelligence. Śiva, the lord of creation and the first dancer expressed the great cosmic activities of creation, preservation and destruction. Similarly the *Rāsa* dance of *Kṛṣṇa* has an undying significance. Here *Rādhā* is the love energy of creation. Dance and Music were the excellent modes of regulations of emotions. The very aim of *Nāṭyaśāstra* (a fifth Veda) was the attainment of four *Puruṣārthas (Dharma, Artha, Kāma* and *Mokṣa). Rasa* finds expressions in various gestures and postures of dance. Thirteen important *rasas* or emotions are—*Śṛṅgāra, Vīra, Karuṇa, Adhbuta, Hāsya, Bhayānaka, Bibhatsa, Raudra, Śānta, Dāsya, Sakhya, Vātsalya* and *Madhura. Bhakti* finds artistic expression in subjects relating to the love of *Rādhā* for *Kṛṣṇa.* Vaiṣṇavite literature had centred in the Bhakti cult, which comprehends all three cardinal virtues (Faith,

409. ऋग्भ्योनाट्यमभूद्धी सामभ्यः समपद्यत ।
यजुर्भ्योऽभिनया जाता रसाश्चाथर्वणाः स्मृताः ॥

410. स्त्रीनृत्यमुच्यते लास्यं पुन्नृत्यं ताण्डवं तथा ।
गौरी तुष्यति लास्येन ताण्डवेन महेश्वरः ॥

411. *PP* (G)—Tale 23.

412. Also Cf.—Śrī Rāgini—*Nṛtyāñjalī* (Newyork–1928) P. 15 ff.

hope and charity). It may be noted here that very recently an image in a dancing pose was discovered from Uchaitha in the district of Darbhanga. According to Bharata, Laya is the perfect harmonious combination of *nṛtya, gāna* and *Vādya.* In our country, the additional use of music was sought to crystallise apprehension, thus contributing to achieve some simplifications and abstractions as in music. Painting, music and dance have contributed to express and intensify generic and impersonal moods and sentiments.

Besides the classical standard, Mithila is the homeland of a number of folk dances. It was here that the classical music and the folk dances blended together in perfect harmony. In that sense, it may be called unique. The rural art of Mithilā exhibits a profundity of philosophical conception and currents and cross-currents of everyday life. Romance is the basic theme of these folk dances. The *VR* gives an interesting description and enumeration of the different forms of folk dances. *Śrīhastamuktāvali* of Subhaṅkara Ṭhākur deals with various kinds of the art of dancing on traditional lines. It deals with the motions of hand in dancing. A commentary on this work was written by Ghanaśyama. The commentary is a comprehensive work and deals with 212 varieties of poses. Subhaṅkara's *Saṅgītadāmodara* (in seven chapter) (Kṛṣṇamachari—*History of Sanskrit literature*-P. 865) deals with the various aspects of music and dancing. We may broadly divide the folk dances of Mithilā into two classes—(i) Women's dance and (ii) Men's dance. The *Kīrtaniyā* dance is the oldest folk dance and is associated with worship of Viṣṇu. [413] In the age of Vidyāpati, the *Kīrtaniyā* dance assumed its present character. It is democratic in character as all types of people participate in it without any distinction. It is a dance of great spiritual fervour. The themes of these *Kirtaniyā* dances were derived mainly from the Purāṇas. The

413. Cf. Bilhaṇa—*Vikramāṅkadevacharita*-XVIII. 23, 29; *Meghadoota Uttarārdha*-23; K. V. Ramchandram-*Music in Kālidāsa*-P. 13 ff. J. K. Miśra-*op. cit.* 292 ff; N. N. Das—*Introduction to Maithili Stage;* My article on the *Dramatic Tradition of Mithilā in the "Bihar Theatre."*

Rāmalīlā and *Kṛṣṇalīlā* dances were equally popular. The[413(a)] *Jaṭa-Jaṭina* dance is a versified performance in which only young girls participate in the months of *Āśvina-Kārtika*. It depicts the complication of matrimonial life and dialogues, in the form of songs, are full of satire and humour. The *Shāma-chakeva* is another folk dance of Mithilā and its origin is traced back to the *Skanda Purāṇa and Padmapurāṇa*. This dance beginsin the month of *Kārtika* (in the bright half) *Śyāma* is a female and *Chakevā* is a male and they stand to each other as brother and sister. The actors are represented in clay images made for the purpose. The aim of this particular folk dance is to inspire pure love in the hearts of brother and sister. It begins after *Chaṭha* and ends with the *Kārtikapūrṇimā*. We have also already discussed it earlier. Another important folk dance is the *Naina-yogina*, (associated with the Tantric cult) connected with the marriage ceremony. The *Salheśa Pūjā*, in the form of a dance, is also an important art in Mithilā. The *Dusādhas* are usually connected with it (Cf. *Maithil Chrestomathy* Pt. II. PP. 3–11). The Salheśa dance is not only thrilling but sometimes inspiring as well. The Fishermen celebrate *Kamalā dance*. The *Dhānukas* and *Musharas* are associated with the *Goraiyan* dance; the *Saperās* with the serpent dance; *Dusādhas* with the Rāhu dance, *Musharas*, *Chamāras* and others with the *Dināhadri* dance. Jyotirīśvara refers to *Lorika* dance as early as the 13th century A. D. The Musalmanas of Mithilā are associated with the Marsia songs.[414]

We now give below a description of some of the most popular folk-dances that are even now performed in Mithilā on different occasions.

413(a). My paper *Jatā-Jatinas* was accepted for publication in the *Bihar Theatre*. I had seen proofs and had appended an English translation of the same but I am sorry to state tnat the issue probably did not come and even my matter was not returned.

414. For details—Cf. an account of Folk dances in Mithila as given by Dr. Braj Kishore Varma in Maithili language in the appendix. Also cf.—मिथिला क लोकनृत्य परम्परा by Prafulla Kumar Singh Moun in *Vaidehi*—November 1958.

Dasaut or Ghasakaṭṭi (the grass-cutting ceremony)—

This is performed on the occasion of the marriage-ceremony among the Maithila Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas. This dramatic performance is done mainly by the womenfolk. It is ritualistic in character and is performed in the house-hold court yards of the parents of the bride. In the course of time there has inevitably been much change in the form and atmosphere of the original dance and is now no more than a spontaneous expression of the joy of living through their mimetic representations of the scenes and incidents of the village-life so familiar to the performers.

After the marriage-ceremony is over, the performance in connection with the grass-cutting ceremony otherwise known as *Dasaut,* is held. The bride and the bridegroom also participate in this dance though the role of the former is passive. The groom is required to cut the grass and feed the oxen of the father-in-law who in turn promises to give the oxen to him, a bazar is held, things are sold and stolen; therefore one of the ladies assumes the role of *darogā* or a sub-inspector, others that of constable; investigation is carried and the groom is declared accused and accordingly punished. All this ends in humour and merry-making. The background is furnished by a number of folk-songs which give tempo to the dramatic actions. The dancers move slowly round with very little footwork, but a great variety of movement takes place in the gestures of the hands and arms. The movements of the dance are much more restrained and gentle than among the ordinary peasant women, and except when the dancing is performed, the feet are hardly ever left entirely off the ground. True, the foot-work is in itself some what monotonous, but it lends a peculiar dignity to the dance, especially as the movements of the upper part of the body are undoubtedly of extreme grace and beauty.

There is no doubt that the tradition of this fold-dance is very ancient as we have a similar reference in Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-Sambhava* to a performance done mainly by women on such occasions.

The Kīrtana-dance or the Kīrtaniyā drama :

The Kīrtana-dance, popularly known as Kīrtaniyā, was once the most widely practised of all the folk-dances in Mithilā. It is of great antiquity, and is associated with the worship of Viṣṇu. In course of time, however, the performance fell into disuse and came to be neglected. Credit goes to Vidyāpati in Mithilā and Caitanyadeva in Bengal, who gave its present character. Of all the features of the dance the most striking is its democratic character for, the people of a whole village, rich and poor, young and old, freely participate in it without any distinction of caste or rank. The dance is performed to the accompaniment of *ḍhol* (a rural drum) or *mṛdaṅga* and *jhal* and the general form of the whole dance is extremely simple since it consists of the devotees moving round in a circle raising and lowering their hands in time with the beating of the drum accompanied with *jhal*. It is no doubt a dance of a great spiritual fervour in which the religious emotions of the dancers are worked up to a fanatical pitch,[415] so that the dance usually ends in a sort of ecstasy of feeling. Occasionally the form of the dance is varied by its being taken as a procession through the village called *Nagara-Kīrtana*. Sometimes it continues for weeks and months without any break.

It seems that in the course of the centuries this *Kīrtana-dance* gradually developed into the famous *Kīrtaniyā drama* of Mithilā in mediaeval period. We have already noted above that independent of the court, traditions of dancing and acting flourished in the rural areas of which we have unmistakable mention in Jyotirīśvara's *Varṇana-Ratnākara*. Owing to the dearth of adequate information and memoirs or histories, we are not in a position to ascertain the conditions of the stage in Mithilā. There are, however, still a few centres of professional acting, (though work is neglected and decaying) at Hati under the leadership of Babujana Nayak; at Lagama under Ajabalala Jha; at Alapura under Khusidasa; at Sarisava

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415. For detailed description–see Mishra, op. cit. 292 ff; Narendranath Das, *Introduction to Maithili Stage*, etc.

and Ganhavari; at Siripura under Umakanta Jha and others in the district of Dharbhanga.

In Mithilā, a group of actors was known as *jamati,* and its leader *Nayak* who played the *sūtradhāra* and the hero, generally Kṛṣṇa or Hara. The role of the female-actors was all done by males, and there was no restriction of caste or subcaste in the choice of actors for a centre. It maintained a thoroughly democratic character and the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya, the Kāyastha, the Dusadha and the Camār equally participated in a *jamati* and enjoyed it without any distinction of caste whatsoever.

The Nāyaka was also the convener and he was invited to stage the performance of a Kīrtaniyā drama at some public place or private household, on various occassions such as the marriage-ceremony, Upanayana-ceremony, Durgotsava or other important social or religious functions. Sometimes he along with his troupe was invited to the royal court also, but unfortunately we have no details about it.

A successful actor was expected to sing the *mana,* the *nacari* and the *Tirhuti* and to have a general proficiency in gesticulation. Their impersonation of a particular character was never realistic and most of the things were symbolically represented through accepted conventions.

In Mithilā there were many kinds of actors of which the *Kīrtaniyās* formed only a particular group. They were so named because they presented dramatic performances in praise of the Lord, who happened to be Kṛṣṇa or Śiva, as is to be seen in such successful dramas as *Uṣāharaṇa, Pārijātaharaṇa, Rukmiṇiharaṇa* and the *Gaurīsvayambara.* Umāpati Upādhyāya, the famous author of the *Pārijātaharaṇa* is said to have been the founder of the Kirtaniya drama in Mithilā for he himself used to sing and dance before Kṛṣṇa's image like the great Caitanyadeva of Bengal. It may be suggested that they were very much inspired by the *Yatras* and *Kīrtanas* of Bengal and Assam in their later performances.

The performance was invariably held at night, the stage being a simple platform. After the *Nāndīpāṭha* the *Nayaka* or

the *Sūtradhāra* made his appearance in his usual costumes—a *jama*, a *nima* and a *payjama* and a pair of sandals called *padduka*. Covered in a wrapper he also put on his head the old-fashioned *sathapaga* (the Maithila headdress, which used to be sixty hands in length, a sign of respectability and as such known as *satha* or sixty), with a rod in his hand, known as *phulahaththa*. Generally accompanied by his wife, the *naṭī*, he introduced the occasion, the author and the play to the audience. He took pride in showing his scholarship and knowledge of "learned" things.

The number of actors was generally small. The Nāyaka, the Nāyikā, the Sakhas (two or three), Nārada (or *Ghaṭaka* as a negotiator) and the Vipata (the Vidūsaka) formed the set characters of a Kirtaniya party. Sanskrit, and often Prākṛta were used in dialogues and stage-directions, and for the rest everything was conveyed through Maithilī songs and verses. Prose-passeges and dialogues were rare in these plays. Any action that needed detailed performance on the stage e.g. Pārvatī's penance, or a battle, etc. was generally shown through a description of it sung on the stage. The orchestra was specially trained in the Nāradīya form of musical Kirtana.

The audience formed mostly gathering of the most learned and the most illiterate. Entertainment was the chief aim. Apart from the vocal and instrumental music, they enjoyed the fun of the vipaṭā, the beautiful songs of the Nāyikā, attempts to bring such machines as the Garuḍa, the Mayūra and the Airāvata and the symbolical gesticulation of the actors to use the spectactors.

The structure of this drama was of two kinds—those using Sanskrit and Prākṛta dialogues and verses and those using vernacular songs only. The first type was meant for presentation to the court where the performance was witnessed by cultured and scholarly audience and the second was meant for the people in general portraying Maithila belief and customs and ceremonies and rites which contributed to its popularity all the more.

The Rāmalīlā

The Rāmalīlā forms a part of the famous Yātrā (Journey) which is rather an operative than a dance performance. It is generally staged in the open greens of villages, and sometimes in the courtyards of some rich persons of the village. Everywhere some form of *Yātrā* exists known under varying names, e. g. Kṛṣṇalīlā in Bengal and Rāmalīlā in Mithilā, in other parts of Bihar and Uttara Pradeśa. Themes from the Rāmāyaṇa are preferred to the Kṛṣṇalīlā.

The main factor in these performances is not the dancing itself but the acting and melodious singing with incidental dances by the *sakhis*. The performance is accompanied by an orchestra made up of a *ḍhol* (drum) and a chorus of singers, dressed in their peculiar white robe known as *choga*. Recently the violin and flute have been added to this and also unfortunately, the ubiquitous harmonium. The leader of this troupe of Yātrā players is known as *Adhikārī*. There are also a few mask dances enjoying an almost equal popularity, such as the Rādhā–Kṛṣṇa series showing episodes from the ever-appealing romances of the divine Kṛṣṇa and his consort Rādhā; the Hara-Pārvatī dances, also depicting a divine Romance, namely that of Śiva and Śakti and the Gaṅga dance, a choreographic description of the river 'Gaṅgā' in all its moods and seasons.

The Holi dance :

The Holi-dance is performed by the villagers on the eve of the Holi festival and after; to the accompaniment of songs and *ḍholaka*. It is a simple dance which symbolises mirth and carefree pleasures of the villagers on the eve of the dawn of the Holi which is hailed though the dances and songs. The most striking feature of the dancing is its reckless atmosphere of joyous abandonment which pervades it, and which is in complete accordance with the sentiments of the gay little songs to which the dances are an accompaniment. Unfortunately, this dance is now gradually dying out.

Jata-Jatina :

One of the most popular folk-dances of Mithilā is the Jata-Jatina dance, a versified performance with hardly any parallel

in other parts of the country. The main actors are *Jata* and *Jatin*. In the months of September-October (Aśvina-Kārtika), under the moon-lit, starry sky this performance is done in most of the villages of Mithilā. All the actors are girls and young women of the locality. The Jata is a male hero but his part is played by some girl or sometimes by a boy. The costumes of the Jata and the Jatin are unique. The former puts on a white garland of Kumudinī (a kind of water lily) flower round his neck and a white *mukuṭa on* his head. The Jatina wears ornaments, all of flowers. After having dressed up themselves beautifully, they stand face to face at a distance of about 3 yards. About a dozen young girls line up behind each, and start performance through Maithilī songs in the form of questions and answers. The costumes of the girls standing behind the Jata and the Jatina are natural without any make-up decorations or ornaments.

The plot of this performance is short, like one-act play. It depicts the complications of the matrimonial life of the Jata and the Jatina, the shadows and sun-shines, the sorrows and pleasures that beset this life ; the sordid and brutal raping tendency among the males ; the echoes of the acute problems of the youth and many other things connected with day to day life. The stage directions of this performance are also very brief but precise. The dialogue are full of satire and humour. The Jata is a man of aggressive nature and he attempts to crush the independent personality of the Jatina even before being tied in wedlock Naturally there is a conflict between the two and in this battle of conscience the Jatina tries to preserve her individuality but at last the Jata triumphs over the Jatina and the latter becomes a puppet in the hands of the former. Thus, the independent flow and the growth of Jatin's life gets sapped and finally dies out for ever.

The performance is simple but thrilling. Songs and music provide hilarious scenes and there is not a set stage. It is performed either inside or outside the courtyard and goes on practically for the whole of the night. The necessity for staging this performance arises when there are insufficient

rains and the women folk generally believe that the performance brings rains. Women of all orders take active part in this performance. The tradition of this dance is quite ancient and is maintained even to-day. [416]

Śyāma-Chakeva :

Śyāma-Chakeva is yet another popular folk-dance of Mithilā which also finds mention in the *Skanda* and the *Padma-purāṇas*—a fact that clearly speaks of its great tradition. We have already discussed its Purāṇic tradition earlier.

Eight days after the celebration of the Chaṭṭa pūjā in Mithilā, in the second half (Śukla pakṣa) of Kārtika, the songs of *Śyāma-Chakeva* reverberate like the enchanting heavenly music through the forests, the rivers, the green fields and the dusty village of Mithilā. It is mainly a performance of little boys and girls who aften include young girls and ladies. But this performance is now staged only in some villages and towns of Mithilā. It is a tragedy that the people are now gradually forgetting the ancient tradition of songs and dance in Mithilā.

Śyāma-Chakeva is a simple village-dance in which the main actors are Śyāma (female) and Chakeva (male). Śyāma is sister and Chakeva her brother. Besides these two, there are six other actors—(1) *Chuṅgala* (back-biter), (2) *Satabhaiya* (seven brothers), (3) *Khaṇḍaricha*, (4) *Vava-litara*, (5) *Jhañjhi-Kukura* and (6) *Vṛndāvana*. All these actors are represented through clay-images specially made for this occasion. The main purpose behind the presentation of this performance is to inspire pure love in the hearts of brother and sister but *Chuṅgala*, the back-biter tries to spoil the relation through his evil ways, and is penalised by the girls who burn his image (symbolishing wretched idiot and fool) daily for seven days and while burning his image sing a song with purports to say that chuṅgala deserve hanging.

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416. For the Maithilī songs sung on this occasion, see Ram Ikbal Singh 'Rakesh', *Maithili Lokagita*, Vol. I PP. 387 ff.

Satabhaiya or the seven brothers have been included to give it a broader look and wider connotation. The images of the *Satabhaiya* really symbolise all the brothers and sisters of the world.

Khaṇḍaricha is a symonym for *Khañjana* the bird who is first seen in the autumn, on the eve of this performance. He is hailed as the fore-runner of the autumn, through numerous songs.

As the songs of *Śyāma-Chakeva* are sung on the banks of the rivers, the fields and the forests, it is felt desirable to include *Vana-litara* (the forest-bird) who lives in bushes, in the list of the actors.

In villages, every farmer or cultivator keeps a dog (known as *Jhañjhi-Kukura*)[417] who is like a member of the family. He follows the party of the dancing and singing girls in the groves and forests, rivers and fields to protect them from the wild animals like bears, etc.

Vṛndāvana, (a place of pilgrimage for Hindus) stands here for a special kind of forest. But the peculiarity is that the clay-image symbolising *Vṛndāvana* bears human face which is pierced through with long straws. When the singing girls reach the groves and fields they set fire to it and sing a particular song which says : "Vṛndāvana is set on fire, there is no one to extinguish it..... our brothers will certainly put it out."[418]

These different inburnt clay-images are put in a *chaṅgeri* (made of bamboo and muñja) along with a lamp. The girls carry them on their heads and move through the lanes and muhallas of the villages boisterously singing and dancing. After the *parikramā* they assemble near the paddy-fields, or mango-trees, or *neem* or *imlī* tree and spread the images on the earth; pick up green grasses; give to eat, and then they get back to their respective homes singing.

The final celebration (which starts from the *Saptamī* in the śukla pakṣa of Kārtika) is completed on the day of

417. It is also the name of a bird which is not meant here.

418. Cf. the song.

Kārtika Purṇimā. On that day a boat of plantain tree is constructed and the girls put the images on it after breaking them, along with rice, *ciurā* (flat rice), sweets, curd, etc. And, finally the boat is sunk in some nearby tank or river, and they sing the departing songs which is quite pathetic and touching.[419]

A simple dance, the foot-work is unique. When the whole village is asleep, the enchanting songs reverberate through every nook and corner providing the solemn background of these wandering bands of dancers who possess no make-up, no stage. Their simplicity is their only make-up and the endless fields, rivers and forests their only stage.

Nayana-jogina

It is yet another ritual connected with the marriage ceremony. After the completion of the marriage ceremony the groom is asked by a band of ladies to recognise his bride from amongst two or three girls (including his own bride) who are all under veil. They are then required to look at each other and the bride is asked to make presents in the form of ornaments to his groom. The ladies sing songs which serve as play-back to the joyous scene connected with this performance. It is all simple but thrilling for the young couple. The performance is all set without any decorations whatever. It is a part of the marriage ceremony of the Maithila Brāhmaṇas and bears Tantric significance.

Salhesa-Pūjā

The Salhesa-pūjā or the song of king Salhesa is most popular throughout the district of Darbhanga amongst the low-caste people and it is celebrated in form of a dance by a priest through a big song to the accompaniment of a Ḍholaka. It is said that he was the first Caukidār, and is much worshipped by Dusadha—a caste whose profession was to steal and to act as caukidārs, preferably the former. Throughout Tirhut, Salhesa *sthānas* (places of Salhesa worship) can be

419. For the numerous songs sung on this occasion, see Rakesh, op. cit., 372 ff.

seen under the village *pīpal* tree, composed of a red mud platform surmounted by mounted figures made of clay, representing the various characters of the song. Here the Dusadhas worship him.

Although a song, it is written in prose and is chanted, rather than sung. [420]

Once in a year the dance is performed at the *Salhesa-sthāna* where Dusadha and other castes of the village assemble together with flowers, and other objects of worship. Decorations are simple but quite representative of the occasion. The priest utter mantras and after sometime begins trembling showing thereby that King Salhesa had entered his body. Thereupon he shouts, runs and moves on the edge of the sword. He then goes on throwing flowers and uttering blessings on those who offer various presents to please the God. After sometime the priest comes back to his normal form and the celebration is over.

It is practically one mans' show—the priest who manages the whole affair by trembling, shouting, running, moving on the edge of the sword, enchanting the song of Salhesa and finally distributing favours on the devotees. Right from the beginning to the end the dance is thrilling, sometimes inspiring and very often pleasing to the ears and eyes.

Kamalā-Pūjā

It is yet another popular song throughout Mithilā among the low-caste people. Kamalā, the river, represents Kamalā the water-goddess and goddess of fish and much enthusiastically worshipped by the Mallahas (the fishermen). Once in a year in which the people of the whole village are invited to see. Like King Salhesa, goddess Kamalā also enters the body of the priest who trembles and shouts and later bestows blessings on the devotees who promised to offer presents to her in case their desires were fulfilled.

The background of the Pūjā is provided by the song of Kamalā (*Kamalā ka gīta*) which narrates her brave exploits

420. For the song, see Grierson, *Maithila Christomathy*, pf. II. PP. 3-11.

and divine deeds, to the accompaniment of a *ḍholaka, mṛdaṅga* and *jhāla.* The song is no doubt soothing to the ears and the performance on the whole is an exhilarating.

Like Kamalā Pūjā, the Kośi-pūjā is also celebrated against the background of the song of the Kośi river in the same style in some parts of Tirhut (Cf. R. K. Choudhary—*Kośi Songs*–in the *SPARK* of 1954).

Other dances

Besides the above dances, there are other minor dances among the different classes of low-caste people. The *Goraiyan* dance among the Dhanukas and the Musaharas, the serpent dance among the *Saperas* or *natas*; the Rahu dance among the *Dusadhs*; Dinabhadri among the Musaharas and others among the Camāras, Ḍom as, the Mana-chubbhi and Bhikhari Thakur's Bidesia deserve special mention. Of these the Rāhu-pūjā among the Dusadhas is no less important than the Salhesa Pūjā. The Dusadhas trace their descent from Rāhu who is as such a great object of worship among this caste, on this occasion a huge sacrificial hit is made and out of it spring forth the raging flames towards the sky. The *bhagata* or the priest with a stick in his hand sings and crosses the flames along with two others. And, then the Bhagata starts showering blessings on the devotees who include all classes of people. The style of performance is almost the same as in the Salhesa-pūjā. The *Manachubhi* (one which pierces the mind) and the Bidesiya (though not originally Maithila and imported from South Bihar) are also very popular dances with the low caste people.

And lastly, a few words about *Marsia.* The Muslims of almost every district of Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur have incorporated dancing into their great mourning period of Muharram as part of the ceremonies which express their grief. The principal dances on this occassion are called *Marsia* and *Jari* (meaning mourning). The dances form themselves into a ring, and holding up the flouring skirts of their dhoties in one hand, and waring scarte pieces of cloth in the other, move round stamping out a rhythm with the aid of the bell-anklets worn on the ankles and small bamboo sticks to the

tune of songs led by the presentor of the group, who stands outside the ring of the performers and intones the dirges relating the tragic events on the battlefield of Kerbala when the two brothers—Hassan and Hussain met their untimely ends.

It can be safely remarked that the life and energy of the dance seem to be derived almost entirely from incidents in the colourful lives of the Hindu heroes and gods whose festivals are celebrated in great number throughout the year or, it may be suggested, it seems to be derived from the incidents of the peasant's own lives, lived so close to nature, and so dependent on her moods.

The introduction of purely religious imagery in the context of a purely erotic experience bespeaks of a mind which was audacious enough to yoke together even the most heterogenous ideas. In one of his well-known conceits Vidyāpati frequently compares Rādhā's breasts to two gold idols of Śiva. Not content with that, Vidyāpati has developed this image in many ways. When for instance the pearl necklace of Rādhā is dangling over her breasts, it appears as if cupid were worshipping Śiva with the sacred water of the Gaṅgā. And when her head is bent down and her tresses dangling over the bosom, it appears as if he were worshipping Śiva with lotus fanning. Even in the poems written in his old age one finds this wit persisting (*Vayas katay taji gelā*). An analysis of this poem will reveal the tone of good humoured levity which characterises it. And yet the high seriousness of the experience, the tough reasonableness that lies beneath the lyrical grace, is not in any way spoiled. The use of boldly realistic imagery of colloquial rhythms of every day speech heightens the pathos of the situation. The attitude implicit in the serene contemplation of physical infirmity and helplessness has none of the sentimental fretfulness of a romantic poet; it is the attitude of one who sees life steadily and sees it whole. And the element of humour and fun which enlivens his *Nacharis* makes their appeal to the hearts of the simple village folk of Mithilā irresistible.

Both Jyotirīśvara and Vidyāpati, if read together, give us

a list of various other minor artistic performances. Vidyāpati also refers to magicians. The showing of a thing as existing that doth not so exist is called 'magic' and he who is an adept threin is a warlock." [421] Pakṣadhara, one of the greatest logicians, has been characterised as an expert warlock. The rulers also encouraged this art. The people were amazed at the magical feats of the warlocks. The description of a droll has not escaped the attention of our poet. He says [422]—"He, who, by his comical art, and by changing his bodily form or voice becometh the favourite of a great man is called a droll." Vidyāpati's list of musical instruments and number of *rāgas* in his songs, if read with Jyotirīśvara's account, gives us an insight into the cultural achievement of the age. The art of letter-writing, its various forms and manners, is evident from his *Likhnāvalī*. Calligraphy was not neglected. It has been held that calligraphy and painting appeared in India with the introduction of paper, one of the commodities which the Muhammadans brought with them to India. This affected the graphic art of India. The Indians had clung to the picturesque palm-leaf. [423] The Maithila scribes have been well-known for their finest writings on the palm-leaves. The tradition is very old. Innumerable palm-leaf *MSS*, discovered in the length and breadh of this country, bear testimony to this fact and the *colophons* of those *MSS* give us the names of those copyists. In Mithila, there is no dearth of these records and we have even today a copy of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, copied by a person of no less eminence than Vidyāpati himself. We have already referred to the hand-written manuscript of *Kālacakratantra* written by Jayarama

Minor arts

Magic

Droll

Letter writing

Calligraphy

421. *PP* (G) Tale 24—वस्तुन्यप्यतथाभूते तथाभावप्रदर्शनम् । इन्द्रजालमिति प्राहुस्तद्विद्यास्त्वैन्द्रजालिकाः ।

422. *Ibid*—Tale 29.

423. Percy Brown—*Indian Paintings under the Mughals* (Oxford–1924).

datta of Ara. This art was widely cultivated in Mithilā till the end of the last century and the *Maithila pañjikāras* even now maintain it.

According to Shelley imagination is the great instrument of moral good and poetry administers to the effect by acting upon the causes and that is why he calls the poets founders of the civil society. His version can be well tried upon our poet whose vision is immensely wide and who has left no aspect of society untouched.[424] That accounts for the immense popularity of Vidyāpati, though most of his works are yet unpublished. Even an ordinary and unlettered man in the field is seen today singing, while ploughing and sowing, the songs of Vidyāpati. He is really a people's poet and illustrations are even now given by a piece from the poet. Whatever he wrote in language was for the common people. No functions in Mithilā are begun without a song by Vidyāpati.[425] From whatever point we judge, it is apparent that he served the interest of the society. The art of writing

Art of Padāvalī

Padāvali reached its height in Vidyāpati and in that respect he can be regarded as the precursor of later Vaiṣṇava *Bhajanāvalis* and *Padāvalis*. Poetry is undoubtedly an art and in the words of Lord Jeffrey—"As the object of poetry is to give pleasure, it would seem to be a pretty safe conclusion that poetry must be the best which gives greatest pleasure to the greatest number[426] of readers." Vidyāpati was a man of varied interest. He wrote with force and sincerity born of actual experience. Freshness is one of the remarkable features of his poetry. *Nachāris* and *Maheśavānis*[427] depict the life of the people. He took every poetic element and subdued it to a harmony of artistic perfection. According to Browing when

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424. N. N. Das-*op. cit.* P. 27—विद्यापति समाज के गम्भीर निरीक्षक थे।

425. गोसाउनिक गीत, जोग, उचिति, मिनती, महेशवाणी इत्यादि।

426. Quoted in N N. Das—*op. cit.* P. 280.

427. Blochman—*Aini-Akbari*-III. 252 refers to *Lachāris* (*Nachāris*) of Vidyāpati—and calls the same as one of the specialities of Mithilā.

passion and philosophy meet in a single individual, we have a great poet and that Vidyāpati was.

V

Hindu Muslim relations

Any survey of cultural life during the period, under review, would remain incomplete without a reference to the relationship that existed between the two major communities, *that is,* the *Hindus* and the *Muslims.* As Dr. K. M. Ashraf has observed—"Under the Muslim rule, we do not enter into a new era in Indian history, *but only a stage in the great social development which has been going on since the first dawn of Indian History*.....Hindu social system is one of the strongest and the most endurable in the world. *It happened by a strange chance that the first power with which Hindus were brought into permanent contact was one which differed from them as widely as possible in almost everything.....a complete antithesis of their whole system.* As a result of the muslim impact.....*political and social division were levelled, caste was modified; religious tendencies took a new direction and force ; and finally the conception of India as a whole was made possible.*" (*op. cit.* 107). According to Professor Habib, the administrative unification of India was a Turkish achievement and they were driven to it by circumstances rather than by conscious planning.[428] As a result of the contact between the two communities, a number of old social and legal functions had passed outside the operation of caste rules. With the elimination of the old rivalry of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kṣatriyas,* the authority and personal influence of the *Brāhmaṇas* as a class increased among the Hindu masses and that led to even more rigid restrictions of caste rules. Malik Muhammad Jāyasi has given a long list of the occupational castes. The introduction of Islam in India effected a change in classes and in their relative position, but

428. Introductio to Khaliq Ahmad Nizami's—"*Some aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the 13th. century*"—(Bombay–1961), p. XIX.

did not uproot the institution. In fact, Islam also succumbed to the sprit of class division (*op. cit.* P. 195).

The early Muslim settlers tried to be accommodative. Shihabuddin continued the figures of goddess Lakṣmī on his gold coins. According to Habibullah, it indicates the extent to which the conquerors were prepared to compromise their religious ideas with the demands of the state (Cf. *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*—p. 300). Qutubuddin Aibak allowed Rajput princes to rule over Delhi, Ajmer and Gwalior even after the conquest of those regions. The Turkish nobles entered into alliance with Hindu chieftains. Balban sought the co-operation of Danujrai (of Sonargaon) against Tughral. The mystic attitude towards the Hindus was one of sympathetic understanding. They fought against illiteracy and held aloft the Islamic principles of equality and brotherhood. Conciliation and concord between the various cultured groups was an urgent social necessity and the mystics helped in the development of common cultural outlook. Amir Khusrau (the Persian poet) refers to Hindu customs and ceremonials in a spirit which must have been instrumental in discovering the principles of essential unity between the different religions. He came and settled in India. He was the greatest fertilising force in Hindustani music. It was he who either invented or brought to India some of our noblest and most beautiful instruments. Indian music assimilated new forces and theories. A delicate muslim superstructure with fine curves was given to the robust body of Hindu music and the dominating figure in this regeneration was Amir Khusrau.

The considerations of religion and caste were transcended by the trade morality and guild spirit which determined the relation between Hindu and Muslim working classes. Both Hindu and Muslim traders were given freedom to carry on their business. According to Professor Habib the acceptance of Islam by the city workers "was a decision of the local professional groups, and that in making their decisions they were naturally more concerned with mundane affairs and

their position in the social order than with abstract theological truths" (Introduction to Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*—Vol. II. P. 59). The Muslims did not bring with them artisans, accountants and clerks, their buildings were erected by Hindus who adopted their ancient rules to newer conditions. Thakur Phero's work on medieval temple architecture, Vastusāra, written during the reign of Alauddin Khalji, does not make any reference in the construction of temple (Cf. *JUPHS*–1943 July, pp. 112–117). Their coins were struck by Hindu goldsmiths and Brahmin Legists advised the king on the administration of Hindu Law. The period under review saw the growth of Hindu mercantile community, Alauddin Khalji had to depend upon the Hindu Nāyakas for grain and clothes.

After the passing of political powers into the hands of the Muslims, the Rajputa feudal lords lost their sway. The lower orders did not suffer any loss of economic position. The substitution of forced labour by fee labour had a tremendous effect on the condition of the masses. Hindu moneylenders advanced money to Muslim aristocracy. Social and economic forces brought the two communities together. Political disturbances hardly disturbed the rural pattern. The peasant carried on their vocation without bothering about any change.

The Hindu Society was composed of a heterogeneous mass of peoples of differing degrees of cultures and languages. In short, it can be said that Hinduism presented a panorama of beliefs which extended from the profoundest faiths of philosophy to the grossest form of superstition. The Muslim society, though not so sharply divided, had higher and lower classes comprising of *sharif* (ruling groups upper strata) and *ajlap* (the lowly and the mean). The contact between the Hindus and the muslims inevitably produced their effects and the Hindu reformers sought to minimise the differences and bring them together. The Sufis became interested in the principles of Hindu Philosophy and both the Hindu and Muslim writers contributed equally to the development of Indian languages. There were fusions in artistic styles, painting and music. *Bhakti* and *Tasawwuf* (mysticism) were the

direct results of the contact between the two communities. The Muslims adopted many Hindu manners and customs. The age of original Hindu thought was now gone and as Dr. Radhakrishnan observes—"the philosophers, or rather writers of philosophy of this period of decadence, profess to be votaries of truth, though they understand by it merely the pious sophistries or the sacrosanct hair splittings of this or that school of dogmatics. These professor dialecticians imagine that the small brooke by their side, trickling away in the sand or evaporating in the fog, is the broad river of Indian philosophy." [429] Whereas the *Bhakti* was the revival of the popularity of the *Bhāgvatapurāṇa*, the *Maithila* Dharmaśāstra writers did not ignore the study of the *Smṛtis*. No commentary of importance is seen after Vācaspati Miśra, the doyen of the Maithila *Nibandhakāras*. According to Keith, these writers fail to evolve any independence of attitude and to establish the legitimacy of a custom of their area by torturing ancient texts which obviously meant something else. [430] The fusion, in the realm of art, is evident from the architecture of Jaunpur to which Vidyāpati is an eye witness. The Jaunpur art is characterised by a happy synthesis of Hindu and Muslim architectural ideals.

During our period, the Muslims had made a large number of converts. Social practises of the Indian Muslims were largely influenced by the Hindus. The *Satya Pir* was popular with the village folks of both the communities. The rapproachment on a national scale does not seem to have been possible. Since the political supremacy of the Muslim was a reality, the Hindus had practically no political status. There was no interdining or inter marriage inspite of the good neighbourly feelings that they had at places. Neither of them could relax in any way the social bigotry. In Bihar the mingling of the two communities seems to have been more than in any other part. The Muslim thinkers of Bihar addressed

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429. Radhakrishnan—*op. cit.* II. 771-772.

430. A. B. Keith—*A History of Sanskrit Literature*—P. 449.

some non-Muslims as *Thakkara* (Thākur) and justified it on the ground that the word meant *Khudāwand.* The Muslim saints of Bihar justified the acceptance of charity given by non-muslims and some of them even justified the use of vermillion by Muslim women. [431] Though there was a difference in the concept of domestic life, we see that in both the societies, a distinct preference to a male over female was given. So far as [432] *Purdāh* is concerned, Vidyāpati and Jayasi refer to it as being prevalent among the Hindus. Vidyāpati throws a flood of light on the relationship, then existing between the Hindus and the Muslims. From the *Kīrtilatā*, it is evident that condition of the Hindus was most deplorable. At Jaunpur, where the Hindus and Turks lived together, one is found reviling the religion of the other. Hindu male and female slaves were sold and purchased. There is also a reference to the forced labour resorted to by the Muslim soldiers. Their code of behaviour was different from the Hindus. The Brāhmaṇas were vexed in a number of ways (*Kīrtilatā*— Pallava-III & IV). Times had changed considerably and Vidyāpati deplores the dearth of people who could reward a poet adequately. Inspite of these facts, the reality is that the relation between the two communities had been intimate as we see that in the language there had been sufficient mixture. The use of large number of Hindustani words, phrases, idioms and similes in the contemporary literature shows the extent to which social contacts had developed. Even in the .writings of Jyotirīśvara, there is a scent of Persian influence interspered here and there. The *Kīrtipatākā* and the *Likhnāvalī* also contain some vague references about such contacts between these two peoples. Vidyāpati's patron Śivasiṁha is said to have granted lands to muslim saints and *Faquirs* (Cf. *Aini-Tirhut* and the *Bayaz* of Mullā-Taqia). North Bihar was an important centre of the Sufi saints. Vidyāpati, in his poems and writings, has immortalised various Muslim chiefs and rulers of the time. In his *PP*, Vidyāpati has further given examples of the tolerance of

431. *BTA*—430-431.

432. *PB*—LIX.

Hindu rulers towards the Muslims and the loyalties of muslims towards their Hindu masters.[433] We shall see later on how a large number of Perso-Arabic words were absorped into the vernacular language of the land i.e. *Maithilī*. That shows that there was a regular contract between the two communities (Hindus and Muslims of Mithilā). In some respects, complete fusion between the two is discernible in Mithilā. *Dalāna, Mahapā, Haveli, Rikābi, Kabulā, Adanā* and titles like *Khān, Bakshi, Choudhary, Mallik, Majumdar,* etc. are the examples of fusion. *Tazia* or *Dāhā* as it is called in Maithilī attracts not only the Muslims but also the Hindus. Even Jyotirīśvara mentions a large number of Perso-Arabic worlds. Grierson in his *Bihar Peasant Life* (P. 404) has shown that the *Kunjarā* community worships a deity called Rāma Ṭhākur and similarly Hindus are found worshipping Ghāzi Mian and others Pirs. Bryne's Bhagalpur Gazetter (1908) contains an account of such fusion at Sarsendi near Kishanganj of the district of Saharsa. A deity called *Bālapira* is worshipped by the Hindus and Cocks are sacrified for him. The rāgas like *Iman* and *Firdausi* invented by Amir Khusrau were adopted by the Maithila musicians and Locana bears testimony to the fact (Cf. *Viśvabhāratī quarterly*—1944 Part III; Locana *RT*-PP. 126, 127. 128, 129). There was no absence of mutual tolerance. The contributions of the Muslims of Mithilā to the development of Maithilī literature are also worth noting (Cf. Grierson—*Maithila Chrestomathy* P. 20).

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433. For a detailed account of the political relations—see my book—*History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut* (1200–1765 A. D.); My article in the *JOT* (already referred); Askari's articles in the *JBRS* (various volumes) & in the *G. D. College Bulletin No. 4* for Sufi Saints. *HCIP*–Vol. VI for Hindu Muslim relations; the *Bayāz* of Mulla Taqia. The *Aini Tirhut* contains a long list of the Muslim families of Tirhut, with an account of each of them. Many family papers of most of the muslim families of Tirhut are yet untapped.

CHAPTER V

Section—A

GENERAL INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

I

The historical and cultural background

Mithilā is bounded on the north by the Himālayas, and on the south, west and east by the Ganges, the Gaṇḍaka and the Kauśikī respectively. It comprises the districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Saharsa, Purnea, north Monghyr and parts of the Terai region under Nepal. It forms the north-eastern part of the State of Bihar. The *Mithilāmāhātmya* describes the boundary of Mithilā in the following manner—"Between the Himālayas and the Ganges, intercepted by fifteen rivers, lies the most holy land known as Tīrabhukti; beginning from the Kośi and running upto the Gaṇḍakī, its length is declared to be twenty four *Yojanas, that is,* 192 miles; beginning from the Ganges and extending upto the Himalayan forests, its breadth is sixteen *Yojanas, that is,* 128 miles. There is situated the city of Mithilā." The name, 'Tīrabhukti,' appears in the records of the Gupta period (*circa*—4th century A. D.). Tīrabhukti is modern Tirhut.

The antiquity of Mithilā is proved beyond any shadow of doubt. The story of the Aryan colonisation of Mithilā is narrated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and name Mithilā or Videha is derived from Videgha Mathava. The word Mithilā was derived from *"manth"* (to churn) by the author of the *Uṇādisūtra.* According to the *Matsyapurāṇa,* Mithilā was also the name of a sage. Mithi was one of the rulers who is said to have carried out *Aśvamedha Yajña* and thereby rendered it holy. Mithilā was originally the name of the capital of the land, which was known as Videha. Mithilā and Videha ultimately came to be synonymous. Mithilā figures prominently in the Vedic and epic sources.

The land of Mithilā is alluvial and fertile. The life of the people of Mithilā is mostly dependent on the various rivers. Tirabhukti reminds us of the fact that Mithilā is a land of rivers which have always acted as dividing lines both politically and geographically. The *Saptagaṇḍakī* and *Saptakauśikī* form the two main river systems of Mithilā. The *Saptagaṇḍakī*, before it reaches the plain, is also known as *Triveṇī* (the three streams). The *Saptakauśikī* descends on the plain near Varāhakṣetra, a holy place mentioned in the *Purāṇas* and the Gupta records. The Gandaka region is associated with the legend of *Gajendramokṣa* and the place is identified with modern *Hariharakṣetra* (Sonepur) on the western bank of the Gandaka. The *Bṛhadviṣṇupurāṇa* gives a long list of the rivers of Mithilā. The numerous beds of hill streams pass through Mithilā on their way from Nepal to the Ganges. Bagmati, Kamla, Balan, Tiljuga, Jiwacha, Karamanasa, Karai, Lakhandei, Adhwara, Dhemura are some of the important rivers of the region. Of the *Saptakosi*, the Sankosi, the Arunkosi and the Tamur Kosi form the *Triveṇī* and they find mention in the works of Kālidāsa.

II

Mithilā is a land well-known for orthodoxy and conservatism. All important castes and groups are found in Mithilā. The predominance of the Hindus in the area is natural as we know that the geographical factors have played a very important part in the formation of the area. The insularity of the area is also due to the geographical reasons. The depredations in the medieval period were comparatively less than in other parts of India and that is why the Muslim population in the area is limited. There has hardly been any change in old social structure during the last six hundred years when Harisiṁhadeva introduced *Kulinism*. The society, already based on the *Varṇāśramadharma*, was made more rigid and conservative in the fourteenth century A. D. The reforms of Harisiṁhadeva aimed at the preservation of the purity of blood. The predominance of

the priestly aristocracy has been so great that any reform outside the accepted scheme has been more an illusion than a reality. The caste system of the Hindus also affected the Muslims of Mithilā and they are also divided into *Sheikh, Pathans, Momins,* etc. According to Sir George Abraham Grierson, Mithilā has been a tract too proud to admit other nationalities to intercourse on equal terms, and has passed through conquests after conquests without changing its ancestral peculiarities.

III

In Bihar, Mithilā was first to be aryanised. Mithilā is associated with the name of Janaka Videha and stands apart pre-eminently as the land given to intellectual pursuits and consequently to speculations about the spiritual well-being of man. Janaka gave impetus to philosophical discussions and encouraged the cultivation of *Brahmavidyā*. The philosophical discussions at his court formed the kernel round which the Indian culture had grown, developed and ultimately perfected in later years. "The path of duty can be known from the usages of Mithilā,"—a passage attributed to Yajñavalkya is later echoed by Vidyāpati in his *Puruṣaparikṣā* where he says—"the people of Tirabhukti are by nature proud of their merits." It was here in Mithilā where Janaka ruled, Yajñavalkya legislated and Gautama meditated.

Mithilā was also associated with the leaders of Jainism and Buddhism. Ws have no definite information about the ancient ruling dynasties except the Janaka dynasty. For sometime, Mithilā formed a part of the republic of Vaiśāli and during the Gupta period, it formed a part of the Gupta empire. It appears that it also formed a part of the empire of Harṣavardhana. The period, following his death, is one of political turmoils and confusion and the real history of Mithilā, as an independent unit, begins in 1097 A. D. Mithilā, under the Karṇāṭas, ushered in a new era of splendid glory and achievements. It was under the Karṇāṭas that Mithilā once again became the centre of philosophy, law and

literature. Mithilā became a distinct regional and cultural unit. The Karṇāṭas were replaced by the Oinwaras in about 1325 A. D., and under that dynasty, Mithilā made remarkable progress in literature and philosophy. Vidyāpati flourished under the Oinwaras. The Oinwaras were replaced by the Khandawalas in about 1556 A. D. Under the Karṇāṭas, the social structure of the upper classes was stabilised, in fact stereotyped, by the introduction of Kulinism.

The contribution of Mithilā to the development of synthetic Indian culture has been immense. Yajñavalkya developed the *Mādhyanandinī* branch of *Yajurveda* (universally known as *Śukla* and accepted by the whole of northern India). The *Yajñavalkyasmṛti* came to be duly recognised and formed the bedrock of the Mithilā school of Hindu Law. The contribution of Mithilā to the *Smṛti* is equally important. Mithilā has produced illustrious writers and thinkers and India is justly proud of Mithilā's contribution to *Nyāya*. It was first systematised by Gautama and in the twelfth century A. D., Gaṅgeśa gave it a new orientation. In the realm of philosophy, specially *Nyāya* and *Mīmāṁśā*, Udyotakara, Maṇḍana, Prabhākara, Vācaspati, Pārthasārathi, Udayanācārya, Murāri, Gaṅgeśa, Pakṣadhara and Śaṁkara made their valuable contributions while in the realm of *Smṛti*, Śrīkara, Halayudha, Bhavadeva, Śrīdhara, Anirudha, Caṇḍeśvara, Gaṇeśvara, Vācaspati, Vidyāpati and others are notable figures. Scholars from different parts of India used to come here for training and proficiency in Neo-Logic or *Navya-Nyāya*. It was with the permission of his teachers of Mithilā that Raghunātha Śiromaṇi started his famous *Navya-Nyāya* centre at Nadia. Mithilā greatly influenced Bengal in philosophy and poetry. Mithilā offered hospitable welcome to the scholars of Vikramaśīlā and Nālandā and helped them in preserving the manuscripts they had brought with them. From the literary point of view, the medieval age has rightly been described as the golden age of Mithilā.

The literary achievements of Mithilā were second to none. Padmanābha Datta started a new school of Grammar known

as '*Supadma Vyākaraṇa.*' Bhānudatta, author of *Rasamañjarī*, wrote on Rhetorics and Erotics, where Jyotirīśvara had already made a name by writing *Pañcasāyaka* and *Raṅgaśekhara*. Pṛthvīdhara Ācārya wrote a commentary on *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Bhavadeva on *Naiṣadhacarita* and Govinda Thakur composed *Kāvyapradīpa*. Śrīdharadāsa brought out a magnificient anthology, known as *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* In the field of lexicon, Śrīkara Ācārya's commentary on the *Amarakoṣa* is a remarkable achievement of Sanskrit literature.

In the realm of music, Mithilā made notable contribution and that is evident from the *Varṇanāratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara. Since ths days of Nānyadeva, Mithilā has been an important centre of music, drama and dance. Nānyadeva is credited with having developed popular *rāgas* and is believed to have been the inspirer of the Mithilā school of music which assumed a new form after being influenced by Jayadeva. Hariṣiṁhadeva was himself a great patron of music. The *Varṇanāratnākara* gives a detailed account of music, dance, drama and other allied acts and activities of the period. Books on music were written and compiled and *Śrīhastamuktavali* of Śubhaṅkara Thākur is considered to be an important contribution in this respect. Locana's *Ragataraṅgiṇī* mentions a number of *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs* associated with the Mithilā school of music. The musical tradition is yet in vogue in different parts of Mithilā.

Śiva is the most popular deity of Mithilā. Vidyāpati, who wrote *Śaivasarvasvasāra,* also composed *Nacharis* and *Maheṣavanis* (songs of Śiva) in honour of Śiva. The *Ain-i-Akbari* describes *Nachari* as one of the peculiarities of Tirhut. The religious impact on the Maithilī literature is not negligible. The worship of *Śiva, Śakti* and *Viṣṇu* has been very popular and Mithilā has been recognised as one of the important centres of the Tāntric cults. The life of the people of Mithilā has been under the wholesome influence of Tāntrism and that can be gleaned even through the popular painting of Mithilā, commonly known as *Aripaṇa.* The first verse that is taught to a beginner is indicative of the influence of *Śakti*

and even the script, *Mithilākṣara,* is attributed to Tāntric *Yantra.* No aspect of human life is free from the deep impact of religion and it is, therefore, natural that the language should have been influenced by such forces. The social and cultural environments have influenced poetry and melodious songs. Maithilī has been deeply coloured by the changing religious faiths of the people under successive dynasties. Jainism, Buddhism, Śaivism, Śaktism, Vaiṣṇavism and others have left an indelible mark on the literary heritage of Mithilā. There has been a very rich and long tradition of Maithilī love poetry connected with *Rādhākṛṣṇa.* Maithilī lyrics inspired the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal. The songs of Jayadeva, Caṇḍidāsa and Vidyāpati used to delight Caitanyadeva.

IV

The basic unity of the Hindus and the Muslims expressed itself in attempts that were made at synthesis of Hinduism and Islam. Such synthesis is borne out by the fact that a large number of Arabic and Persian words find place in the Maithilī vocabulary since the days of Jyotirīśvara Ṭhākur. The titles like *Khan, Choudhary* and *Bakṣi,* etc. among the Hindus are the direct results of such contacts. The *Muharram* is observed both by the Hindus and the Muslims alike. Sir G. A. Grierson observed the *Kunjras* (a caste of vegetable sellers among the Muslims) worshipping a Hindu deity, known as Rāma Thākur and Hindus worshipping *Pañchpiriya, that is,* Ghazl Mian and four other *Pirs.* The famous *Imana* and *Firdausa rāgas,* invented by Amir Khusrav, find mention in Locana's *Rāgataraṅgiṇi.* Muslim poets have composed *Marsiyas* in Maithilī literature. Inspite of the declared conservatism of Mithilā, the fusion of the two communities has been complete and instances may be multiplied to prove this contention. The Hindus, while worshipping a deity called *Balapira,* sacrifice a cock for this god. Muslims are similarly found singing Maithilī devotional songs. The impact of Muslim contact was visible throughout India and Hinduism was obliged to relax its social rigidity and exclusiveness if it

wished to keep its masses to itself. Many of the Brāhmaṇas and upper caste Hindus allied themselves with the masses and advocated the removal of social inequality and stood for the unification of the people. Since vernacular was the best medium of communication between the masses, these leaders did not hesitate to adopt it rather they gave it a literary shape and form. In this movement, the leadership came from the upper classes of the crumbling nobility. Maithilī emerged from the classical and indegenous sources—the first supplied the body and second the spirit.

V

As a centre of culture and studies, Mithilā has earned a name in the annals of scholastic learning. The Buddhists met their real opponents in Mithilā and the result was the establishment of the supremacy of the Brāhmanical thought. Rigorous disciplines were introduced and the scholars strained themselves to prescribe rules of social and moral conduct. The mint, anise and cumin of the Brahmanic law in their everyday life are responsible for the archaic complex and synthetic character of the Maithilī language. The influence of Sanskrit on Maithilī is apparent. Thoughts, themes, prosody, imagery and even plots have been frequently drawn from Sanskrit and even grammar is not completely free from its tentacles. Scholiasts always looked upon Maithilī as 'degraded' or 'fallen' (*Apabhraṁśa*). There had been hardly any aristocratic patronage of the language. Sanskrit and Prakrit were frequently used and Maithilī just formed a part of it in the form of songs, etc.

At a time when Maithilī was born, Mithilā had a long literary tradition. Sanskrit was the main vehicle of expression and the chief source of learing. The influence of Sanskrit on Maithilī is similar to that of Latin on English. Even after the Muslim conquest, when Sanskrit ceased to be a living language in a greater part of India, Mithilā continued to cultivate it with all earnestness. The famous writers of Maithilī in the early period were equally great in Sanskrit, now

the language of a very small coterie. That is why Maithilī is, to a great extent, indebted to Sanskrit even in modes, ideas, figures and themes. Sanskrit provided Maithilī with a great intellectual and spiritual background. As a repository of knowledge and culture, Sanskrit reigned supreme as medium of religious and secular culture. Priests, philosophers and the *Nibandhakāras* composed their works in Sanskrit and they were patronised by the royalty and the aristocracy. As the *Devabhāṣā* (the language of the gods), it was held in high esteem since it was the embodiment of the Indian tradition. Writing in Sanskrit was considered to be a qualification and a sign of greatness and hence persons, even well-versed in languages, chose to write in Sanskrit. They tried to live upto the great tradition represented by Sanskrit. The process of writing in people's language was started by the Jainas and the Buddhists who took to *Prākṛt* and *Pāli* respectively. No other modern Indian language has followed the lines of Sanskrit so closely as Maithilī. The greatest Maithilī treatise on Grammar, by Mahāvaiyākaraṇa Dīnabandu Jha, has been written in the *sūtra* form and has a long *Dhātupāṭha* attached to it in the Paninian manner. Even in the Maithilī dramas we frequently come across three languages *viz.* Sanskrit, Prakrit and Maithili. The earliest drama *Pārijātaharaṇa* by Umāpati is in all the three languages mentioned above. *Mahākāvyas, Khaṇḍakāvyas* and *Campūs* are still very popular in Maithilī. Even the *Vratakathās* are based on the epics and *Purāṇas*. Vidyāpati and other writers were indebted to Sanskrit.

Sanskrit also proved a hindrance to the growth of Maithilī. The reason that made Sir Thomas More in England to write his *Utopia* in Latin in preference to English *or* Ragunātha Śiromaṇi to write his *Cintāmaṇi Dīdhitī* in Sanskrit in preference to Bengali has similar parallels in Mithilā, where, inspite of the growth of Maithilī, scholars preferred to write in Sanskrit. Maithilī had fairly established itself by then. The scholars stuck to Sanskrit for the natural desire they had to belong to the great tradition Sanskrit embodied. A large mass did not understand Sanskrit but even then that was

adopted by the scholars who considered Maithilī as the *Apabhraṃśa* or the fallen language and, therefore, fit only to embody light literature. No scholarly writing was, therefore, made in Maithilī in the past. Great philosophical dissertations or even the *Smṛtis* were neither written nor compiled in Maithili. The Maithila Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas took the greatest share in producing the vast bulk of Maithili literature in the past and balanced the language with suitable models. They brought it near to the masses. The tradition of the master prose style of Jyotirīśvara was not followed by the conservative scholars. *It was ultimately Vidyāpati who boldly asserted the sweetness of 'Desilabayana' (native language) and established its authority over the all-embracing character of Sanskrit, Maithilī had to contend with special difficulties arising from the religious veneration in which a large body of Sanskrit literature was held. To translate Sanskrit canonical literature into the native language was an act of sacrilege in the eyes of conservative Pandits. Maithili literature found room to grow in the gap left by Sanskrit. After the knowledge of Sanskrit had become difficult for common man, the mass pressure from below was responsible for the growth of all provincial languages inspite of the disfavour shown by the orthodox Pandits. The folk culture had a share in the development of Maithilī in the early period and the folk element has never been absent from the cultural contents of the language. The sources of livelihood were drying up in the orthodox fold and the caste had often to be sacrificed to economic necessity. After the muslim conquest, the old royalty and artstocracy, the traditional patrons of canservative faith, had either become extinct or impoverished and they were not in a position to stand in opposition to the rising Muslim power. The impact on language was inevitable as the new masters took to the recognition of the Laukikabhāṣā. Indigenous cults grew up and that also helped the growth of people's languagc which served as the vehicle of the larger section of the populace. The basic unity of the village life was never disturbed before the rise af the Britishers. The lower orders have a natural tendency towards unity and uniformity of their communal life. Such unity arose out of*

'Desilabayana' result of mass pressure from below

racial oneness, economic interest and coommunal life of the village. Various popular cults had their beginnings in the middle ages and these factors also helped the growth of Maithilī. The village gods and goddesses like Salhesa, Bihula, etc., popular ballads like Lorika and a number of cults associated with the local deities and heroes played a very prominent part in integrating the common people at large and also in developing the people's language. The patricians' favour to Sanskrit could not stand in the way of the development of the Laukikabhāṣā (peoples' language).

The Vaiṣṇava religion of Bengal had some effects on the early contacts with Mithilā. The democratic character of the medieval cults and Vaiṣṇavism might have been responsible for a synthesis of Hinduism and Islam. The mention of various cults in the *Varṇanaratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara shows that Mithilā was not unaware of them. Though Mithilā is well-known for orthodoxy, it allowed other tenets to have their say. The tradition of Sanskrit and *Apabhraṁśa* literature was already there. Besides the past heritage of Sanskrit, *the laukika (or the folk) aspect has never been absent in the literary tradition of Mithilā. The emerging vernacular, Maithilī, acted as the vehicle of popular cults. It grew as one of the earliest vernaculars of India.* It should be borne in mind here that in Mithilā, the classical renaissance and refinement of Sanskrit nourished the Maithilī language. When Sanskrit came to be confined to subtle scholasticism and lost touch with life and reality, Maithili was adopted as the medium of culture and refinement. Forms and contents of early and medieval Maithili narrative and lyrics presuppose uninterrupted cultivation for centuries. In the early years of the fourteenth century A. D., it had developed not only as a finished poetic diction but also the lyrics. When the social and political setup stood shaken as a result of the muslim invasion, the main spring of literary exuberance shifted from official and aristocratic patronage to individuals and eminent personalities like Umāpati, Jyotirīśvara, Vidyāpati, Bodhidāsa and others. They personified the new movement in the realm of language and succeeded in turning the ornamental amorous

verse of the old and the middle Indo-Aryan into a poetic while retaining its measured rhythm and pithy picturesqueness.

VI

Introducing the Language

There has been an unbroken continuity of Maithili language and literature since its inception in the early medieval period. It is one of the oldest languages of India and its influence on the contemporary languages is immense. The regular contact between Mithilā, Nepal, Assam, Bengal and Orissa in the middle ages was responsible for the propagation of this language in different parts and it was natural that there should be a mingling of thought and ideas through the medium of a common vehicle, popularly known as *Brajabuli* in course of time. The impact of this language was so great that even a poet of eminence of the late lamented Rabindranath Tagore was attracted to compose *Bhānusiṁha Thakurer Padāvali* under the pseudonym of Bhānusiṁha. Maithili was the main vehicle of the common culture of the whole of eastern India in those days. The *Varṇanāratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara presents to us the earliest and the longest specimen of the early new Indo-Aryan prose. Maithili has a script and a grammar of its own. Locana's *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* distinguishes Maithili from *Madhyadesabhāṣā* (the language of Madhyadeśa) and the name '*Madheshi*' (Madhyadeśīya speech) has been used to distinguish itself from the language of Mithilā, a member of *Prācyadeśa*. A language is mainly determined by its grammar or structure. The special idiomatic expressions and the peculiar formation of words bear peculiar marks of particular provincial origin. Viewed in this light, Maithilī, as we shall see presently, is an independent language. Inspite of its affinity to sister languages, which is natural because of its being a member of the Indo-Aryan language group, it stands aloof from all "in following very scrupulously the complex rules regarding the honorific and non-honorific sense as well and about the use of the appropriate personal terminations indicative of person of both

the subject and the object." The peculiarities of Maithili are more pronounced in its vocabulary and has its own individuality in inflexion. Many forms in other cognate languages which are otherwise obscure are easily explained when they are referred to some available forms of old and modern Maithili.

Maithili seems to have emerged out somewhere in the neighbourhood of tenth-eleventh century A. D. and has passed through successive stages of development known as old, middle and modern (Maithili). The form of old Maithili may be traced to the *charya* songs and to *Avahaṭṭa* compositions which continued upto the days of Vidyāpati. There is scope for dialectical variations in those songs and compositions and the local forms and idioms are not few and far between. Borrowing from Sanskrit and other contemporary languages including Arabic and Persian continued. The old Maithili covers the period from 900 to 1350 A. D.; the Middle Maithili from 1350 to 1830 A. D. and the modern Maithili from 1830 onwards. Middle Maithili, a pan-Maithili literary language, was most developed form of literary language. In the middle ages, contact with western and eastern provinces grew and there came into use a large number of Arabic and Persian words. Inspite of its contact with the contemporary languages, Maithili had to stand on its own though it continued to draw largely upon Sanskrit. Modern Maithili no longer plays a subservient role to Sanskrit and this is an indication of the vitality it has acquired in modern times. Modern Maithili has many idioms, turns and twists of expression which have been undoubtedly introduced by the thought pattern of English language. Modern Maithili has two distinct literary styles, *viz.*, *Sādhubhāṣā* (elegant language) and *calitabhāṣā* (current language).

VII

The affinity of Maithili and Bengali is so very strong that the works in Maithili are still claimed to be in Bengali. Maithili agrees with Assamese, Bengali and Oriya in the use

of pronouns and their scripts are very much allied. The intimate contact between Mithilā and Bengal led to greater intercourse both culturally and linguistically and the distinction between the two languages in the early period was hardly perceptible. Similarly Mithilā and Assam were culturally bound into close ties and that led to the closer linguistic affinities between the two. Maithili excercised considerable influence on the Assamese. Śaṁkaradeva (C. 1449–1586) employed Maithili in his plays. There are some points of similarity between Maithili and Oriya specially in respect of phonology. It agrees with Oriya in stressing long vowels. Oriya does not possess the short vowels of Maithili. Grierson's nomenclature *"Bihari"* included all the three important languages of Bihar, *viz.*, Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri. There is a little difference between Magahi and Maithili. According to Grierson, Magahi indeed might be easily classed as a sub-dialect of Maithili rather than as a separate dialect (Cf.—*Linguistic Survey of India*—V. Pt. II. P. 4). In both, verbal forms are not at all influenced by any change in number. The difference between Maithili and Bhojpuri is greater though the territorial continuity has led to some minor points of similarity. Maithili connects the language of Bhojpur with other Magadhan speeches. Maithili is different from Hindi in all those features in which Sauraseni Prakrit differs from Magadhi Prakrit. Grierson had pointed that it differs from Hindi and Bengali both in vocabulary and in grammar and is as much a distinct language from either of them as Marathi or Oriya (*Maithili Grammar,* P. 2). Maithili has never ceased to be cultivated by its speakers since its beginning. In recent years, it has been encroached upon by Bhojpuri and in revenge Maithili has crossed the Ganges and occupied north Patna and a good portion of the districts of Monghyr and Bhagalpur. It is one of the important Aryan languages and its earliest prose, *Varṇanāratnākara,* challenges comparison with that of Bāṇa and Subandhu.

We cannot afford to lose its cultural contents and heritage. After the Turkish invasion, when the scholars of eastern India repaired to Tirhut for higher studies, they carried with them

the language of Mithilā whose literary accomplishments presuppose a good background. The political, cultural and linguistic unity of eastern India is indicated by closely agreeing dialects of the earlier period, when, according to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *Maithilī was the main vehicle.* It is evident from the fact that Vidyāpati had a host of imitators. Maithili has developed inspite of contempt and disregard from many quarters and has been enriched by all sections of the people, living not only in Mithilā but even outside its linguistic group. About two crores of people speak and read Maithili in one form or the other. The Maithili speaking area covers twenty thousand square miles.

A language, with such a rich tradition, has been enriched by great poets and authors and the present age has given rise to the creation of a literature full of deep realisation of the problems of life, its disappointments and hopes. The pathos and vigour and the spirit of challenge that run through modern Maithili poetry make it a great art. *The decline of feudalism transferred wealth and power from the old aristocracy to the new bourgeoisie and the literature and culture acquired a bourgeois character to suit the needs of new pattern. The principal change brought about by the anglicised middle class is perceptible in modern fiction and poems. The impact of industrialisation has also brought about a new look in the contemporary literature. The shifting of economic power from village to town has had its effect on the literary forms and composition and the rustic character is now the urban ones. Modern Maithilī literature is becoming more modern, urban, secular, human and individual. In modern Maithilī literature are expressed the agonies and bitterness with which the toiling masses and peasants work their way through the intricacies of society.* New forms and techniques have been adopted and all important *'isms'*, prevalent in the contemporary literatures of the country have found their way in modern Maithili literature. The capacity to produce in even war time literature has been proved beyond doubt during the recent invasious of the county when the maithili poets came out in protest with the armoury of their poems.

VIII

Salient features of Maithili literature

The literary activity of Mithilā is as old as the Vedic lores and the philosophical discussions, held in the court of Janaka, form the bedrock of the Upaniṣadic thought. The essence of *Vedānta* was perfected here. Prakrit and Pali also held the field for a considerable period. On account of the rapidly widening gulf between the classical language and the spoken tongue, the less ambitious writers found it convenient to handle the isolated and compact form of the *śloka* (stanza). The best achievement of the classical Sanskrit poetry is to be found the anthology named *"Saduktikarṇāmṛta,"* compiled by Maithila Śrīdharadāsa. The cultivation of Sanskrit was never given up in Mithilā. Gradually Sanskrit lost its ascendancy and was replaced by *Prakrit-Apabhraṁśa,* which represented the pan-Indian form of the middle Indo-Aryan and at the same time started as a humble rival of Sanskrit. The pithy poignancy of the late *Apabhraṁśa* poetry is well illustrated in the *Prākṛtapaiṅgala* and its lyrical excellence is at times superb. The following lines deserve consideration—

"My lover is far away beyond the horizon.
The rains are come and my heart is now in a flutter.
The Mangoes are putting forth the tender blossoms.
Yonder the grove of creepers entwining the sick cotton tree is aflame with flowers.

Despite this if you, O my beloved, go far away there should not have been such a thing as love nor a season like spring."

The earliest signs of the vernacular forms are illustrated in the works of *Siddhācāryas.* While the *Prākṛta-Apabhraṁśa-Avahaṭṭa-Laukika* language was gradually gaining ground, neo-classical Sanskrit literature was taking shape and that is best illustrated in the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva whose influence on the later writers of Mithilā and Bengal is immense.

The literary tradition of Mithilā has been very old and the people of Mithilā appear to have been well-versed in

prosody. The joining of metre with melodies (*Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs*) is found as early as the eleventh—twelfth century A. D. in Nānyadeva's (C. 1097–1147 A. D.) *Sarasvatihṛdayā-laṅkārahāraj* and in Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*. Metre and melodies are totally absent from the *Caryāpadas*. Locana's song metres are regulated by definite *Rāgas* and *Tālas*. The existence of a large number of commentaries on *Prākṛta-paiṅgla*, written through the centuries in Mithiā by various commentators, is idicative of the poetic talents and interest in prosody. K. P. Jayaswal has rightly observed—"Prakrit prosody was a favourite study in Mithilā..... This is evidenced by the several manuscripts of the *Prakṛtpaingala* and the commentaries thereon. It has excercised the greatest influence on poetry in Mithilā and other northern vernaculars. It deals with *Doha, Totaka, Chappaiya, Kundaliya, Malini* and other metres. There is a vast variety of vernacular metres which are now not in use..... The *Srutabodha, Chhando-mañjarī* and *Vṛttaratnākara* were popular works of prosody... Similarly we find *Alaṁkāra* and *Kāvyaśastra* works of Maithil authors from the thirteen-fourteenth century to the sixteenth becoming standard works in Mithilā to the exclusion of the text books from other parts of India. There is thus a special Maithil School of poetics and a clear influence of the vernacular composition on it is evident from the fourteenth century A. D. onwards." (*Catalogue of Mithilā Manuscripts*—II. Introduction).

The early and middle Maithili prosody is based on the *Prakrit* and *Apabhraṁśa* metres. In the *Prakrit* and *Apabhraṁśa* metres, *mātrā* (the metrical moments) is a more important factor whereas in Sanskrit, *Varṇa* (or the letter) plays an important part. Locana has discussed the song metres of Mithilā. What needs emphasis here is this that the metre formed an important basis for distinguishing the *desi* songs. In the song metres, poets are obliged to follow the *ragas* and the *rāgiṇīs* to which our attention is drawn by Locana, who has given a list of ninetysix *rāgas*, then prevalent in Mithilā. Locana's enunciation of the rules of *mātrās* are like those mentioned in the *Prakrit* and *Apabhraṁśa*

prosody. The *'Dhruva'* is supposed to sum up or introduce the song. It occurs in the beginning and is sung after a *Pada*. Umāpati, Vidyāpati, Govindadāsa and a host of other poets follow the metres enumerated in Locana's *Rāgataraṅgiṇī*. In our times, Chanda Jha revived those metres. Two classes of metres have been adopted by modern Maithili writers, *viz.*, (i) *Mātrika* metres, represented by the *Kṛṣṇajanma* of Manabodha and (ii) *Varṇavṛttaka* metres have given rise to free verse, blank verse, etc., as a result of which the poetic craftsmanship of Maithili has been enriched.

All forms of literature are represented in Maithilī. In the field of poetry, Maithilī is rich in epics (*Mahākāvyas*) of which there are three different classes, *viz*—

(A) (i) translations or the adaptations of the original, *for example*, Acyutānanda Datta's *Mahābhārata* and *Raghuvaṁśa*; and Gaurishankar Jha's *Meghanādavadha*, based on the adaptation of Michael Madhusudan Datta.

(ii) Independent works following the convention of Sanskrit epics, *viz.*, Badrinath Jha's *Ekāvaliparinaya*; Raghunandan Dasa's *Subhadrāharaṇa* Tantranath Jha's *Kīcakabadha*.

(iii) Having the characteristics of epics, *e.g*, Manabodha's *Kṛṣṇajanma*, Chanda Jha's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Laldāsa's *Rāmāyaṇa*,

(B) Like the *Mahākāvyas*, the *Khaṇḍakāvyas* are equally popular in Maithili. Here also translations and adaptations are seen besides the original ones. Translations and adaptations of *Meghadūta*, *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, *Bhartṛharinirvedakāvya*, *Virahiṇī-Vajrāṅgaṇa* and various others are found. Some of the notable original products in the field of *Khaṇḍakāvya* are *Gaṅgālaharī* and *Gaṇeśakhaṇḍa* by Laldāsa, *Gajagrahoddhāra* by Gunawantalal Das, *Vīrabālaka* by Raghunandana Das, *Satibibhūti* by Riddhinath Jha and *Nāradavivāha* by Anupa Mishra.

(C) A peculiar type of Sanskrit *Kāvya*, known *Vātāhvāna Kāvya*, has been very popular in Maithili. It is supposed to induce the wind to blow at particularly hot hours. Both Chanda Jha and Bhana Jha have followed this.

(D) *Virudāvalis* have been composed by Laldāsa and Riddhinath Jha.

(E) *Kobaragīta* has been composed by one of the master artists named Kashikant Mishra *"Madhup."*

The Maithili *Mahākāvyas* can safely be compared with the *Mahākāvyas* of any other language. Though Sanskrit poetic styles are followed, in compositions like Manabodha's *Kṛṣṇajanma*, Chanda Jha's or Laldasa's *Rāmāyaṇa*, we find that they do not strictly adhere to the rules of a *Mahākāvya*. There are, of course, all the characteristics in their works but not on the pattern of Sanskrit. *Khaṇḍakāvyas* are generally long narratives of mythological and legendary heroes and they sometimes include longer poems. Taken together, the *Mahākāvyas* and the *Khaṇḍakāvyas* constitute the superior class of poetry while others are treated as inferiors. An important class of *Khaṇḍakāvya* in Maithili is *Sammara (svayamvara)* dealing with the course of events leading to the marriage of religious heroes.

The most important and common type of poetry in Maithili is *Tirhuti*. It represents the most popular and successful indigenous lyrical expression of Tirhut and is the richest of all classes of Maithili songs. All aspects of love affairs are unfolded therein. They sing of separation as well as of union. The *Tirhuti* has following classifications—

(i) *Baṭagamni*—it potrays the *nāyika* (heroine) in *abhisāra* (*that is*, when she goes to meet her lover). It is sung out in a peculiar melody of which Vidyāpaii in the most successful writer.

(ii) *Goālari*—It depicts the sports and youthful pranks of Kṛṣṇa in the company of the Gopis of which Nandipati is the most successful writer.

(iii) *Rāsa*—It deals with Kṛṣṇa's sportive *lilās* with Gopis. The most important writer on *Rāsa* in Maithili is Sahebramadāsa. The influence of *Brajabhāṣā* is perceptible in his writings.

(iv) *Māna*—It represents a sort of dramatic lyric depicting the annoyance of the beloved (*strimāna*) and the request of the lovers to mend matters and *vice-versa* (*puruṣmāna*). Umapati is the best writer of *māna*.

Other important forms of Maithili poetry are represented by *Samadauni, Lagni, Chaitābara, Malāra, Yoga, Uchiti, Sohara,*

Choumāsā and devotional songs like *Nachāri, Maheshvāni, Gosaunikagita* and *Viṣṇupada.*

(i) *Samadauni*—On the occasion of the *Navarātri,* it is sung to bid adieu to goddess Durgā. It is sung to bid farewell to one's daughter when she is going to her husband's house after marriage. All important functions end with the singing of this song, popularly known as *Bidai* song. Gananatha Jha and Vindhyanath Jha have made important contributions in this field.

(ii) *Lagni*—It is sung by village womenfolk in the early hours of morning while grinding grains. The classical type of *Lagni* embodies four to five stanzas. Gananatha Jha has used it as a medium of fine poetry.

(iii) *Chaitābara*—It represents a class of folk poetry and conveys emotions of love in the month of *Chaitra* (March–April). It is also known as *Chaiti.*

(iv) *Malāra*—It is a seasonal song, sung generally in the dry and rainy seasons, having a distinct *rāga.*

(v) *Yoga*—It is sung to bind the bridegroom and the bride, even lover-beloved, by divine incantations.

(vi) *Uchiti*—It is sung to convey the courtesy of the host to the distinguished visitor. The *Yoga* and *Uchiti* are the two peculiar classes of Maithili songs. These two songs have both literary and folk types. The *Yoga* goes back to the days of Vidyāpati.

Sohara, Barahmāsā and *Choumāsā* are the familiar types of all vernacular poetry and are found in almost all the languages of Bihar. *Sohara* represents the birth songs. *Barahmāsā* represents the state of separation during the course of twelve months; *Choumāsā* during the course of four months. These two classes have both literary and folk types. In Mithilā, the ordinary people have to eke out their livelihood with great difficulty and as such long separation from the near and dear ones is a common feature. These songs are the products of such separation and various poets, now unknown, composed or contributed to the development of these songs.

Nachāri indicates songs representing direct prayer to Śiva. *Maheshvāni* is a song about Śiva. *Nachāri* and *Maheshvāni*

are often confused and kept in common parlance but the difference between the two is real and marked. *Nachāri* refers to the ecstatic dance of Śiva whereas *Maheshvāni* is sung in praise of Śiva and is addressed to *Manain* (Menaka, mother of Gouri). It represents the life of Śiva and more specially his marriage. Vidyāpati, Lalkavi, Kanhārāmadās, Chanda Jha and others have composed some of the best *Nachāris* and *Maheshvānis*. The *Gosaunikagita* is sung in praise of Śakti and the people have been composing such songs since the days of Vidyāpati,

The Maithili folk literature is equally important from the literary point of view. The chief characteristics of Maithili folk literature are simplicity, freshness and the charm of its genre. At rare moments of intuitive experience, it is at its best and is able to have direct vision into the life of things. The story of the married life of Śiva, the love episodes of Kṛṣṇa, the story of Bihula, Puranic legends and gods, other romantic love stories of a like nature, riddle poetry, didactive and educative lore form the basis of folk literature in Mithilā. Verses dispensing with the practical wisdom are found in *Dākavachanāmṛta*. Jyotirīśvara is well known for his erotic composition. Maithili folk literature has long romantic tales in verse or in popular ballads. *Lorika, Bihula, Salhesa, Dinabhadri, Satikumari* and many others are some of the finest specimens of Maithili folk literature. A full and critical estimate of the Maithili folklore is yet a desideratum.

It is in the field of lyrics that Maithili has made the most notable contribution in the history of modern Indo-Aryan literature. Most lyrics are meant to be sung. The tradition of lyric, set by the early *Charyapadas* and elaborated and perfected by Jayadeva and Umāpati, reached its pinnacle of glory in Vidyāpati. The lyrics are suited to mood and emotion with wide and unlimited range. The chief sources of inspiration are the events and experiences of everyday life. Needless to say that Sanskrit poetics and erotic conventions provide eternal background to its colour and imagery. Maithili lyrics are mainly distinguished by their melodies. *Bhanita* is

the most common feature of the Maithili lyric and some of the *Bhanitas* contain the name of the patrion whom the poet wishes to oblige or compliment. Dr. Sukumar Sen says—"The insertion of the poet's name appears to have been practised in the old and medieval periods throughout the length and breadth of upper India. It seems to have been a development of the practice of the earlier Sanskrit poets to insert in the poem or stanza the name of the metre in which it is written." (*History of Brajabuli Literature*). Coming into contact with the main trends of English literature and the English lyrical forms, sonnets, odes and literary ballads, Maithili writers began to use them in their own language. Blank verse came to be recognised as one of the forms of poetry and *Muktakakāvya* has acquired a great popularity and prominence in modern times. Sitaram Jha may be regarded as the pioneer of this school and a host of modern writers have followed him.

The tradition of prose in Maithili is the earliest in the whole of eastern Indian languages and its best example is found in the *Varṇanaratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara. His influence is seen on the writing of the later authors of Nepat and Bengal. It is regrettable that the tradition of finished prose could not be carried on longer. In the medival period, there are two types of prose—dramatic and documentary. There is a lot of difference between the old and the new Maithili prose. The modern prose is marked by new tendencies of nationalism, democracy, socialism and other problems of modern life. The prose writers of today are able to take a synthetic view of life and their concept of the country's problems is well-marked and defined. The documentary prose of the middle period, though often verbose and beyond the comprehension of common mass, lacked aesthetic qualities and was not of a very high order. The middle Maithili was dominated mainly by the lyrics and the prose, in modern sense of the term, is really a modern creation.

In the field of drama, Maithili's contribution in unique. It influenced the dramatic tradition of Assam, Bengal and Nepal. For a considerable period, Sanskrit and prakrit domi-

nated the scene of Maithili drama. In most of the earlier dramas, speeches are in Sanskrit and Prakrit and Maithili or Sanskrit verses interperse the play. Sometimes they are translated into Maithili or the songs are purely in Maithili. These songs sometimes contain the translation of the meaning of the preceding Sanskrit verses. We have such an example in Umapati's *Pārijātaharaṇa*. The above characteristics represent the regular Maithili drama. "Irregular" Maithili dramas contain Maithili songs and verses alone in the body of the play and this type is represented by Ratnapani's *Ushāharana*. The irregular Maithili dramas of Assam differed much from the regular Maithili drama in its use of prose and it made a definite departure from the division of *Rupakas* of the Sanskrit dramaturgy. Modern Maithili drama is having a new path altogether and the influence of English is clearly perceptible here. In Nepal, the Maithili drama had its influence over the form and stage with profuse Maithili songs. The *Kirtaniyā* drama of Mithilā is a class by itself.

Section—B

LITERATURE

(i) *Introduction*

Mithilā is the only part of India where Sanskrit learning continued unabated till the last quarter of the nineteenth century and at the same time continued to be the official language of the court. Along with the development of *Navyanyāya* and *Dharmaśāstra* studies, Sanskrit and Maithili literatures also march forward. A critical study of the history of Sanskrit literature in Mithilā reveals to us that no positive work has yet been done in this respect. *Kāvya, Nāṭaka* and other technical literatures in Mithilā still remain untapped and there is a vast scope in this field where interested scholars can dive deep with pleasure and profit. Political conditions did not materially affect Sanskrit literature and literary works conti-

nued to be produced. The 'classical period' in literature was, no doubt, a thing of the past but it must be admitted that the production in almost all the brances was satisfactory. There is lack of originality in the Sanskrit texts of the period. Though the contact with the muslim was now a reality, it is rather strange that no posititive influence of such contact is available to us from the Sanskrit texts. The writers of the period wrote mainly commentaries on the older texts or compiled new texts on different subjects. The patronage extended by the Hindu rulers of Mithilā resulted in the concentration of scholars from different parts of the country and that led to the production of various standard texts in different branches of learning. Even some of the contemporary rulers like Viśvāsadevi, Bhairava Siṁha, Kaṁśanārāyaṇa, Siṁha Bhupāla, Maheśa Thākura, Subhankara Thākura and others took part in literary and philosophical compositions and thereby enriched the Sanskrit *Kāvya, Nāṭaka,* poetics, dramaturgy, commentaries and even the vernacular languages. The royal literary tradition was set in as early as 1097 A. D., in the historical period, by Nānyadeva, founder of the Karṇāṭa dynasty. The bulk of production, during the period under review, came from Mithilā, Bengal, Western and Southern India.

The Karṇāṭa and the Oinwāra rulers of Mithilā were great patrons of art and letters and it must be said to their credit that inspite of their long and continuous etanglement with the Muslim rulers, they found time to take interest in literary activities of the time. Kings and Ministers were equally interested. With the destruction of the Vikramaśilā and Nālandā Universities, the centre of scholarship shifted to Mithilā. They brought with them large number of *MSS* and treasure of scholarship. So far as Mithilā is concerned, we see that her interest in classical literature and philosophy was also lukewarm. There has been no dearth of good books on various subjects. Though the enthusiasm about astronomy, mathematics and *āyurveda* is not so great, one is stuck by the variety of subjects on which books in Sanskrit were written during the period. The Maithila scholars did not confine

themselves to the political boundary of Mithilā. Some of them travelled to different parts of the country and wrote at instance of princes and rulers. Their works give us an idea of the creative activity. In so far as the study of Sanskrit is concerned, Mithilā served as a golden link between India on the one hand and Nepal and Tibet on the other. Various *MSS*, discovered from Tibet, are in Maithili character. Mithilā, ispirer of Nadia, was, in no way, inferior to Vārānasi. Her contributions in *Dharmaśāstra* and *Nyāya* secured for her a place of honour. The period, on the whole, may be characterised as one which was devoted more to explanation, clarification and elaboration than to any original creation of repute except in two branches, already referred to above. It was in the realm of Maithili language and literature that Mithila made her name. The period is marked by the presence of an illuminating personality like Vidyāpati who has been immortalised through his songs.

(ii) *Sanskrit Literature—*

Mithilā, during our period, was surging with great intellectual fervour. She produced some of the greatest celebrities whose contributions in respective branches of Sanskrit literature have made her immortal for all times. We shall detail below the amount of success achieved by these Sanskrit writers in different branches.

Kāvya

The famous Durgā festival has been described by Vidyāpati in his 1000 verses in the *Durgābhaktataraṅgiṇī*. Though a greater figure in Maithili literature, his contribution to classical Sanskrit is also worthy of note. The *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* and *Saivasarvaśvasāra* deal with the devotional side of sanskrit literature. As very little was generally written in prose, all general literature went under the name of Kāvya. *Gītagauriśa* by Bhānudatta, authour of *Rasataraṅgiṇī* and *Rasamañjarī*, appears to have followed the model of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*. The father of Bhānudatta was also a poet and was possibly the author of *Mahāmoda*, to which reference is made by Rājaśekhara (*ST*—117). The most important anthology,

Anthology

compiled by a Maithila is the *Sadukti Karṇāmṛta* by Śrīdharadāsa. The *Sāraṅgdharapaddhati* of Sāraṅgadhara contains collection of poems by Maithila writers. Lakhima Thākurain and Chandrakalā are well known female poets of Mithilā. Grierson has brought some poems of Lakhima Thākurain to light. The following poem, in incorrect metre, depicts the pangs of parting—

Women poets

यदि यास्यसिनाथ निश्चितं
यामि यामि वचनं हिमावद
अशनेः पतनं न वेदनं
पतनज्ञानमतीव दुःसहम् ।

The verses on the pangs of separation are as mentioned below—

भङ्क्त्वा भोक्तुं न भुङ्क्ते कुटिल विषलतां कोहिमिन्दोर्वितर्कां
त्तारकारतृषार्त्तः पिवति न पयसाँ विक्षुषः पत्र संस्थाः ॥
छायानम्भोरुहाणामलिकुलशवलांवीक्ष्य सन्ध्यामसन्ध्या
कान्ता विश्लेषभीरुर्दिनमपि रजनीं मन्यते चक्रवाकः

He breaks the crisp lotus tendrils to eat them but does not do so, for he mistakes them for the rays of the moon : though athirst he does not drink the drops of water in the lotus leaves for he thinks them stars; in the shade of lotus flowers dark with the swarms of bees he sees night when there is no night; always dreading separation from his beloved, the *chakravāka* imagines even the day to be the night.

Lakhimā Thākurain was a renowned poetess of Mithilā and numerous stories are current about her learning and wisdom. When her daughter was of age to be sent to her husband, she wrote, as follows, to the young *Pandita* to whom the girl was married—

आक्रान्ता दशमध्वजाति धतिनास्यामूर्छिता निर्जले ।
तुर्यद्वादशव द्वितीय मतिमन्नेकादशाभस्तिनि ।
सा षष्ठी नृपपञ्चमस्यनवमभ्रूः सप्तमी वर्जित ।
प्राप्नोत्यष्टमेवदनां परिहरे तूर्णं तृतीयोद्भवः ॥

"Attacked with the severe onslaught of God of love is she. Distraught like a crab or a fish in a dry place is she. O, thou bull-minded one ! the damsel, round formed as a water Jar, with arched eye brows, the destined wife of thou

who art like a lion amongst Kings, and who is not a gross like a shopkeepers' wife who plies the scales. She feels pain like that of a scorpion bite. Quickly let the result of married life relieve her." Even when the young Brāhmin came, he abstained from excercising his marital rites and the bride, being disgusted, complained to her mother who, in turn, rebuked the son-in-law.

तन्वीबाला कृशतनुरियं त्यज्यतामत्रशङ्का
काचिद्दृष्टा भ्रमर भरतोमञ्जरी भज्यमाना ।
तस्मादेषा रहसि भवने निर्दयं पीड़नीया
मन्दाक्रान्तं बहुतररसं नो ददातीक्षुदण्डः ॥

"Be not afraid that the damsel is too slender. Has a flower stock ever been seen to be broken by the weight of a bee ? Therefore, in private, must she be given pangs. A piece of sugarcane, when pressed, gives us gently much sweetness"—

The son-in-law followed her advice and next morning the following conversation took place between mother and daughter.

Daughter—मातः केलिगृहं नयाभिशयने (I will not retire again to the bridal room).

Mother—कस्माच्चचन्द्राननें (Why not my moon faced one ?).

Daughter—जामाता तव निर्दयो निजभुजेबद्धोऽपिमां पीडनं
अङ्गारव्रणतां करोति च नखैर्दन्तैश्चखण्डीकृता
केनेयं रतिराक्षसेन रमिता शार्दूलविक्रीडिताः ॥

"Your son-in-law gives me pang even when bound in my arms. He burns me as it were with live coals and I am torn to pieces with his nails and treeth; of what love demon am I the sport ? and why does he play with me like a tiger ?"—

Once a *Paṇḍita* came to try Lakhima's learning. She disguised herself as a water girl and went to meet him—

सत्यं ब्रवोमिमकरध्वज बाणमुग्ध
नाहं त्वदर्थमनसा परिचिन्तयामि ।
दासोऽद्य मे विघटितस्तव तुल्यरुपः
स त्वं भवेन्नहि भवेदिति मे वितर्कः ॥

"I faith, I tell thee, who art smitten by the arrow of love, that I am not so minded towards thee. I could not find my

slave. You are like him, and I was merely trying to find out if you were he or not ?"—

Other Similar verses are—

उडुराजमुखी मृगराजकटी, गजराज विराजित मंदगतिः ।
वनिता यदि सा हृदये वसति, जपः कः तपः समाधिविधिः ॥

On *Bikaua* (see social history) Lakhimā observes—

चपलं तुरगं परिणर्त्तयतः, पथिपौरजनान्परिमर्दयतः
नहिते भुजभाग्य भवोविभवो, भगिनीभग भाग्यभवो विभवः ॥

"You may make your spirited horse prance, and with them trample on the town folk. But we all know that your wealth is not got by your exertions *but by the sale of your sister's persons.*" [1]

Erotics

All these and many others give us an idea of the erotic literature. The *Pañchasāyaka,* of Jyotirīśvara Thākura (Five Arrows of the God of Love) is in five sections and is in verse. It describes the secret processes of love and bears striking similarity to the *aupaniṣadaprakaraṇa* of Vatsyāyana. Kāmadeva is invoked here. [2] He was well-read in the ancient treatises on the erotics. He gives a detailed description of (i) *Piṭhamarda,* (ii) *Padmini,* (iii) *Citrṇi,* (iv) *Śaṅkhini* and (v) *Hastini.* He, then, gives a description of various sexual poses and forms, the methods of bringing under control various types of heroines and enchanting them. He enumerates various types of male and female and the distinctive features of the women folks of Saurāṣṭra, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Madhyadeśa, Gauḍa, Mālava, Gurjara, Draviḍa, Madra, Puṇḍra, Karṇāṭa and Mlecha. He also discurses the qualities of different kinds of heroines and a detailed account of Jyotirīśvara's analysis can be found in a recent publication. [3] Drugs, Toilets, charms, Philtres and measures for birth control and other things do not escape the notice of this great writer on erotics. His another important work on erotics is *Raṅga-*

1. *IA* (1886) XV. 318, 358, 382. etc.
2. Winternitz. *History of Indian Literature* (German edition) III. 541. I have in my possession a printed work of this book *i.e. PanchaśāyaKa.*
3. Cf. Joglekar—शृङ्गारनायिका (Bombay).

śekhara, quoted extensively in later Sanskrit literature.[4] Even in the *VR,* there is a good display of his erotic sentiments.

In so far as poetry, in general, is concerned, Mithilā did not lag behind. No other part of India can boast of an unbroken tradition of scholars and poets from the hoary age of the Vedas to the present time. A continuous scheme has been following and we have a glimpse of such excellent poetics feats, achieved by the Maithilas, in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* and other anthologies. This anthology consisted of 2380 stanzas with further introductory āryā verses by the anthologist. 623 stanzas of this anthology are common to the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* of Vidyākara. The *Vidyākarasuhrakam* (edited by Dr. Umeśa Miśra Allhabad—1942) also contains a good account of Sanskrit poets of Mithilā and other parts of India. In the *MSS* of an anthology *Rasikajivana,*[5] referred to by S. K. De and others and compiled by a Maithila in the 17th century A. D., named Gadādharabhaṭṭa, we have a good account of contemporary Sanskrit poets. The book, divided into ten *Prabandhas,* contains 1562 verses out of which 981 are annonymous. 142 authors and works are named but according to Dr. Hardatta Śarmā, some names were missed by Gode. [6] This work contains the collection of some of the important Maithilā poets preceding the author and thereby it is of immense importance for a study of the history of Sanskrit poetry in Mithilā. We learn from this particular work that Śridatta, the earliest Nibandhakāra of Mithilā, was also a poet. The following poem is preserved in that collection—

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4. *JASB* (N. S.) XI. P. 414 f.n.

5. The *MSS* is in the Library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute—Poona; Also Cf. S. K. De—*Sanskrit Poetics* I. P. 291; P. K. Gode's article in the *ABORI*-XII. P. 296 ff;—a reprint of the same article in *G. D. College Bulletin No.* 4; I got necessary extracts from this collection through the courtsey and kindness of the late lamented Dr. P. K. Gode.

6. *G. N. Jha Commemoration volume*-P. 360 ff.—*MSS* No. 151 of 1866-68-*BORI.*

Folio 7—श्रेयः सदा दिशतु सालसपद्मपाने
निद्रायिते अपि दृशौ भृशमुन्नमय्य ।
सम्रा (संवा) द्यमानचरणाम्बुज् जातहर्षो
लक्ष्मीमुखेक्षणपरः परमेश्वरोवः —श्रीदत्त

The following Eight verses of *Śaṁkaraguru*, preceptor of Damodara, grandfather of Gadādharabhaṭṭa, are preserved. It thus appears that the great philosopher, Śaṁkara Miśra, was also a great poet—

Folio 1—हस्तपङ्कजनिविष्ट मोदक व्याज संचरदशेषपुमर्थम् ।
नौमि किंचिद्धुनित शुण्डादण्ड कुण्डलित मण्डितगण्डम् ॥

Folio 2—संसेवित भृगुतुङ्ग विद्योतितवेद वेदाङ्गम् ।
परिनर्तितमयरंगं मनसिजभंगं समाश्रैयलिङ्गम् ॥

Folio 4—अपर्णवलता सेव्या विद्वद्भिरिति मे मतिः ।
यया वृतः पुराणोऽपिस्थाणुः सूतेऽमृतं फलम् ॥
—सत्वादिस्थैर गणिणगुणैंहन्त विश्वं प्रसूय
व्यक्तं धत्ते प्रहसनकरीं या कुमारीति संज्ञाम् ।
मोहध्वान्त प्रसरविरतिर्विश्वमूर्त्तिः समन्ता
राधाशक्तिः स्फुरतु मम सादीपवद्देहगेहे ॥

Folio 58—धुनोतुध्वान्तं नस्तुलितदलिनेन्दीवरवनं
घनस्निग्धंश्चलरूणं चिकुर निकुरम्बं तवशिवे ।
यदीयं सौरम्यं सहज समुपालब्धुमनसो
वसन्त्यस्मिन् मन्ये बलमथनवाटी विटपिनाम् ॥ [नं० १]

Folio 59—वहन्ती सिन्दूरं प्रबलकबरी भारतिमिर
त्विषां वृन्दैर्वन्दीकृतमिव नवीनाक [कि] रणम् ।
तनोतुक्षेमं नस्तव वदनसौन्दर्यलहरी
परीवाहः स्रोतः सरणिरिव सीमन्तसरणिः ॥

Folio 66—हरक्रोध ज्वाला वलिभिरवलीढेव वपुषा
गभीरे ते नाभी सरसि कृतसंगो मनसिजः
समुत्तस्थौ तस्मादचलतनये धूमलतिका
जनस्तां जानीते तवजननि रोमावलिरिति ॥

Folio 136—न गुणाः क्वापि पूज्यन्ते सरस्वीकारोहि गौरवम् ।
पीतिमागुणसाम्येपि हरिद्रा स्वर्णयोरिव ॥

The anthology consists of the collections of the poems of such eminent Maithila poets as Bhānukara, Bāṇa, Bhano, Chandra, Chaṇḍeśvara, Govindarāja, Govardhana, Harihara, Jayadeva, Murārī, Maithila (?), Madhusudanasarasvati,

Saṁkara, Śrīdatta, Umāpati, Vācaspati, Vidyāpati and Vāyumiśra. Since these poems are yet unknown, necessary extracts from the *MSS* are given here for the benefit of scholars.

रसिकजीवनम् of गदाधर भट्ट

Ms. No. 151 of 1866–68 (B. O. R. Institute, Poona 4)

Fol. 5b यदेतल्लावण्यं भगवति भवप्रेमलहरी
त्वदीयांघ्रेरस्मात्पथि सह रजोभिर्विगलति ॥
विनिर्मातुं शातक्रतवपुरपंकेरुहमुखी-
स्तदुत्थव्यापारैरपहरति मन्ये कमलभूः ॥ ४० ॥ मानुकरस्य

Fol. 21a स्तनयुगमश्रुस्नातं समीपतरवर्ति हृदयशोकाग्नेः ।
चरति विमुक्ताहारं व्रतमिव भवतो रिपुस्त्रीणां ॥ १०० ॥ बाणस्य

Fol. 134 अथ कृपणनिंदा ।
दृढतर निबद्धमुष्टेः कोशनिषण्णस्य सहजमलिनस्य ।
कृपणस्य च केवलमाकारतो भेदः ॥ ७३ ॥
सति द्राक्षाफले क्षीरमृदामास्वदनं मुदे ।
अहो मातुरियं रीतिः कृपणे गर्भवर्त्तिनि ॥ ७४ ॥ भानोः

Fol. 95 परिपतति पयोनिधौ पतंगः ।
सरसिरुहामुदरेषु मत्तभृंगः ॥
उपवनतरुकोटरे विहंगो ।
युवतिजनेषु शनैःशनैरनंगः ॥ १५ ॥
संधिरागरुधिरारुणभारान्निष्पातरविमंडलमब्धौ ।
क्रूरकालकरवालविलूनं वासरस्य सहसैव शिरोनुः ॥ १६ ॥
करिष्यति कलानाथः कतुकौकरमंबरे ।
इति निर्वापयामास रविदीपं निशांगना ॥ १७ ॥

अथ चक्रवाक्यवस्था ॥
एकेनाक्ष्णा प्रविततरुषा वीक्षतेलंबमानं
भानोर्बिंबजलविलुलिते नापरेण स्वकान्नं ॥
अम्हश्छेदे दविनः विरहाशंकिनी चक्रवाकी
द्वौ संकीर्णौ रचयनि रसौ नर्तकीव प्रगल्भा ॥ १८ ॥ चंद्रस्य

Fol. 3 स्नातः स्वर्गतरंगिणी नलकरैर्नेत्रोत्पलेनांचितः
पार्वत्याः सितभूतिचंदनचयैरालिप्तगात्रोज्वलः ।
देवश्चंद्रकलासितिलको गौरीविवाहोत्सवा-
रंभे शैलकृताईणस्त्रिजगतामर्चोहरः पातु वः ॥ २० ॥
उज्झित्वा दिशमंबरं वरतरं वासोवसानश्चिरं
हित्वा वासरसपुनः पितृवने कैलासहभ्याश्रयः ॥
त्यक्त्वा भस्मकृतांगनिचयः श्रीखंडसारेद्रवै-
र्देवः पातु हिमाद्रिजापरिणयं कृत्वा गृहस्थः शिवः ॥ २१ ॥

कुसुमशरविलासे भगुरस्याद्रिपुत्री
करतलवलयस्य क्ष्मागतस्यार्ध्वयेकं ॥
निजमिव शशिखंडं याचमानस्य शंको-
र्भवतु सह विवादः कांतया कौतुकाय ॥ २२ ॥ चंडेश्वरस्य

Fol. 41 पीतं यत्र हिमं पयः कवलिता यस्मिन्मृणालांकुरा-
स्तापात्तेन निमज्य यत्र सरसो मध्ये विमुक्तः श्रमः ॥
धिक् तत्रैव जलानि पंकिलयतः पाथोजिनीबंधुतः
कूलान्युत्खनतो करींद्रभवतोलज्जापि नोजागर ॥ ३१ ॥
भो भो करींद्र दिवसानि कियंति तावत्
दस्मिन्मरौ समतिवाह्य कुत्रचित्वं ॥
रेवाजलैर्निजकरेणु करप्रयुक्तै-
र्भूयः समंगतयितात्सिनिदापदाहं ॥ ३२ ॥
गंडस्थले हिमदवारिजलौघलुब्ध-
मत्रभ्रमन् भ्रमरपादतला हतोपि ॥
कोपेन गच्छति मितांतबलोपि नाग-
स्तुल्ये बले हि बलवान् परिकोपमेति ॥ ३३ ॥ गोविंदराजस्य

Fol. 42 कामं वनेषु हरिणास्तृणेन जीवंत्ययत्नसुलभेन
धनिनो दैन्यं विद्धति ते किल पशवो वयं सुधियः ॥ ४३ ॥
इह किं कुरंगशावक केदारे कलमंजरी त्यजसि ।
तृणबाणस्तृणधन्वातृस्त्रेण घटितः कपटपुरुषोयं ॥ ४४ ॥ गोवर्द्धनस्य

Fol. 24b पीत्वा गर्जंत्यपस्ते दिशि दिशि जलदास्त्वं शरण्यो गिरीणां
सुत्रामत्रासभाजां त्रिदशपविटपिनां जन्मभूमिस्त्वमेव ॥
गांभीर्यं तच्चतादृक् त्वयि सलिलनिधे किंतु विज्ञाप्यमेत-
त्सर्वोपायेन मैत्रावरुणिमुनि कृपादृष्टव्यः कांक्षणीयाः ॥ ३५ ॥ हरिहरस्य

Fol. 69b नदंतुरभुरस्थलं वचसि नाश्रिता माधुरी
विकारि न विलोकितं भ्रुवि न वक्रिमोपक्रमः ॥
तथापि हरिणीदृशो वपुषि कापि कांतिच्छटा
पढाघृतमहा मणिद्युतिरिवात्र संलक्ष्यते ॥ ३१ ॥
सुधायाः सप्रीची नववचनवीची विजयते
कुचश्रीः कर्कंधू फलमपि न बंधू कृतवती ।
न शीलं दृग्भंगी कलयति कुरंगी नयनयो-
स्तथापि श्रीरस्या युवजनमस्या विजयते ॥ ३२ ॥ जयदेवस्य

Fol. 6–7 मकरी विरचनभंग्या राधाकुचकलशपीडनव्यसनी ।
ऋजुमपि रेखां लुम्पन् वल्लववेषो हरिर्जयति ॥ ६२ ॥
विरमति महाकल्पेनाभी पथक निकेतनः
त्रिभुवनपुरः शिल्पी यस्य प्रतिक्षणमात्मभूः ॥
किमधिकरणा कीदृक्स्य व्यवस्थितिरित्यसावुदर-
मविशद्रष्टु तस्मै जगन्निधये नमः ॥ ६३ ॥ मुरारेः

Fol. 90 समुत्कीर्णे तन्व्या निशितनयनां तेन मृदिते
स्तनद्वंद्वस्पर्दैः स्मितलवसुधाभिः प्लुतिमति ।
मदांतः केदारे मदनकृषिकारेण जनिता
चिरादाशावल्ली किमिति न फलं हंत लभते ॥ ३ ॥ मैथिलस्य

Fol. 5 ईशे पदप्रणयभाजिमुहूर्त्तमात्रं
प्राणप्रियेपि कुरुमानिनि मात्रसादं ।
जानातु मन्प्रभुरसौ पदयोर्नताना-
मस्मीदृशामपि मनोरथ भंगदुःखं ॥ ४३ ॥ मधुसूदन सरस्वतीनां

Fol. 87a आहारे विरतिः समस्तविषयग्रामे निवृत्तिः परा
नासाग्रे नयनं यदेनदपरं यच्चैकजातं मनः
मौनं चैदमिति च शून्यं अखिलं यद्विश्वमामाति ते
तद्भूयाः सखियोगिनी किमसि भोः किंवा वियोगिन्यसिः ॥६६॥ राजशेखरस्य

Fol. 60a भ्रुवौ भुग्ने किंचिद्भुवननित्वदीये
नेत्राभ्यां मधुकररुचिभ्यां धृतगुणौ ।
धनुर्मन्ये सव्येतरकरगृहीतं रतिपतिः
प्रकोष्ठे मुष्टौ च स्थगयति गूढांतरमुभे ॥ २८ ॥ शंकरस्य

Fol. 29a निजकरनिकरसमृध्या धवलय भवनानि पार्वणशशांक ।
रुचिरं हंत न महते हत विधिरहमुस्थिरं कमपि ॥ ८७ ॥
यदपिजन्मबभूव पयोनिधौ निवसनं जगतीपति मस्तके ।
तदपि नाथ पुराकृतकर्मणा पततिराहुमुखे खलु चंद्रमाः ॥ ८८ ॥
अनुदिनमनुकूल माचरंतं विहितमतिः मतिकूलमाचरेत्कः ।
शमिनगरलजान कंठदाहः ॥ शितिकंठः शशिनं शिरः सुधने
शिरसा धार्यमाणोपि सोमः सोमेन शंभुना ।
तथापि कृशतां धत्ते कष्टः क खलु पराश्रयः ॥ ९० ॥
व्यंजमानकलंकस्य वृद्धौ वृद्धौ कलानिधेः ।
आशास्महे वयं पूर्वां सर्वश्लाघ्यां कृशांदशां ॥ ९१ ॥
नयनमसि जनार्दनस्य शंभोर्मुकुटं मणिः सदृशां त्वमादिदेवः ।
त्यजसि न मृगमात्रमेकमिदो विरमनि येन कलंक किंवदंती ॥९२॥ उमापतेः

Fol. 6b अभिनवनवनीत प्रोतमाताम्रनेत्रं विकचलिणं लक्ष्मी
स्पर्द्धिसानंदवक्त्रं ।
हृदयभवनमध्ये योगिभिर्ध्याननील-
नवगगनतमाल श्यामलं कंचिदीडे ॥ ४९ ॥ वाचस्पतेः

Fol. 114 अथ वर्षा कामिनी ॥ पश्य सखि रसमयं जलधरसमयं समुन्नध्रं ॥
विलसति कापि बलाकापि बलाका कापि बलाका मुदं धत्ते ॥ ८४ ॥
काले पयोधराणा मपतिनयो नैव शक्यते गंतुं ।
उत्कंठितासि तरले नहि नहि सखि पिच्छिलः पथाः ॥ ८५ ॥
अथ वर्षा विरहिणी ॥

वातवातु कदंबरेणुशबलः नृत्यंतु सर्पद्विषः
प्रोत्साहा नववारि गर्भगुरवो मुंचतु नादं घनाः ॥
मग्नां कांत वियोशोकजलधौ मां विक्ष्य दीनाननां
विद्युत्कि स्फुरसि त्वमप्यकरुणे स्त्रीत्वसमाने सति ॥ ६ ॥ विद्यापतेः

Fol. 91a अथ नापकाग्रे इत्युक्तिः ॥
मुहुर्व्यंजन वीजनैर्बहल चंदनैः संजनैः
सरोजदलसंगमैरपि न चेष्टते सुंदरी ॥
परन्तु तवनामनि प्रियसखी किरावेदिने
निवेदयति जीवितं श्रवणसीम्निरोधोद्गमः ॥ १७ ॥ वायुमिश्रस्य

The following seven verses of Damodara (grandfather of the Compiles) are importent —

Folio 2 अहि भूषणोऽप्यभयदः कलितह्यालाहलोऽपियोनित्यः
दिग्वसनोऽप्यखिलेशः तं शशधरशेखरं वन्दे ॥

Folio 4 ब्रह्मादयोऽपि यदपाङ्गतरङ्ग भङ्ग्या, सृष्टिस्थित प्रलयकारणतां व्रजन्ति ।
लावण्य वारिनिधिवीचि परिलुप्तायै, तस्यैनमोऽस्तु हरिवल्लभायै ॥

Folio 5 ब्रह्माण्डसम्पुट कलेवर मध्यवर्त्ति, चैतन्यपिण्डमिव मण्डलमस्तियस्य
आलोकितेऽपि दुरितानि निहन्तियस्तं, मार्तण्डमादिपुरुषं प्रणमामिनित्यं ॥

Folio 14 जम्बूद्वीप गृहप्रकाशनकरी स्नेह क्षपायायिनी,
वीरयोद्गीर्ण मर्षातातिः खलजन श्रेणी पतङ्गान्तकृत् ।
गाजोन्द्रा कबरक्षितीश्वरमनाश्चिन्तान्धकारापहा
यस्यक्षोणिपतेरराजदधिकं दीपोपमा लेखनी ॥

Folio 17 यत्कीर्तिवलयं भुवः सुविमलं सरपाच संचारतः
क्रान्त्वा शतगिरिं विधायसरितानाकस्य सख्यंदृढम् ।
आराध्यामृतमानुशेखरमलं सम्पाद्यतद्रूपतां
गच्छन्ती त्रिदशालयं द्रुतगतिः शीतांशुनास्पर्द्धते ॥

Mithilā, during the period under review, had aequired a name and status in the literary world. Sanskrit Paṇḍitas would very often travel to the court of Mithilā to seek patronage and recognition. Some of the Maithila *Paṇḍitas* devoted their talents to the praise of kings who patronised them. Eulogical compositions were not few and far between. A famous logician like Padmanātha Miśra composed *Birabhadra Champu* in praise of Baghela prince, Vīrabhadra. Raghudeva Miśra wrote *Virudāvali*. Gaṅgānanda Kavindra composed *Bhṛngaduta* in praise of King Karṇa of Bikaner. Harihara's *Suktimuktāvali* is an admirable specimen of *Muktaka* poetry. *Suktimuktāvali* is in twelve chapters—dealing with (i) gods

and goddesses, (ii) children and their upbringing; (iii) words of advice to the young; (iv) staying abroad, (v) winning patron's favour; (vi) manner in which royalty should be treated; (vii) politics; (viii) description of six seasons; (ix) erotics, (x) different types of heroes and heroines; (xi) miscellany and (xii) dealing with grown up man back home. Harihara is credited with having compiled a *Subhāṣitāvali*. Two dramas *(Prabhāvatipariṇaya nāṭaka* and *Bhartṛharinirveda)* are also attributed to him. His brother, Nilakaṇṭha, has been described as *Kavikaṇṭha-Vibhuṣaṇa*. *Suktimuktāvali* may be classed as a *Subhāṣita* literature, having no unity of structure underlying it. In the present case the verses are of all the different *rasas* on different subjects and yet they are all by one and the same author. As the learned editor has observed—"on a closer analysis it becomes evident that there is an inherent unity underlying the whole work which is not a mere collection of *Subhāṣita* verses composed at random without any connection among them, but has a definite purpose behind the whole plan." [7]

Even in the field of Sanskrit prose Mithilā did not lag behind. On the lines of *Panchatantra*, the *Puruṣaparikṣā* of Vidyāpati has moral and political tales for the instruction of children. We have got various editions of this important work. There are in all forty-four tales of varying contents couched in elegant Sanskrit. The object of this particular work, according to the poet, was not only to give moral instruction but was also "the delectation of those ladies of the city who display a taste for the mirthful arts of the god of love." [8] The tale in the *PP* indicate, in a simple and graceful

7. *HariharasuKtimuKtāvalī*, Introduction—P. 25. Cf. P. 27 this work has been planned as a complete whole to serve as a practical guide to the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍita.

8. Various editions are known to us—(i) H. P. Ray, translated this work into Bengālī (1815 A. D.); (ii) Sir. G. Haughton (London–1826)—many other editions were published in Calcutta without date; (iii) Chanda Jha—edited the work with Mathili translation and notes (Darbhanga–1888 A. D.);

style, what goes to constitute manly qualities. Some stories refer to contemporary historical personages.[9]

Prose

The *Bhūparikramā* is also a prose work describing Balrāma's journey. It may be noted here that this is one of the earliest specimens of the Gazetteer literature in India. Though didactic in nature, they are noteworthy for the subjects they treat. His *Likhnāvali* acquaints us with the ideas of the age about literary and other miscellaneouscompositions. An incomplete work, entitled *Sarvadeśavṛttānta saṁgraha,* attributed to Maheśa Thākur, is a prose work of the 16th century A. D.

Mithilā produced eminent writers on *Dharmaśāstra* and philosophy and we have already given a detailed account of them earlier. Chaṇḍeśvara's *Smṛtiratnākara* is an exhaustive digest, *Kṛtyachintāmaṇi* discusses astronomical matters in relation to the performances of various religious ceremonies and *Saṁskāras; RR* deals with polity and was probably his last work. Vācaspati was another important writer of repute and his *VC,* along with the Vivādaratnākara of Chaṇḍeśvara, is considered to be the supreme authority in matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā. Harinātha's *Smṛtisāra* deals with several topics of Dharmaśāstra. Rudradhara's *Sudhiviveka* is an exhaustive treatise on purificatton dealing with all its aspects. Misaru Miśra's *Vivādachandra* is a recognised authority on Hindu Law *(Supra).* In so far as philosophy is concerned, Pārthasārthi Miśra wrote several works on

Religious and Philosophical Literature

Gangānath Jha brought out an abridged edition of this work for the use of schools (Allhabad 1911); Grierson edited it from London (1935); their is yet another editon by Nerukara (Bombay 1915); Chandradhara Pāthaka's edition—already referred to and the latest one is by Prof. Ramanatha Jha (Patna–1961). It is based mainly on Chanda Jha's edition but the Introduction and English translation are of couse new. Cf. *IA* (1873) II. 37 ff., IV. 299; *Maithila Chrestomathy; IA*–XIV. 182 ff; *PASB* (1895).

9. Cf. my article in the *JOT*–referred to earlier.

Bhaṭṭa Mimānśa *viz.—Nyāyaratnākara, Śāstradīpikā* and *Tantraratna.* Books on *Nyāya, Mimāṁśā, Yoga, Vedānta, Sāṁkhya, Vaiśeṣika* and so on were written and most of them are available in *MSS.* Śaṁkara Miśra, Pakṣadhara, Rucidatta, Rāmadatta, Devadatta, Murari, Govinda Miśra, Vācaspati and others were renowned authors in the field. Śaṁkara Miśra was a great dualist and he has attacked the position of *Advaita Vedānta* in *Bhedaprakāśa* and *Advaitadhikkāra.* He also commented upon Śrī Harṣa's *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍa Khādya* and wrote a popular commentary on the *Sūtras* of Kaṇāḍa. Vibhākara's *Dwaitaviveka* also deserves notice. Large number of commentaries written on the *Tattva-Chintāmaṇi,* during the period under review, constitute the fountain source of the huge literature on *Navya-Nyāya* and that it was in this branch that it has been described as a forte of Mithilā. In religious and philosophical literature Mithilā made fairly remarkable contributions. It is not possible to give a complete list of all the versatile writers of the age. Mithila's contribution was substantial and she served as link between different countries like Nepal and Tibet.

In the field of technical and scientific literature, Mithilā made some notable contributions. The period witnessed the founding of the *Saupadma* school of Grammar by a Maithila named Padmanābhadatta in Śaka 1297 (= 1374 A. D.). We have this date from his *Pṛshodarādi Vṛtti.*

Technical and Scientific literature

The famous work of Padmanābha, *Saupadma,* is based upon that of Pāṇini. He retains most of the terminology but remodels a greater part of the rules and their arrangements in a methodological form, each *Sūtra* having a short explanatory note. Besides works on *Uṇādis, Dhātus,*

Grammar

Paribhāṣās, metrics, lexicography etc., he himself has written a commentary on his grammar called *Supadmapañjikā.* His influences is now confined to some parts of central Bengal. Only recently, I have discovered a *MSS* of grammar from Safāpur (Begusarai) entitled *Prabhodhachandrikā* by Bijjalladeva Chouhan and the work is now published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar

Oriental Research Institute. Aufrecht in his *Calalogue* has mentioned it and I had the opportunity of looking into six *MSS* of the same from the *BORI* and one of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The work is in poetry and the tendency of introducing religious elements in grammar is evident from this work. There the story of Rāma has been told in this case. A commentary on this particular work by Gopāl has been noticed by me. Dr. Belvelkar also makes a mention of this work. The famous grammarian of Mithilā, Padmanābha, was also a great lexicographer. In his *Bhurīprayoga,* there is a bigger portion of homonymns and a smaller portion of synonyms. Śrīkara Achārya wrote a commentary on the *Amarakaṣa.* A good commentary on the *Amarkoṣa* is said to have been written by Chidamani. Parmānanda wrote a very important *Koṣa,* entitled. *Bhagabhimārṇāva Koṣa,* Apparāya, at the court of Simha Bhūpāla, also wrote a commentary on on *Amarakoṣa.* Large number of commentaries on Grammar were also written. Giridhar Upādhyāya may be mentioned here as the author of a logico-grammatical treatise called *Vibhaktyārtha-nirṇaya.*

Lexicography

According to Dr. S. K. De the period, under review, was characterised by works showing systematic compilation. The learned author has described this period as a scholastic age. Achyuta wrote a commentary on a well known work of Poetics, *viz. Kāvyaprakāśa.* It was further commented upon by Panditarāya. Of the works on *Alaṁkāra* (poetics), *Chanda* (prosody), *Vyākaraṇa* and lexicons, the most numerous are on poetics. Bhānudatta wrote two works on poetics, *viz. Rasatarańgiṇī* and *Rasamañjari.* The *Rasatarańgiṇī* is divided into eight *tarańgas* and deals mainly with the various components of the *Rasas,* such as *Bhāva, Vibhāva, Anubhāva* etc. and also with various *Rasas* and three kinds of *Driṣṭis.* The *Rasamañjarī* is a smaller treatise dealing with the nature of the heroes and heroines, the *sātvikaguṇas,* two varieties of *Śṛńgāra,* and ten stages of *Vipralaṁbha* etc. Gopāla wrote a commentary on *Rasamañjari* called *Vikāsa.* [9] Simha Bhupāla

9. Kāne—*Poetics*—296, *ABORI*-XVI-145-7.

composed *Rasārṇavasudhākara*. It is a comprehensive and elaborate work. His court poet, Viśeśvara also wrote a book on rhetorics. Gaṅgānanda Kavindra wrote *Kāvyaḍākini*. It deals with *doṣas* (poetical blemishes) in five chapters. He also wrote *Karṇabhuṣana*, a treatise on *Rasa* in five chapters dealing with *Vibhāvas*, *Anubhāvas*, *Vyabhichāribhāvas*, *Sthāyibhāvas* and *Rasa*. Ramānanda in his *Rasataraṅgiṇī* [10] deals with poetics in general. *Vṛtisāra* and *Ekāvali*, works on metrics, were written by Ramāpati and Gokulanātha. The *Rasa* theory was largely influenced by the Vaiṣṇava thought of the period. In the field of music, Siṁha-

Music

Bhupāla wrote an exhaustive commentary on the *Saṅgitaratnākara* of Sāraṅgadeva. Vaṅgamani wrote a commentary on the *Saṅgitachandra* of Abhilāsa and we may also include here the *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* of Lochana. While Vidyāpati, through his *Likhanāvali*,

Treatise on conversation

paved the way for ordinary literary compositions, Jagannātha Miśra wrote *Sabhātaraṅgiṇī*. It is a treatise on polite conversation and gives us an idea about the contemporary political language. In sixty-nine folios, the *MSS* shows some unconventional originality. [11] Padmanābhadatta

Metre

wrote *Chandoratna* on metre. *Siddhāntasudhā* of Parmānanda deals with astronomical calculations. His father Maheśa Thākur wrote *Atichāranirṇaya*. Hemāngada Thākur composed *Grahaṇamāla*. This *MSS* is preserved in the Rāj Library, Darbhanga.

Astronomy

Bharata Upādhyāya wrote an astro-mathematical work entitled *Rasāla*. Bhaveśa wrote a commentary on *Lilāvati*. Mādhavaśarmā wrote a book entitled *Adbhutadarpaṇa* [12] on omens and portents. Satrughṇa Śarmā wrote *Mantrārthadīpikā* which explains

Miscellaneous

the Vedic *Mantras* in connection with the *Sandhyā*, *Śrāddha* and so on. On the *mantra*,

10. *BTA*—P. 547.

11. *Ibid*—546. The Maithila writers also made their mark at Srinagar and Katmandu.

12. *Ibid*—547-48.

Devanātha Thākura wrote *Mantra-Kaumudi*. Narasiṁha Thākur wrote a commentary on the *Ānandalahari* of Sankarāchārya. Jagadānanda, in his *Kūladīpaka*, explains the principles of *Tantra*.

The above survey reveals to us some of the important contributions of this period that Mithilā made to the growth of the Sanskrit literature. There is a wonderful galaxy of celebrated commentators in all branches and some of them were the founders of new school in their respective branches of learning. In the field of *Belles Lettres*, there is nothing of note though various *Prabhandhas* were produced during the age. The outstanding productions of Vācaspati Miśra and the monumental contributions of Padmanābhadatta in the field of grammar and the contributions of the Navya-Naiyāyikas made Mithilā one of the shinning stars in the firmament of Indian sky. [13] In the field Sanskrit drama, Mithilā's

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13. For a detailed study—Cf. S. K. De—*History of Sanskrit Literature*; Krishnamchariar—*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*; *ABORI*—XII; XVIII; XVI; P. V. Kāne—*History of the Dharmaśāstras* (all volumes); and *Sanskrit Poetics*; P. K. Gode—*Studies in Literary History* and other published volumes; A. B Keith—*History of Sanskrit Literature*; *HCIP*—Vols V and VI; *ST*—gives a long list of Sanskrit writers of Mithilā; *TM*, P. 375 ff; K. P. Jayaswal—*Catalogue of Mithilā MSS* (all published volumes). H. P. Śāstri—*Nepal Darbar Catalogue*—gives the following information—

Vol. (i) Preface—VI. There dilapidated *MSS* of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti Vyākaraṇa* (by Purusottamadeva) gives brief comments on Pāṇini's rules excluding Vedic rules. It seems that at one time it had an extensive circulation in Mithilā.

(ii) P. VII—*Kātantravistara* by Vardhamāna—is a grammar.

(iii) P. XIII—*Vividhavidyāvichāraahatura*—on the propitiation of angry divinities and bringing about properity.

(iv) P. XXI—*Vivāhapaddhati* by Rāmadatta—pertains to the white *Yajurveda*.

(v) P. XXI—*Chaturthi vidhi*—Incomplete *MSS* of 35 leaves.

contribution was no less important and we shall revert to it soon.

Devotional Literature

From the days of Kālidāsa, there began a tendency of ascribing sexual sttributes to divine beings. Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṁbhavam* (VIII), and the benedictory stanzas of *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā* may be cited as examples in this connection. In the middle ages, the *Śrīmadbhāgavat* becomes the starting point of the theology of the neo-Vaiṣṇava sects and supplies the basic inspiration to the new devotional poetry and the possibilities of the greatest erotic-religious sentiments are found with the *Kṛṣṇa-gopī* legend. Jayadeva represented the important aspect of devotional literature and was the inspire of medieaval India. Jayadeva's exact source is not well known. The legend of *Rādhā* is comparatively old and we may trace it back to the *Gāthasaptasati* of Hāla and *Dhanvāloka* of Anandavardhana. There were however other obscene currents of erotic devotionalism from which Jayadeva and Vidyāpati derived their inspiration. Kṛṣṇadatta, son of Bhaveśa of Mithilā, in his *Śasilekhā* commentary, makes an attempt to interpret *Gītagovinda* as applying simultareously to the legends of *Kṛṣṇa* and *Śiva.* [14] Jayadeva and Vidyāpati were appropriated by Chaitaṇya who transformed them into a regular Chaitanyaite Vaiṣṇavism. The tradition of Vaiṣṇavite leaning was not absent in Mithilā and we find a large number of *Vaiṣṇava* verses in the *Śaduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa. The collection of devotional lyrics is an evidance of the fact that this part of literature was not neglected in Mithilā. It was round the early romantic life of Kṛṣṇa, as it is described not in the epic but in the *Purāṇas*, that the Bhakti movement chiefly centred.

The stagnation in the political life brought in its train unnecessary insistence on the *Smṛti* rule but even in this respect there was a difference of opinion among the *Smārtas* and *Vaiṣṇavas*.

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14. S. N. Dasgupta—*A history of SansKrit Literature* (Calcutta-1947) Vol. I. P. 392 f. n.

Nāṭaka or Drama[15]

The *Smārtas* acted on the belief that the *Smṛtis* ema nated from the Vedas whereas the *Vaiṣṇavas* followed the same rules on the ground thatthey were commandants of god. Dr. Dāsgupta has observed—*"With the change of the condition and circumstances, material wants and means of production and external influences of diverse kinds, man must change and with the change of man the social institutions, duties and obligations must also change. The attempt to bind with iron chains all movements of society... .....had an extremely depressive effect as regards freedom of mind and it enslaved the temper of mind and habituated it to respect the old traditions at the expense of common sense and wisdom... .....a complete patternisation of the conduct of all sections..... from which all novelty was gone.....the current of social life became stagnant and unfit for free literary productions."* [16] The effect of this aspect is seen part icularly in the realm of drama, composed during this period. The dramatists drew largely from the older *Kāvyas* and *Purāṇic* myths and had practically little or nothing original to add in view of the circumscribed social setup.

Sanskrit drama is one of the chief aspects of the Sanskrit literature. [17] The introduction of *Prākṛta* in Sanskrit drama marked the beginning of the introduction of spoken languages in the literary dramas. Bharata, in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* (XVIII. 43), pointed out that in a play composition should be based on the local dialects. Dhanañjaya suggested that in all the productions, dress, action and speech should be taken directly from the society and should be properly observed. The Sanskrit dramatists had a sense of perfect decorum and decency and the process tended to beatitude and happiness.

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15. See my—*SansKrit Drama in Mithilā*–in the *JBRS*–XLIII. PP. 34–60. Cf. S. N. Dasgupta—*Sanksrit Literature*–Introduction–PP. xxii–xciii.

16. Dasgupta—*op. cit.* PP. xxiv–xxxv.

17. Cf. Pandit Baldeva Miśra's article in the Ramacharitra *Abhinandan Grantha* regarding Mithilā's contribution to Sanskrit literature.

They aimed at some realisation. It was through drama that the Sanskrit literature was democratised to a great extent. In a majority of cases, drama represented people's culture. Nanyadeva was one of the greatest writers on dramaturgy. He emphasised that spectators' state of mind must be considered. [18] The tradition of *Nāṭaka* is very old. Murāri Miśra, claimed to be a Maithila, wrote his famous *Anargharāghava* (C. 9–10th. cent. A. D.). The best commentary on this work is by Rucipati. [19] Murari's aim was to remove the unpleasant feelings of the audience created by the earlier writers. The *Sūtradhara's* description at the beginning probably refers to the *Mahāvīra charitaṁ* and the *Mālatimādhava* of Bhavabhuti. Chatrakara, a Maithila, is also said to have commented upon the *Anargharāghava.* The *Prabodhachandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇa Miśra, though a drama, is unique in the sense that it follows a style of treatise of different systems of Indian philosophy. It is a comment upon the *Vedānta* aphorism and represents *Upaniṣadic Vedānta.* It is one of the best satires in Sanskrit literature. Kṛṣṇa Miśra is said to have flourished in the 11th. Century A. D. The *Abhinavabhārati* of Abhinavagupta represents the erudition of scholarship and covers the whole ground connected with the drama. It discusses in details the architecture of the theatre, dress and other equipments of the actors, religious ceremonials, music dance, movements, gestures, mode of delivery, the various classes of drama and poetry and their emotions and sentiments. [20] He laid the foundation of the science of dramaturgy in Mithilā.

During our period Jyotirīśvara [21] Thākur was one of the most prolific-writers and his encyclopaedic knowledge is evident from the *VR.* He stands as the first known dramatist in Mithilā. He is a famous for his *Prahasana,* named *Dhūrtasamāgamanāṭaka.* [22] The *Prahasana* is usually a comic re-

18. Cf. A. B. Keith—*SansKrit Drama*—P. 318.
19. For details—Cf. my article referred to above.
20. *Ibid*—P. 39.
21. *Ibid*—P. 40.
22. Edited by C. Cappaller and analysed by Wilson—*Th atre*—II. 408. It was first published in Lithograph, now not available.

presentation from popular life of the lower class and it displays no moralising tendency. It is believed that this drama was staged at the victory festivals in the court of Harisiṁhadeva. The play is a farce. The play opens with one *Sanyāsi* called Viśvanagara, who was a fraudulent knave. He had a disciple called *Snātaka*. These two approach a wealthy miser called Mṛtangara Thākur who refuses to give them any food on some false pretext. They rebuke him and they refer to the house of a pious lady called Suratapriya. Viśvanagara had fallen in love with her. She, too, is great fraud. The *Snātaka* has fallen in love with Anaṅgasena, a courtesan. Viśvanagara also goes with the *Snātaka* and having found her, both of them fall out. The courtesan commends one Assajati Miśra as arbitrator. In the second act, Assajati Miśra is the hero. He is also a fraud. His *Viduṣaka* friend is known as Bandhuvanchaka. Assajati Miśra decreed that until it could be decided to whom the damsel belonged, she should remain under the protection of himself as umpire. A barber appears on the scene to get payment and the lady refers him to Assajati Miśra. The barber ties the hands and feet of Assajati and leaving him unconscious goes away. Then comes his friend *Viduṣaka* to release him. The pupil had every reason to complain as he had seen the damsel and had confided his love to his master. The Judge inpounded the damsel for himself. The drama, the first authoritative *nāṭaka* in Sanskrit in Mithilā, [23] fulfils almost every condition prescribed in Sanskrit literary criticism. The laughter aroused is of a very low order. [24]

The *Pārijātaharaṇa* of Umāpati is yet another important

It is now available in both Sanskrit and Maithili version. The earlier edition was probably meant for private circulation.

23. Mitra—*Notices*—I. P. 48.

24. Cf. J. K. Miśra's edition—Introduction—; This edition gives the name of Harisiṁha as Harasiṁha—and refers to minister Gaṇeśvara—Cf. P. K. Gode—*Studies in Indian Literary History*—I. 378; Keith *Sanskrit Drama*—261; S. K. Dey—*History of Sanskrit Literature*—467.

drama in sanskrit written by Umāpati.[25] The dramatic tradition continued and the *Pārijātaharaṇa* is an example of the interest taken by the people in the Sanskrit drama of the time. The story of the *nāṭaka*, in brief is as follows—Nārada presents a *pārijāta* flower to Kṛṣṇa which he gave to Rukmiṇī. Satyabhāmā was enraged and Kṛṣṇa sent to Indra for some more flowers, which he refused to give. Thereupon there was a war wherein he was defeated and Satyabhāmā was propitiated. The plot is finished and the characters are well-developed. Arjuna has a distinct role to play. The story is based on the *Harivaṁsa* (124–135); *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (V, 30, 31) and the *Bhāgvatpurāṇa* (X. 69). Umāpati seems to have been influenced by Jayadeva.

Maṇika, son of Rājya-Vardhana, an expert in dramaturgy, was a renowned dramatist of Mithilā. His *Bhairavānanda-nāṭaka* is a secular drama.[26] Bhairava is the hero while Madanāvati is the heroine. Madanavati, a celestial dancer, is cursed by a *Ṛṣi* to become a *Mānuṣi*. Vidyāpati was the author of two important dramas, *viz. Maṇi-mañjarī*[27] and *Gorakṣavijaya*. For centuries, "Sanskrit drama continued to be produced in very substantial numbers and so strong was the force of tradition that the first attempt to introduce vernacular into the drama by Vidyāpati Thākur took the form of producing works in which the characters use Sanskrit and Prākrit and the songs only are in Maithili."[28] With due respect to the learned author, it must be said that the vernacular was first introduced by Jyotirīśvara and Umāpati and Vidyāpati was not the pioneer in this respect. Vidyāpati was well-versed in dramatic art and that is evident from his *Padāvalī*. He was a successful dramatist. The publication of *Gorakṣavijaya*

Vidyāpati

25. My article—P. 41 ff.

26. Cf. *JASB* (N. S.) XVIII. 253 ff; XX. 73 ff; *Nepal Cat.* XXXVII. My article–PP. 43–44.

27. S. N. Thākur—*op. cit.* 48–49. Pandit Viṣṇulal Jhā is said to have discovered a *MSS* of this *nāṭaka*.

28. Keith—*op. cit.* 243. It may be noted here that Keith has no information varnaculur songs introduced by Jyotiriswara and Umāpati—Cf.–my article referred to above.

enables us to arrive at this conclusion. In this drama, sanskrit and Prakrit speeches are given alongwith Maithili songs. The subject matter of the play is traditional story how Matsyendranāthā was brought back to the path of *Yoga* by his disciple Gorakṣanātha. Though it does not fulfil the Sanskrit definition of a *nāṭaka*, it is called a *nāṭaka* and its importance is greater in so far as the selection of details are concerned. The benedictory verses are the same as in Jyotirīśvara. The *Nāṭaka* was staged before Śivasiṁha, patron of the poet. [29]

Jayadeva Miśra's *Prasannarāghava* in seven acts is an important contribution. In the opening scene, the dramatist offers a kind of an apology by making the actor ask the Manager as to why all poets write only about Rāmachandra. All the traditional plots of Rāma legend unroll before us, brightened up, here and there, by the feverish poetic effusions of the dramatists. Jayadeva seems to have imitated Murari (*PR*—IV. 5). In the *PR*, we have got the conception of the primeval *Puruṣa* in the form of a boy. The whole of act IV is more of the nature of an interlude than an act in the play. The *PR* is the natural exponent of the higher form of the dramatic art of the post classical period. Keith says—"It is a typical play of the later drama. The spectacle of the river goddess grouped round the ocean affords admirabl scope for an effective tableau," [30] but it is wholly out of harmony with dramatic action. The author of the *PR* also wrote a book named *Chandrāloka* and had the surname *Piyūṣavarṣa*. [31] Two verses of the *PR* are quoted in the *Sārangaradharapaddhati*. [32] Besides being a dramatist, he was also a *Naiyāyika*.

Bāṇakavi was a very famous and a very important *Paṇḍita*

29. Vide—Umesh Miśra and J. K. Miśra's edition–Introduction.

30. Keith—*op. cit.* 246.; Cf.—R. K. Choudhary—गीत नाट्यकार विद्यापति in the Proceedings (Vol. I), of the All India Maithili writers' conference held at Darbhanga in 1956.

31. चन्द्रालोकमुंस्वयं वितनुते पीयूषवर्षः कृती । Cf. *ChandrāloKa* (Bombay 1914) and *Prasannarāghava* (Calcutta–1872).

32. Cf. S. Levi—*Le Theatre Indian*–P. 281.

of Mithilā. He is the author of *Pārvatipariṇayanāṭaka.* [33] Keith nurtures doubt about the authenticity of this dramatist. According to Keith, his real name was Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa. [34] The author of *Śṛṅgārabhuṣaṇa,* Bāṇa, was different from Bāṇakavi. The *Pārvatipariṇaya* deals with the rituals of marriage ceremonies prevalent in Mithilā. The drama is in five acts and is based upon the *Śivapurāṇa.* In *Nandi* there are two verses and the *Sūtradhāra* comes after that and then comes Nārada. Then Himavāna enters with Menā and others and that closes the first act. The second act begins with *Viṣakambhaka* and then with the conversation of Vāsantikā and Rambhā. Dramatically speaking, this is not proper. Here it should have been Praveśakaḥ. Devanandi, Bṛhaspati, Devadūta, Kāmaḥ and Vasanta also appear. In act III, both Bṛhaspati and Mahendra enter, followed by Nārada, Rambhā and Vaitālika. Nandi, Jayā-Vijayā, Śaṁkara and Parvati appear in act IV. In act V, Kanchuki, Himavāna, Śilādhāra, Kauśiki, Nārada, Śaṁkara, Śāraṅgī, Brahmā, Bṛhaspati, Pārvati, Jayā-Vijayā, Kulaparvatāḥ and others appear. On the whole, the drama is good and upto the mark though it lacks in the qualities found in the dramas of the classical Period. [35] It is a dreary dramatization of the theme of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṁbhavam* and deals mainly with the nuptials of Śiva and Pārvatī. His other play *Kanakalekha* describes the marriage of the daughter of Vīravarmana and Vyāsavarmana, both Vidyādharas, born as human beings on account of a curse.

Saṁkara Miśra stands as a prominent luminary in the firmanent of Mithilā's sky of dramatic literature in the 15th. century A. D. He is the author of the *Śrīkṛṣṇavinodanāṭaka* and *Manobhavaparābhavanāṭaka.* In his younger days, he also wrote a comedy on the marriage of *Śiva-pārvati,* entitled *Gauridigambaraprahasana,* [36] a sanskrit farce. This was pro-

33. The text was edited in 1917 by R. Schmidt (Leipzig).

34. Keith—*op. cit.* P. 221.

35. *HCIP*-VI. 469. Popular tradition makes him a friend of Vācaspati and brother of Rucipati—Cf. My article-P. 47.

36. Jayaswal—*Mithilā Cat.*-II. 56, No. 53a.

bably staged at the instance of his father. [37] Since his dramas are not published, it is not possible to evaluate them.

Harihara Upādhyāya was one of the important writers of Mithilā. His famous drama is *Bhartṛiharinivedam* [38] In this drama, there is a glorification of the *yoga* philosophy. It teaches that the *Summun-bonum* is the discrimation and separation of soul from matter, thus leading through renunciation of the world to isolation of the ego. It has *Śānta* for its sentiment, the leading man is the famous ascetic, Gorakhanātha, the founder of the Saiva sect and the *Kaṇaphaṭakā Yogī*. Both Sanskrit and Prākrit have been used. The present work is a drama representing *Sāntarasa*. It is a very small drama. It represents Bhartṛhari as desolated by his wife's death through false rumour of his own death. Being consoled by the yogic teachings of Gorakhanātha, he attains in difference so that after his wife is recalled to life he has no attraction either for his child or for her. The work is partly a didactic glorification of Haṭhayoga system of Gorakhanātha as a means of purification. Like *Prabhodachandrodaya*, it is an allegorical drama. His another drama is *Prabhāvatī-pariṇaya*. It is a successful drama in seven acts. Prabhāvatī develops soft corner for Pradyumna and the latter also feels for the former. It is the image of Prabhāvatī that impresses Pradyumna. Then there is a description of the *Pūrvarāga* and the wandering of Pradyumna in disguise. The description of natural scenaries is superb. It represents a love story though the style is usual. Gaṅgananda Kavindra wrote *Mandāramañjarī*.

Thus it appears that the dramas continued to be written during our period and the dramatic literature dominated the

37. Mitra—*Notices*-III. P. 52, No. 83; *Nepal Cat.* I. 49.

38. It is a published work (Bombay–1936); Cf. *JAOS*-XXV. 197–230. Cf. Aufrecht–Vol. I. 762; The Bombay edition conditions—अत्र हरिहरोपाध्यायो मिथिलादेशे कदा समुत्पन्न इति न निश्चीयते एतत्प्रणीतस्यास्य भर्तृहरिनिर्वेदनाम्नो नाटकस्यैकं·····

Cf. Krishnamchariar—*op. cit.* P. 317; Keith–*op. cit.* P. 248; Also Mitra–*Notices*-VII. P. 159. No. 2395; Jayaswal–*op. cit.* II. P. 88.

field of Sanskrit learning in Mithilā. The dramas were not only written but also staged. There are various other authors whose works have not yet come to light. Murāri was more an elegant poet than a dramatist, and his influence on the *Prasannarāghava* is immense. While Jyotirīśvara's drama is a farce, Umāpati Upādhyāya's *Pārijātaharaṇa,* though of a semi-dramatic form, is of a greater operatic and melodramatic tenor. The old glory of the classic age was not to be found now but every dramatic composition was certainly a mile stone in the history of Sanskrit literature in Mithilā. Drama was written for the entertainment of people of all tastes. Sanskrit dramatists of different ages have viewed this problem in their own way. To Kālidāsa, it was an entertainmen (*Mālav*—1. 4) while Bhavabhuti stood for sense and diginity in the drama (*Mālīmādhava* 1. 6). Dhananjaya took dramatic representations as the pure expressions of joy (*Daśarupaka* 1. 6.). According to the Abhinavagupta, a dominant feeling or emotion becomes a sentiment when it is transformed into an object of enjoyment. [39] Abhinavagupta exercised a considerable influence over the writers and stage directors of Mithilā during the periods following him.

A tentative list of Sanskrit writers is given below—

(1) Abhinava Vācaspati—15th century A. D.

(2) Bāṇakavi—15th century A. D.

(3) Baṭeśvara Jhā—15th century A. D. He is said to have written a commentary on *Mudrārākṣas.*

(4) Bhānudatta (or Miśra)—15th century A. D. His verses are quoted in the *Sārangadharapaddhati* and he frequently quotes from Bharata and *Śṛngāratilaka* of Rudrabhaṭṭa.

(5) Bibhākara—author of *Dvaitaviveka* 15th-16th century A. D.

(6) Bhavanātha Miśra—letter known as *Ayāchi*—15th century—when a ruler of Mithilā is said to have called him to his house, he said it was not necessary for him to go to the king and all that he required were a few *Bel* fruits of which there was an abundance in his house. The following

39. Keith—*op. cit.* P. 318.

tradition about him is recorded A *Sanyāsī* who saw him teaching his pupils spoke thus—तर्के कर्कश विचार चातुरी कातुरीय वयसा विभाव्यते। आतुरी भवति यत्र मानसम् on this Bhavanātha Miśra replied—धातुरीप्सितं मया करोतिकः।

(7) Chaṇḍeśvara—14th century A. D.—covers the whole ground of administration through his writings.

(8) Chatrakara Śukla—15th century—wrote a commentary on the *Anargharāghava.*

(9) Damodara Miśra—14th–15th cent. A. D.—Author of *Vāṇibhūṣaṇa* (No. 53 of the Kāvyāmālā series–Bombay 1903)–इति मैथिल दीर्घघोष कुलोद्भुत दामोदर मिश्र विरचितम् वाणीभूषणं समाप्तम्—On P. 13–in *śloka* 82, he refers to Kīrtisiṁha.

(10) Devanātha Thākur—15th–16th cent. A. D.—wrote a commentary on Jayadeva's *Āloka.*

(11) *Dhanapati Upādhyāya*—15th–16th cent. A. D.—wrote *Śrāddha-darpaṇa.*

(12) Durgādatta Miśra—15th–16th cent. A. D.—author of *Nyāyabodhini* and *Vṛtta-muktāvalī.* (Aufrecht–Vol I. P. 256(a); H. P. Śāstri—*Notices*–III P. 75).

(13) Gaṇapati—16th cent. A. D.—author of *Gaṅgābhakti-taraṅgiṇī.*

(14) Gaṇeśvara Thākur—14th cent. A. D.—author of *Sugatisopāna.*

(15) Gaṅgānand—16th cent. A. D.—In his *Karṇabhūṣana,* he traces the development of the several *rasas* through all the stages (Krisnamchariar—*op. cit.*–P. 167). He is also the author of a *Dūtakāvya* entitled *Bhṛṅgadūta.*

(16) Gaṅgeśa—12th–13th cent. A. D.

(17) Govardhanāchārya—12th–13th cent. A. D.—is said to have composed *Ārya-Saptaśati* (700 stanzas in *Āryā* metre)–He was associated with the court of *Lakṣmaṇasena.*

(18) Govinda Thākur—16th cent. A. D.—is the author of *Kāvyapradīpa* (a commentary on the *Kāvyāprakāśa* of Mammaṭa). It is an important treatise on poetics. He refers to Viśvanātha (author of *Sāhityadarpaṇa*) as modern. For details. Cf. his *Kāvyāprakāśa* (Bombay–1901). He also wrote *Pūjāpradīpa* and he mentions Bhavānanda Rāya as his patron.

(19) Graheśvara Miśra—13th-14th cent. A. D.—He is quoted by Caṇḍeśvara in his *Vivādaratnākara* and Vardhamāna in his *Daṇḍaviveka*. He was the author of *Vyahārataraṅga*.

(20) Harapati—son of Rucipati—15th-16th cent. A. D.—is the author of *Mantrapradīpa*.

(21) Harīharopādhyāya—the dramatist.

(22) Harināṭha Upādhyāya—15th cent. A. D.—is the author of *Smṛtisāra*. His works are quoted by Raghunandana and Kamalākara.

(23) Indrapati Thākura—15th cent. A. D.—is the author of *Mimāṁsā-rasa-palvala* written for the ignorant people of Mithilā.

(24) Jagaddhara—15th cent. A. D.—is the author of *Devimahātmyaṭīkā, Bhāgavadgītāpradīpa, Mālatimādhavaṭīkā, Rasadīpikā, Tattvadipni Vāsavadattaṭīkā, Veṇisaṁhāranāṭikā* and *Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇaṭīkā*.

(25) Jayadeva Miśra—(alias Pakṣadhara)-15th cent. A. D.—many persons of this name are known.

—Jayadeva Pakṣadhara-a Naiyāyika—About him the popular saying runs as follows—

"शंकरवाचस्पत्योः समानौ शङ्करवाचस्पती भवतः।
पक्षधरः प्रतिपक्षीलक्षी भूतो न च क्वापि॥"

A palm leaf *MSS* of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* transcribed by Pakṣadhara Miśra is dated *LS*. 345 (= 1464 A. D.). This settles the identity and the date of Pakṣadhara Miśra. Peterson supposed that he was an inhabitant of Vidarbha (*Subhaṣitāvali* P. 37). Krishnamachariar also held the same view (*op. cit.* 645). S. C. Vidyābhusana called him a resident of Mithilā (*History of Indian Logic* P. 455). The opening verse of *Āloka* reads—

अथात्य जयदेवेन हरिमिश्रात्पितृव्यतः।
तत्त्वचिन्तामणेरित्थमालोकोयं प्रकाश्यते॥

His teacher was Hari Miśra. The concluding verse of *Chandrāloka* reads—

महादेवः सत्र प्रमुखमखविच्चैक चतुरः, सुमित्रा तद्भक्तिप्रणिहित मतिर्यस्य पितरौ।··· (His parents were Mahādeva Miśra and Sumitra). He was a disciple of Yajñapati Upādhyāya (*Mithilāṅka* P. 53). He belonged to *Sāṇḍilya gotra* and his real name was Jayadeva—

According to Vidyābhusana, he was called Pakṣadhara on account of his having gained victory in a debate which he conducted for a fortnight. This fact is supported by his disciple and nephew, Vāsudeva, who wrote a commentary on his *Āloka* entitled *Chintāmaṇitīkā*. Vāsudeva further tells us that Pakṣadhara was also called *Piyūṣavarṣa*. Thus it appears that this Pakṣadhara *alias* Jayadeva was the author of *Āloka, Chandrāloka* and the *Prasannarāghava*. He was a contemporary of Vidyāpati and the following sayings are attributed to them—

Vidyāpati—प्राघुणोघुणवत्क्रोणे सूक्ष्मत्वान्नोपलक्षितः

Pakṣadhara—नहि स्थूलधियः पुंसः सूक्ष्मे दृष्टिः प्रजायते ॥

(Cf. *JBORS*-XXIV. PP. 164-172).

(26) Jyotiriśvara Thākur—14th. cent. A. D.

(27) Kālidāsa—There have been many persons of this name in Mithilā—*Śrutabodha*, a short piece in 43 stanzas, is attributed to him (Cf. *Kālidāsa* by Harichand Śāstri—Paris 1917-pp. 1-2).

(28) Keśava Miśra—16th cent. A. D.—author of *Dvaitaparisiṣṭha* and *Tarakabhāṣa*. He is said to be the minister of Rupanārāyaṇa Rāmabhadra and Lakṣmīnāthā Kaṁśanārāyaṇa.

(29) Lakṣmipati Upādhyāya—15th cent. A. D.—is the author *Śrāddharatnam*.

(30) *Madhusudana*—15th cent. A. D.—is the author of *Jyotiśapradipāṅkura*.

(31) Madhusudana Thākur—15th cent. A. D.—is the author of *Tattvacintāmani-āloka-kantakoddhāra, Dvaitanirṇayajirṇoddhāra* and *Samayapradīpajirṇoddhāra*.

(32) Misaru-Miśra—15th cent. A. D.—author of *Anargharāghava*.

(33) Maṇḍana-Miśra—associated with Mahiṣi (Saharsa).

(34) Murari Miśra—author of *Sudhinibandha*—15th cent. A. D.

(35) Murari Miśra—15th-16th cent. A. D.—author of *Śrāddhakalpa, Parvanirṇaya* etc.—and was serving under Mahārāja Trivikrama Nārāyaṇa of Moraṅga (Nepāla).

(36) Narahari—son of Abhinava Vācaspati—wrote *Swarodaya*.

(37) Narahari Upādhyāya—15th cent. A. D.—is the author of *Dvaitanirṇaya.*

(38) Padmanābhadatta—founder of Saupadma school of Grammar—14th cent. A. D.

(39) Pradyumna—15th cent. A. D.—commented upon *Jyotiṣaratnāvali*-by Sudhākara.

(40) Premanidhi Thākur—15th cent. A. D.—author of *Dharmādharmaprabodhini.*

(41) Puruṣhottāmadeva—13th-14th century A. D.—is the author of the lexicon—*Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Bhāṣāvṛtti, Muktichintāmaṇi* and others.

(42) Raghudeva Jha—14th cent. A. D.—well known for his *Panji-prabandha.*

(43) Rāmadatta Thākur—14th cent. A. D.—author of *Vivahapaddhati.*

(44) Ratnapāṇi—15th century—author of *Kāvyādarpaṇa.*

(45) Ravi Thākur—15th cent. A. D.—author of *Madhumati,* a commentary on *Kāvyaprakāśa.*

(46) Rucipati Upādhyāya—14th-15th cent. A. D.—wrote commentary on Gaṅgeśa's works.

(47) Rucipati—15th cent. A. D.—wrote a commentary on *Anargharāghava.*

(48) Rudradhar Upādhyāya—15th cent. A. D.—famous writer on *Smṛti.*

(49) Saṁkara Miśra—15th-16th-author of *Smṛti Sudhākara.*

(50) Śaṁkara Miśra— Do —Philosopher.

(51) Siṁha Bhupāla—15th cent. A. D.—writer on Poetics and Music.

(52) Śrīdatta—13th-14th cent. A. D.—*Smṛti* writer.

(53) Śrīdatta Miśra—15th century — Do —

(54) Sucharita Miśra—16th cent. A. D.—wrote *Kāsikā* on the *Ślokavārtika* of Kumārila.

(55) Sudhākara—15th-16th cent. A. D.—author of *Ratnāvali* (astrological work).

(56) Umāpati—14th cent. A. D.—author of *Pārijātaharaṇa.*

(57) Vācaspati Miśra (old)—9th cent. A. D.—Śaṁkara and Vācaspati are considered to be equal. About him various facts and fictions are current (Cf. *JBORS*—1919-P. 176).

(58) Vardhamanopādhyāya—15th cent. A. D.—writer on *Smṛti*.

(59) Vardhamāna—13th cent. A. D.—a writer on *Nyāya*.

(60) Vāsudeva Miśra—15th cent. A. D.—wrote a commentary of *Tattvachintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśa.

(61) Vidyāpati—the well known poet of Mithilā—was also a renowned Sanskrit writer.

The above list fairly gives an account of the Sanskrit literature of Mithilā. No branch of study in this language was left untouched and some of the Maithila scholars, like Vaṅgamani and Vaṁśamani, went to Nepal and wrote works on music and lyrics respectively. The land of Nyāya and Smṛti, Mithilā influenced almost all the neighbouring states and the presence of a galaxy of Sanskrit scholars attracted students from all over the country. At a time when Sanskrit was in ascendancy, it was in Mithilā, that the Vernacular literature also attained maturity as will be evident from the following description. Both Sanskrit and Maithili grew side by side without any antipathy to each other and even when Sanskrit dramas were written by the Maithila Scholars, Maithili songs were inserted in response to the popular demand.

Section—C

MAITHILI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Origin and Antiquity of Maithili

Maithili is a rich and one of the oldest languages of India. There has been a good deal of controversy over the independent status of Maithili as a language for the last hundred years or so but the matter, now, sets at rest in view of the researches made in the subject. Right from the early Vedic period down to the modern times, there has been a constant struggle of thoughts between western and eastern parts of the country and the contributions of the *Prāchya* have been immense to the growth of Indian Culture. Bihar in general and Mithilā in particular made notable contributions towards the development of political thought, religion,

philosophy and language. The Vrātyas,[40] usually associated with Magadha, had a *prakritic* form of speech. There is also a reference to the distinct character of speech, prevalent in the Prāchya, in the *Satpatha Brāhmaṇa*.[41] The distinct existence of two types of speeches in the Vedic period is an evidence of the fact that the language of the *Prāchya* was different from the Aryans and difference continued in the centuries to follow. With the rise of the Jainism, Ājivikaism and Buddhism in Bihar, the people's language, i.e. *Prākrit* and *Pāli*, got greater impetus. These reformers had to take their message to the people and so they left the language of the initiated (i.e. Sanskrit) and took up people's language as their medium. The rise of *Prākrit* and *Pāli* ultimately helped the growth of the later vernacular literature. The *Lalitavistara*[42] contains a good account of all these things and we see that the classical poets and dramatists are forced to introduce peoples' dialects in their writings. Language does not grow in a day or so. Language is the main vehicle of communication among peoples and the type of Maithili, that we see in the age of Jyotirīśvara, is a finished one and must have required eenturies for being so.[43]

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40. For the *Vrātyas*—see my book-*The Vrātyas in Ancient India*.

41. *Vedic Index*—Vol. II. P. 343; 280; Cf. *SB*-III. 2, 1, 23-24. For earlier works on the Maithili language—Dr. Umeśa Miśra's articles in the *Hindustani*; his Ghonghardihā Presidential speech; *Mithilāṅka* (of the Mithilā Mihir); Ramanātha Jha—*Maithili Sahitya ka Itihāsa*; *Jayanti Aṅka* (Ramlochana Saran Comm. Volume); Bhola Lal Dasa's Report on the available works in Maithili; S. Jha 'Suman'—*Maithili Ka Unnāyaka*. Subhadra Jha—'*Formation of the Maithili Language*' (London 1958); J. K. Miśra—*History of Maithili Literature*-Vol. I (Allahabad-1949).; Rajeshwara Jha—"*Maithili Sahitya ka Ādikāla*" ; and "*Maithili Lipi Ka Udbhava*."

42. See my article "प्राक् विद्यापतिकालीन मैथिली" in *Maithili Bhaṣā O Sāhitya* (Calcutta—1961) and also my article in the *appendix* of the Vaidehi *Viśeṣāṅka* of 1961 (Darbhanga).

43. Cf. the Serialised articles of Acharya Parmānand Sāshtri on Maithili Script and language in the issues of *Mitiilā Mihira* (Patna—1960).

The degeneration of Buddhism into the esoteric cult of *Yoga* and *Sādhanā* further led to the growth of a class of literature in Bihar which is claimed equally by Hindi. Oriyā, Assami, Bengali and Maithili. The Buddhist *Sahajiyā* cult was essentially an esoteric yogic cult. These theological speculations gave rise to Tantricism which, in its turn, came to handle *Panchamakārās* in dubious manner. Since the discovery of the *Charyapadas* by Mm. Haraprasad Śāstri in Nepal in 1907, scholars have, given vent to their thoughts in different manners. These songs were written by different *Siddhāchāryas* on the practices of the Buddhist Sahajiyās. These songs have been claimed by the scholars of Bengali as the first specimen of Bengali literature, but later on all the languages of the eastern group claimed them as their own. In his introduction to J. K. Miśra's *History of Maithili Literature* (Vol. I), Dr. S. K. Chatterji writes—"The language of the *Charyāpadas* is a point in question. The fact that the *Charyāpadas* have been claimed for Old Assamese, Old Oriya, Old Maithili (and old Magahi) as much as for old Bengali, only demonstrates the close kinship of these languages to one another; they have even been claimed for "old Hindi," taking 'Hindi' in a loose and popular sense. Dr. Jayakant Miśra, like Dr. Subhadra Jha, thinks the *Charyās* are in old Maithili. I still stick to my view, put forward in my origin and Development of the Bengali Language (1926—P. 110 ff.), that the *Charyās* were composed in old Bengali—of course at a time when the divergence between Maithili and Bengali and Oriya and Assamese were not very prominent" (P. X.).[44]

44. Cf. H. P. Śāstri—*Baudha Gān O Dohā*; *JDL*-XXX. Dr. P. C. Bāgchi's article—*Material for critical edition of the old Bnegali Charyāpadas*; Tibetan translations of the fifty songs are available in Tibetan; Cf. M. M. Vidusekhar Bhattachārya's article in the *IHQ*-IV. No. 2 (1928). *Calcutta Oriental Journal*-Vol. I. Bagchi's article-*Some aspects of Buddhist Mysticism in the Charyāpadas*; B. C. Majumdar—*History of Bengali Language*-Lecture XIII; K. P. Jayaswal—called it specimen of old Bihari Language—(His presidential address to the Baroda conference of the AIOC-VII Session); R. Sankritayan—*Puratattvanibandhāvali*; S. K. Chatterji—*Origin and Development Language* (1926) Vol. I P. 110 H.

Dr. S. B. Dasgupta, following Dr. Chatterji, says—"Inspite of sporadic infusions of a few Maithili and Oriya forms, the essential nature of these songs cannot but be admitted to be Bengāli." [45] It is rather more reasonable to suggest that in those days, there was no such marked difference between different languages in north India and there was uniformity in the language, written and spoken, from Gujrat to Assam.[46] The *Prākrit Chandrikā* supplies with a list of 15 languages, *Prākrit-Sarvasva* a list of 11 languages and the *Kuvalayamālā* a list of 15 languages. All these were *Prakrit* and semi-prakrit languages, then current in India.

These Charyāpada poets had a definite philosophical outlook. They are sarcastic in nature and throw sufficient light on the contemporary life and thought. They represent a special school of religious thought with distinctive features of its own. The Sahajiya school protested against the formalities of life and religion. Sarahapāda revolted against the orthodox system of the four fold divisions of caste and the system of *Dakṣiṇā*. The whole of the *Caryāpadas* deserve a special study from the sociological point of view and hence need not detain us here. The language of the *Caryāpadas* indicated the emergence of a new eastern variety of Indo-Aryan languages from the local variety of *Apabhraṁsa*. As stated earlier, the spoken language of the east went on altering forms. Between 500 B. C. and 500 A. D., the different Prakrit languages were based on Middle Indo-Aryan dialects. The eastern variety of the language can be gleaned through the Kālsi, Dhauli and Jaugāḍha edicts of Aśoka and also in the Ramgarh Hill cave Inscriptions. While the earliest form of middle Indo-Aryan is to be found in the edicts of

45. *Obscure Religious Cults*—P. 4 ff–; Cf. *JDL*–XXVIII.

46. Cf. R. Sankritāyana—*Hindi Kāvyadhārā* (Allahabad–1945), P. 6 ff–"वस्तुतः उस वक्त उत्तर भारत की सारी भाषायें एक दूसरे के बहुत नजदीक थीं। —Dr. Das Gupta says—".....they belong to no particular province of India but may be regarded as representative of the earliest stage of the Indo-Aryan vernacular religious poetry... (P. 5).

Aśoka, its later form is represented by the local Prākrit languages, *e.g., Māgadhi, Ardhamāgadhi, Sauraseni, Mahārāṣṭri, Paisāchi,* Gāndhāri and so on. Jyotirīśvara in his *VR* (P. 44) mentions *Sanskrit, Prākrit, Avahaṭṭa, Paiśāchi, Sauraseni* and *Māgadhi*—as the six important languages and seven other languages like *Śakāri, Abhirī, Chaṇḍālī, Savalī, Drāvilī, Autakali* and *Vijātiya.* It was in the *Prākrit-Apabhraṁśa* that the Buddhist *Siddhās* of Nālanda and Vikramśilā composed their songs. The *Apabhraṁśa-Avahaṭṭa* had certainly local variations. The *Dohās* of the Siddhācharyas represent a considerable portion of medieaval vernacular literatures of western, northern and Eastern India. *The language of the Charya songs may be classed as a common eastern vernacular of all peoples of the east and as such Maithili has equal claim over them.* The language of the *Charyāpadas* have innumerable Maithilī terms and may be called as the oldest specimen of Maithili. These songs represented an amalgam of Tantricism and Saivism. The *VR* has mentioned all these Siddhāchāryas and this is an evidence of the fact that they were held in high esteem by the Maithili writers.

If we study the writings of these *Siddhas* in the background of *Prākṛtapaiṅglaṁ,* we arrive at the conclusion that they composed in a language which was understood by a majority of the population. The *Prākṛtapaiṅglaṁ,* itself, is an evidence of the fact that the literary output in eastern India had never been dormant. The *PPm,* besides being a source of contemporary history of Mithilā, [47] is an important source for the study of Maithili language as well. Dr. J. K. Miśra has not taken into consideration the importance of this particular

47. *PPm.* an important source for the study of the political history of Mithilā—see my paper in the Journal of *VVRJ* (Hoshiarpur)—and my Maithili article referred to above.

—We should note with satisfaction that the most of the Siddhāchāryas belonged to the Monasteries of Vikramaśilā and Nālandā and hence they might have been the forerunners of the languages of Bihar, Maithili, Angika and Magahi. An authentic history of Vikramaśilā, as and when published, is bound to throw light on the problem.

work and it has been casually referred to by Dr. Subhadra Jha. *Apabhraṁśa-Avahaṭṭa* was developed largely by the Jainas and Buddhists of the East. It may be borne in mind here *that actual evidence of the secular use of the language comes mainly from the East.* The *PPm* is the greatest example of this fact. Though the date and place of composition of the *PPm* are not exactly known, from a study of the language of the texts and the personalities referred to there, it can be suggested with some amount of certainty that it was composed and compiled somewhere in the east (between Benares and Mithilā) between 12th and 15th century A. D. I have examined more than four hundred typical Maithili words in the *PPm* and the lyrics, and all these also speak of its being treated as one of the earliest works of Maithili. The *PPm* apparently is a comprehensive work on the *Prakṛta-Apabhraṁśa-Avahaṭṭa* prosody and contains a large number of verses on diffrent topics by different poets, most of them annonymous. Some of them are popular lyric poetry. Caṇḍeśvara and Haribrahma are also mentioned therein. Haribrahma was a protege of Caṇḍeśvara. According to Dr. Subhadra Jha, the examples of metres and verses in the *PPm* may be said so have been composed in proto-Maithili. There is nothing in them that may prevent their being called Maithili of an early period. The language of the *Charyās, Sarvānanda, PPm, Kīrtilatā* and *Kīrtipatākā* represents Maithili of the oldest period in as much as it preserves some of the *Apabhraṁśa* characteristics.[48] Some of the verses of the *PPm* give us an account of the life of the people. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal has suggested that *Prākṛta* prosody was a favourite study in Mithilā and some important commentaries on the *PPm* were written as late as the 18th century A. D. [49] There was a special Mithilā school of poetics on which the evidence

48. *Formation of the Maithili Language*—PP. 41-42; Haribansa Kocchar—*Apabhraṁsa Sāhitya* (Delhi-2013) PP. 320-331; Rahul—*Hindi Kāvyadhārā* P. 464; *JASB* (Letters)-XVI. 269; C. M. Ghosh—*Prākṛtapaiṅgalaṁ* (B. I. Series-Calcutta-1902). Also V. Shrivastava—"*Apabhraṁśa Sahitya.*"

49. *Cat. of Mithilā MSS*—II. Introduction.

of vernacular composition is evident. It is evident from the *PPm* that early Maithili poetry was largely influenced by the *Prākṛt-Apabhraṁśa* metre.[50]

The language of the *Charyāpadas* have been subjected to various interpretation by all eminent writers of Mithilā. Bengal and the Hindi world. Narendra Nātha Dāsa (*Mithilā Mitra*—1930–31) and Śivanandana Thākura (*op. cit.* P. 208 ff.) have suggested that the Siddhas' language is proto-Maithili. Even the great Russian writer, Wassiljew, on Tibetan Buddhism has suggested that they utilised the vernacular language for preaching their thought. Since they were the residents of Bihar, it is natural to conclude that they pressed into service such language as was prevalent then in this part of the country.[51] The language of the *Charyāpadas* bear close resemblance to the *PPm*, *Kīrtilatā*, *Kirtipatakā* and the oldest *MSS Padāvali* of Vidyāpati. Chaṭila and Dheṇḍhapā are the two names, not available in Rāhul's list, known to us from the *VR.*[52] Specimen of these *padas* have been quoted in the *History of Maithili literature*[53] (Vol. I–P. 117 ff.) and very few of them in the *BTA* (P. 353). The fact that Maithili was already a developed language, by then, is well—attested by certain other sources. K. L. Barua says—"*The*

50. *Journal of the Bombay University*–II. Pt. III. P. 32; *Bhārat Kaumudi*–1065 H.

51. For details Cf. *CR*–1917–392 ff; *IHQ*–II. 91 ff; III. 677; *Vaṅgiya Sahitya Parishat Patrikā* (1327) PP. 145–52; *JBORS*–XIV. 340 ff; *B. K. Kākati*–*Formation of Assamese Language*; Barua–*Early History of Kāmrupa*–P. 318; *B. C. Law Volume* II. 197 ff. *Gangāpurātattvāṅka*; *Indian Linguists*–VIII. 35–37; 163–68; Sahidulla–*Les Chants Mystiques de Kannet Sarah* (Paris–1928); Rahul–*Dohākoṣa* (Patna). Arthur Grundwel in *History of the* 84 *Siddhas* says—"Bhadanta Sānskṛtāyana has recovered complete personal history and has concluded that they flourished and wrote in Magadha." Also Cf. वीरेन्द्र श्रीवास्तव—कीर्तिपताका—विवेचन और पाठ संशोधन (प्रतिमुद्रण)—१९६९

52. Supra—for *VR'S* list; Cf. *Purātattvanivaṁdhāvali*—PP. 146–204.

53. For idioms etc. Cf. J. K. Misra–*op. cit.* 107.

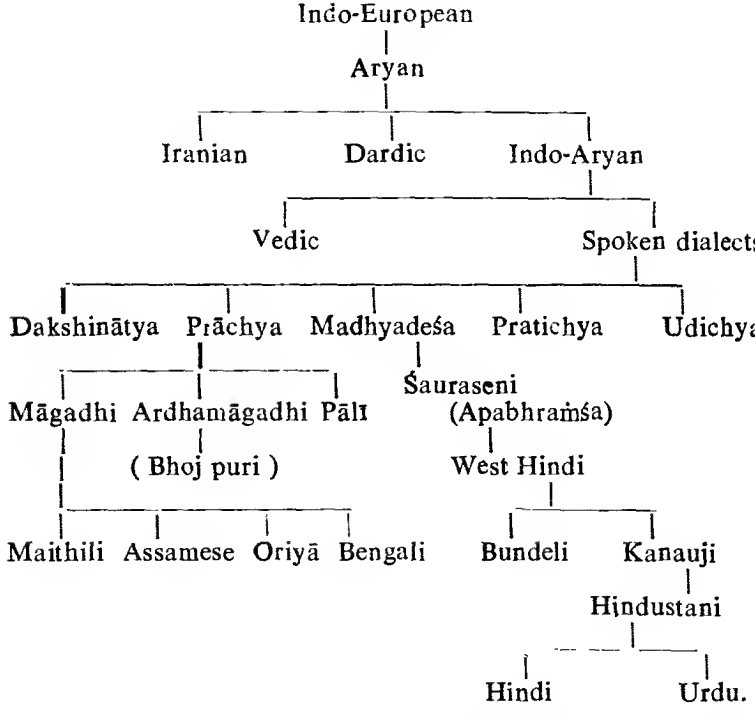
Kāmrupa dialect was originally a variety of eastern Maithili and it was no doubt the spoken Aryan language throughout the kingdom which then included the whole of the Assam Valley and the whole of North Bengal with the addition of the Purnea, district of Bihar.....the language of the Buddhist *Dohās*..... should be a mixed *Maithili Kāmrupī* language..... the *Dohās* were composed [54] in a language which could be easily understood throughout eastern India." The evidence of the early existence of Maithili is further proved by two other important sources—(i) the use of *Mithilākṣara* in the Deoghar temple inscription of the wife of Ādityasena; an inscribed seal discovered from Begusarai in Maithili and the script of the *Khojapur Durgā image inscription* (the latter two are dated in the L. S. 67 and 147 respectively); the *Andhrātharhi Inscription*, the *Śrīnagar Inscription, Bheeta Bhagvānpur Inscription, Āsi stone Inscription, Tilkeśvara Temple Inscription*, Kandāhā Image Inscription (dated in the L. S.) and *Bhagirathpur Insc.* [55] A coin of Bhairavasiṁha in Maithili character has been edited by me and subsequently by Dr. D. C. Sircar (*JNSI*-XX; *EI*-XXXIII). The Maithili script, thus, seems to have been in use since the latter half of the 7th-8th century A. D. and it is to this script that the Bengali scholars conveniently call the *Gauḍiya* or Proto—Bengali Script; (ii) the great philosopher, Vācaspati, author of Bhāmati, uses a Maithili word *"Haḍi"* [56] to explain the meaning of an uncommon word. Right from Vācaspati down to our own age, the Maithila scholars have taken recourse to this practice and that goes to show the antiquity of Maithili as a language. Vācaspati flourished in the 9th century A. D. Sarvānanda (C. 11th century A. D.) has used more than four hundred Maithili words in commentary on the *Amarakoṣa*. [57] All these go to show that Maithili had developed as a language long before the eastern languages, in their present form, had come to stay.

54. *Early History of Kāmrupa*—P. 318.
55. R. K. Choudhary—*Inscriptions of Bihar*, Introduction and also PP. 125–138.
56. *Bhāmati* (Nirnayasāgar edn.) I. 3. 1. P. 270; Cf. *Mithilāṅka*–II. P. 10.

The language went on progressing and was never barren. A critical and textual study of the available texts would enable us to arrive at some definite conclusion. The non-existence of a huge mass of folk literature is accounted for by the predominance of the Brāhmanical ascendancy in the social life of the country. The social life was full of rituals and religious festivals and the *mantras* were the sole monopoly of the Brāhmaṇas. We find a clear reference to all these things in the writings of *Siddhas*. Naturally, therefore, the people had to depend more and more on the sacerdotal authority for all types of ritualistic activity. Secondly, the folk language was always derided upon by the so called scholiasts of the age. Whatever has been stated by Dr. J. K. Miśra (*op. cit.* P. 109) in support of his argument can very well be said about the contemporary *Maithila* outlook. He says—"There might have been greater response in the lower classes to their (*siddhas'*) teachings..... making it necessary for the Brāhmanical leaders..... to make so great an effort to re-establish Brāhmanical thought." But it must be admitted here that the *religious bias of the lower caste, coupled with the economic factors, determined the course of development of the vernacular literature from its very inception.* The *Siddhas* were composing their *padas* in Bihar at a time when its connection with the outside world was living. The historical and romantic poetry in the *Apabhraṁsa-Avahaṭṭa* and in the folk-lore is an instance of this fact. The writings of *Dāka* and *Ghāga* (Cf. *Maithila Dāka* Darbhanga-1944) are believed to have belonged to the earlier period of Maithili. They are the earliest agricultural directories in Maithili. Similarly the folk-lore connected with the legend of *Lorika* is said to be one of the oldest specimens of Maithili. The folk-poetry of Bihar in general and Mithilā in particular are replete with *Lorika* (ballads collected by Grierson and others, my own collections have different reading) songs and dances. Jyotirīśvara in his *VR* makes a mention of the *Lorika* dance and the story has been fully

57. *ABORI*—XXI. P. 106 ff; Cf. *Indian Linguistics*—VIII. 126 *Journale Asiatique* (1926) PP. 81–100.

narrated, with slight variations, in the *Chandābāna* of Mulla Daud (Cf. Askari's article in the *Current Studies*—Patna 1954–55). Whether the literary compositions, ascribed to all these, are of a single individual cannot be stated. There is no doubt that their language has changed from generation to generation and the present form cannot be taken as the replica of the older ones (Cf. Kulaśreṣṭha—*Premākhyāna Kāvya*-for Mulla Daud).* The following chart will give us an idea of the evolution of Maithili.



Based on the classification suggested Taraporewāla. Also Cf. *LSI*-V (II) P. 1—*Maithili* is a direct descendant of *Māgadhi.*

* Cf. P. L. Gupta—*Chandāyana*; only recently Dr. Brajkishore Varma has written a series of articles on the Lorika (entitled 'लोरिकायन') ballad and has interpreted the whole thing on a Tantric basis. Cf. *Mithila-Mihir*—1969–70. It is being published in a book form from Calcutta.

Prof. Shaktidhar Jha has suggested that *Maithili* has descended from *Ardhamāgadhi* (Vide-*JBRS*-XLIII PP. 61-62).

(ii) *The name 'Maithili' and its script*

Maithili or *Tirahutiyā* is the language of Mithilā or Tirbhukti. The earliest reference to this language is found in Amaduzzi's *preface* to Beligatti's *Alphabetum Brahmpānicum* (published in 1771 A. D.). This contains a list of Indian languages amongst which there is one *"Tourutiana"* i. e. *Tirhutiyā*. Colebrooke published his famous essay on Sanskrit and Prākṛta languages in 1801 A. D. and he was the first to describe distinctly Maithili as a dialect. [58] He points out its affinity with Bengāli and discusses the written character used by the Brāhmaṇas. He says—"as the dialect of Mithilā has no extensive use, and does not appear to have been at any time cultivated by elegant poets, it is unnecessary to notice it any further in this place." Aime-Martin, describing the languages of India, says—"Le *Marthila (sic)* se retrouve dans Neypal." Mr. Fellon gave a few specimens of Maithili [60] in 1875. Sir George Campbell also published some specimens of Maithili but they were classed as some of the many dialects of Hindi spoken in Bihar. Differences of opinion regarding the languages of Bihar continued to be there among the scholars. Some of the scholars then held that all over Bihar the language spoken was a form of corrupt Hindi. It was Colebrooke who had pointed out earlier that it was more allied to Bengali than to Hindi. It was Campbell who gave specimens of the language of west Tirhut, East Tirhut and west Purnea etc. [61] Even Grierson, in his second edition of the Maithili Grammar, [62] calls Maithili as one of the three dialects of Bihar. Hoernle recognised Maithili as

58. *Asiatic Researeh*-VII. P. 199 ff (1801)=Cf. His *"Essays"* (1873)-P. 26.

59. *Lettre e'difiantes et eurieuses* (Pan's 1840) Vol. II. P. 295.

60. *IA* (1875) IV P. 340.

61. Campbell—*Specimens of Languages of India* (Calcutta-1874)-P. 60 ff.

62, *An Introduction to the Maithili Dialect* (Part I. Grammar) Calcutta (1909) Cf. *LSI*-Vol. V.

a dialect distinct from Hindi.[63] Kellogg also treated the colloquial dialects of Maithila.[64]

Maithili was formally known in the formative years as *Avahaṭṭa* and *Mithilā Apabhraṁśa.*[65] As distinguished from the classical Sanskrit and Prākṛts, the Apabhraṁśa in Mithilā usually came to be associated with the *'Deśila Bayanā'*, as we learn from Vidyāpati. K. P. Jayswal in the *Catalogue* (of his) *Mithilā MSS* (Vol. II-Introduction-PP. 2 and 9) has drawn our attention to this fact, which is further confirmed by Śripati's commentary on the *PPm.* which reads—

प्राकृतादल्पभेदैव ह्यपभ्रष्टा प्रकीर्तिता
देशभाषां तथा केचिदपभ्रंश विदुर्बुधाः।
संस्कृते प्राकृते वापिरूप सूत्रानुपेक्षतः
अपभ्रंश स विज्ञेयो भाषा यत्रैव लौकिकी॥

Vidyāpati has himself given us the importance of Avahaṭṭa in the history of languages. According to the poet, Sanskrit language is not appreciated by many and the secret of various sentiments cannot be expressed in the Prakrit languages while the language of the people *(deśila bayanā)* is sweet for all. The *Avahaṭṭa,* mixed with *Prākṛt* and *Apabhraṁśa,* used by Vidyāpati is the old form of Maithili. The archaic features of the Avahaṭṭa writings of the poet *(Kīrtilatā* and *Kīrtipatākā*) have much in common with the *charyā-padas* and the *PPm.* Lochana in his *RT* has rightly called Maithili language a *Mithilā apabhraṁśabhāṣā.* Dr. Subhadra Jha has justifiably shown that inspite of its affinity with Hindi and Bengali, *it stands aloof from all in so far as its grammar is concerned.* The regular contact between Bengal and Mithilā for centuries enabled the Bengalis to acquire proficiency in this language. Maithili, to a great extent, influenced Bengali. The predominance of Maithilas at the court of Kāmrupa helped the extension of the influence of

63. A. F, R. Hoernle—*A grammar of the Eastern Hindi Compared with other Gaudian Languages* (London 1880.

64. S. H. Kellogg—*The Grammar of Hindi Language* (London-1893-Second edition).

65. *Kīrtilatā* (Saxena)-P. 6; Lochana—*RT*-p. 37,

Maithili. Grierson observes—"modern Assamese comes from Bihar and not through Bengal proper." [66] The name *Maithili* is derived from its land of birth Mithilā and *Tirhutiyā* is derived from Tirhut (corrupt form of Tirabhukti). These two terms are identical today and the language spoken in the whole of North Bihar is now known commonly as Maithili. In recent years, there has been a revival of spirit in its favour.

We have already referred to the use of Maithili script in a number of inscriptions. The word *'Tirhutiyā'* is indicative of the fact that Tirbhukti had its own script since its formation. Acharya Parmānanda Śāstri has dwelt, at length, on the origin of the Maithili script through the ages and only recently Rajeswara Jha has also dealt with the subject in the journal of the *Maithili Sahitya Sansthāna* (Patna–1969–70). His brilliant analysis of the origin and development of this script is, in the present state of our knowledge, though deleatable is yet a welcome addition to the existing stock of knowledge on the subject. The earliest datable reference about Tirabhukti is found in the 4th century A. D. Basārh seals, though the name Mithilā is older still. It is unwise to call *Mithilākṣara* a copy of the Bengali script. The Buddhist work *Lalitavistara* mentions *Vaidehi* script and this goes to show that the script had its own peculiarity as a result of which it came to be known as such. According to Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the "Maithili alphabet is derived from

66. *LSI*–I. 1. P, 156; *IA* (1896–March); S, K. Chatterjee–*ODBL*–79. B. K. Barua–*op. cit.*–318. For further studies—Shivadan Singh Chauhan–*Pragativāda;* Rahul–*Bhārat ki Samyāsen* (Chapter on Language); *LSI*–VI. P, 43; *Mithilānka; Allhabad University Magazine*–1944; G. A. Grierson—(i) *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Subdialects of the Bihari Languase*—Part I. Introductory (Calcutta–1883); *Pt.* IV–*Maithili-Bhojpuri;* (1884) Part V—*South Maithili dialect;* Part VI—*South Maithili Dialect;* VII. *South Maithili Bengali dialect;* etc–; Subhadra Jha—*Formation of the Maithili Language;* J. K. Miśra– *HML*–Vol. I; Rāmchandra Śukla—*Hindi Sahitya kā Itihāsa;* R. K, Varma–*Hindi Sāhitya kā Itihāsa;* Hazari Prasad Dvivedi–*Ādikāla.*

the eastern alphabet..... a variety of the Gupta script which is a sort of cursive development through the intermediate Kusāna writing, of the primitive and monumental Brāhmi, the mother of all the national Indian alphabets..... to Bengali Pandits these characters were known as *Tirute*" [67]..... In Magadha the same alphabet have been found.....Both the inscriptions and *MSS* give us an idea about the use of this script in a particular period. Right from the beginning of the Gupta period, the inscriptions are available down to the 16th century A. D. and they give us an idea of the development of the Maithili script—The following materials may be studied with interest and profit.[68]—

(i) Large number of Inscribed seals and Terracotta plaques discovered at Vaiśāli.

(ii) An inscription Jivitagupta discovered from Katra of the 5th–6th century A. D. since published.

(iii) Inscriptions discovered from Champāran (Nos. II–III—published by Sri S. V. Soheni, I. C. S.).

(iv) Inscriptional Tablet at the Deoghar temple ascribed to the wife of Adityasena.

(v) Bilingual Terracotta plaque (in Gupta and Maithili character, in my possession and edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar—dated in L. S. 67).

(vi) Pāla inscriptions discovered from Imadpur, Naulāgarh and Bangaon.

(vii) Andhrāthārhi Inscription of Śridharadāsa.

(viii) Inscriptions at Andhrātharhi, Bheet Bhagwānpur, and Śrinagar.

(ix) Āsi inscription.

(x) Khojpur Durga Image Inscription.

(xi) Panchobha Copper plate inscription.

(xii) Tilkeśwar Temple Inscription.

(xiii) Kandahā Inscription.

(xiv) Bhagirathpur Inscription.

67. *ODBL*–Vol. I. PP. 224–25; Cf. R. D. *Banerji—Origin of Bengali Script.*

68. Texts of these inscriptions can be seen in my *Inscriptions of Bihar.*

(xv) Ladaho Visnu image Inscription (unpublished—Information supplied to me by Dr. B. K. Varma).

(xvi) Rajoura (Begusarai) Vāraha image Inscription (Unpublished).

(xvii) Two (*Sic*) gold Coins of Śiva Siṁha—One copper coin discovered from the same region.

(xviii) Two coins of Bhairavasiṁha.

(xix) The so-called Simaraongarh Inscription of Nānyadeva.

(xx) Copy of Vardhamana's contemporary MSS.

(xxi) Copy of the *Karṇa Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* dated L. S. 327.

(xxii) Copy of the Vidyāpati's handwritten *Bhāgvatapurāṇa*.

(xxiii) Copy of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* written by Pakṣadhara Miśra.

(xxiv) Copies of the *Dhurtasamāgama, VR, Kirtipatākā Gorakṣavijaya* etc.

(xxv) Recently an inscription in Maithili character of the time of Akbar has been discovered on a temple in the Godda Subdivision (Santhal Parganā) and the fascimile is in the possession of the K. P. J. Research Institute, Patna.

(xxvi) Various *MSS* noticed in Tibet by Rahulji are in the Maithili script (Cf. *JBORS*–XXIII P. 31).

(xxvii) Thousands of *MSS* in Nepal, Tibet and in the collection of the various Libraries of the world are in the Maithili character.

A study of these documents enables us to know the rise and development of the Maithili script through the ages. After the fall of the Gupta empire, it seems some sort of common script was evolved in the Prāchya or the eastern region and that script seems to have held the ground for centuries. True it is that all the scripts descended from the *Brāhmi* but, then, the fact remains that every region had its own peculiarity. The Maithili script seems to have been widely cultivated by a large section of the people and the inscriptions of eastern India bear testimony to this fact. The *MSS* and the inscriptions, when studied together, give us the clue. The Tibetan traveller, Dharmaswāmi, who visited Bihar in the first half of the 13th century A. D., before leaving

Tirhut, studied the alphabets which included the *Vartula* or the *Vaivarta* script of India. Dr. Altekar says--"Most probably the contemporary script of Bihar, the proto-Bengali-cum-proto Maithili script, was known by this appellation..... the letters of this script, as preserved in Tibetan Sanskrit *MSS* do look roundish." (*op. cit.* III. IV). The biographer of Dharmaswāmi writes--"At the age of seven, he mastered the Indian script, the Tibetan script and the *Vivarta* script, the method of translating and the drawing of *Maṇḍalas* (*op. cit.* P. 50). The elder Dharmaswāmī said to him--".....After mastering the *Vivarta* script, you should learn the *Abhidharma*" (*op. cit.* 51). Thus it is evident that in the 13th century A. D., there was a distinct script known as *Vivarta* (of roundish character) as distinguished from the Indian script and it was necessary to learn this script before proceeding to India. It appears that this was the form of the Maithili character in the 13th century A. D. and *MSS* were written in this character. Indirectly its association with Tantricism is also hinted at. The Maithili script continued to be written till the last quarter of the 19th century A. D. and is even now used on all auspicious occasions. Dharmaśwāmī has shown association of Vararuchi (*op. cit.* P. 83) with Magadha. If that identification is correct, a *MSS*, entitled *Patrakaumudi*, ascribed to Vararuchi (said to be a *Maithila*), suggests that *Āñji Siddhirastu* (first word of Maithili) indicates the tusk of the deity Gaṇeśa. Padmanabha Bhattacharya observes--".....the Sign does not represent any particular letter or syllable but is the sign of *Kuṇḍalini*, the serpent shaped divinity that pervades every letter and regulates its pronounciation. She is in fact the creative energy and *"Āñji"* is the symbol of Tantric divinity Kuṇḍalini,"[69] *Trikoṇa, Biṇḍu, chakra Chatuskoṇa* etc. of the Mithilākṣara signify its association with the Tantric cult. The *MSS* of the *Boudh Gān O Dohā, Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramita* and other *MSS* preserved in Nepal and Tibet

69. *Journal of the Kāmrupa Anusandhāna Samiti*, I. 3. ; *Mithilāṅka*—article of Jivanāth Rai on *Maithililipi* ; Volumes of *MODA* ; *Mithilā Mihira* of July 29, 1944 ; Sudhākara Dwivedi—*Ganita Kā Itihāsa*—P. 29.

bear testimony to this fact. The script, as it is today, has undergone changes through the centuries.

After giving a short account of the origin and antiquity of Maithili and its script, we now proceed to examine the extant literature in Maithili, a study of which is not only interesting but profitable. Fortunately we are concerned with the period which is usually known as the Age of Vidyāpati and from literary point of view it is the golden age of the Maithili literature. After the fall of the *Apabhraṁśa,* Maithili held the ground over the whole of eastern India for centuries as during our period Vidyāpati dominated the scene. The lyrical tone, set by Jayadeva, was made sweeter still by Chaṇḍidāsa and Vidyāpati. The impact of Vidyāpati was so great that eminent *Sanskritists* and *Nibandhakāras* of the age used *Maithili* words in their Sanskrit works. We have seen old Vācaspati using *Maithili* word, Caṇḍeśwara, Rucipati, Jagaddhara, Vācaspati II and even Vidyāpati himself used *Maithili* words in extenso in their respectively Sanskrit writings. We shall revert to a discussion of these points later on when we begin to discuss these authors.[70] The *charyā* songs[71] constituted the link between Sanskrit Udbhaṭa poetry and the Apabhraṁśa cum vernacular poetry. Though they are in simple *chaupai* metres, we can connect them with song metres as developed by Jayadeva, Vidyāpati and Lochana. The literary use of Maithili would appear to have started in the same period as Bengali.[72] Prior to the advent of the vernacular languages, *Apabhraṁsa-Avahaṭṭa* was a literary language from Gujerat to Bengal with minor local variations and that was its *laukika* or popular form. The full fledged literary from of this language can be gleaned through the *PPm,* compiled some where in eastern India and commented

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70. For details—Cf. *Allahabad University Studies*—VI. 349-357; *JBORS* (1928)—XIV. 266 ff; *VC*—Introduction-P. XXII; Vidyāpati—*Dānavākyāvali*—PP. 112-13.

71. R. C. Majumdar—(edited) *MB*-I. 384 ff.

72. *HCIP*—VI. 515.

upon in Mithilā. Some of its lyrics can be hardly distinguished from Maithilī. *Avahaṭṭa* was being cultivated in Mithilā for a pretty long time and the tradition of historical poetry had not gone out of fashion. One of the earliest and best compositions in *Avahaṭṭa* is the *Kīrtilatā*. The earliest specimen of rimed prose in pure Maithili is the *VR*. It presents to us the earliest and the longest specimen of the early new Indo-Aryan prose. In the 14th century A. D. Maithili had a finished poetic diction based on *Avahaṭṭa* tradition with a good mixture of the native dialect. The fact that the *VR* is written in vernacular speech, with *Tadbhav* or *Prakrit* forms, renders its importance all the greater as affording us a sure evidence of having become a part of daily life of the people even when they did not know Sanskrit. The songs of Umapati's *Pārijātaharaṇ* are the unique achievements of the new Indo-Aryana language and may be taken as the finished product of a long literary tradition. It goes to the credit of Maithili diction to retain the measured rhythm of the moraic metre and the pithy picturesqueness of the old and middle Indo-Aryan ornamental and amorous verse and turn it into a poetic language. The tradition of rimed and stuccato prose had already been set by Jyotiriswara to be used as hand book by story tellers.....*Brajabuli'* had as its basis the tradition of the *Avahaṭṭa* poetry and diction of Umapati and Vidyāpati. The Maithili songs of the *Pārijātharaṇa* may be cited as examples of the earliest Maithili lyrics. The earliest Maithili prose was written by Jyotiriśwars in his *VR*. The *VR* is a storehouse of information.[73]

According to Mm. H. P. Śāstri, no Bengali or Maithil MSS of the early 14th century has so far been discovered. [74] We have already used it in our study of the socio-economic and cultural history of the period (*Supra*) and we shall now

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73. P. K. Gode—*Studies in Indian Literary History*—Vol. I. PP. 282–85; Vol. II. PP. 148–151;
S. K. Dey—*History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I. PP. 242–43; Cf. Kane's introduction to *Sāhityadarpana*.

74. *VR*. P. X.

simply examine the literary merit of this work. The *VR* represents the earliest prose literature of eastern India and that also a finished one. It gives the poetic convention. The period was one of the golden days of Sanskrit studies in Mithilā but the vernacular of the land was not neglected by the scholars of the land. These scholars were yet guided by the rules of Sanskrit poetics though the masses had their own ballads like Lorīka and Salheśa. The aim of the book was to give a description of everything and in doing so he was governed by the rules of rhetoric. There are seven *Kallolas* and the title of the eight *Kallola* is missing. The style is marvellous. Though many terms are obsolete, they are indications of the oldest Maithili prose, sometimes unaffected by Sanskrit or Hindi. Being a compendium of the life and culture of mediaeval Mithilā, the book would seem to stand worthily beside the *Mānasollāsa*, *Aini-Akbari*, etc. The fact that the work is written in a vernacular speech renders its importance all the greater. [75]

The Varṇa-ratna-kara

The *VR* is one of the comparatively small numbers of authentic work in a modern Indo-Aryan language going back to the first quarter of the 14th century A. D. Its position is equally important with the *Charyās*, *Śrikṛṣṇakirtana*, *Jñaneśwarī* and the earlier old western *Rājasthani*, the *Brajabhākā* and *Awadhi* works. [76] It is of supreme importance for the study of Maithili philology and is archaic enough for modern Maithili. [77] The *VR* is an evident proof of the fact that the language progressed in form and elasticity and was capable of expressing five shades of thought. The author, possessed of undoubted poetic talents; displays his literary acumen. Few quotations from the book would give us an idea about the richness of the language in the early years of the 14th century A. D.—

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75. *Ibid.* XXXVI.

76. *Ibid.* XXXVII.

77. *Ibid.* XXXVIII. ff.—for grammar, orthography, Phonetics and Phonology.

P. 5 पूर्णिमा क चान्द अमृत पूरल अइसन मुह । श्वेत पङ्कजकाँ भ्रमर वयिसल अइसन आँखि. काजर क कल्लोल अइसन भमुह. गथले फुले नर्म्मदा क शलाका पूजल अइसन ओम्पा. परवाक पल्लव अइसन अधर. कनिअरा क कर अइसन नाक. सीन्दुर मोती लोटाएल अइसन दान्त । वेतक साट अइसन बाँह. पारिजातक पल्लव अइसन हाथ……

P. 6 एकें अपूर्व्व विश्वकर्म्माँ निर्म्मउलिया क मुषक शोभा देषिपद्में जलप्रवेश कएल. आँषिक शोभा देषि हरिण वणगेल. केशक शोभा देषि चमरी पलाएन कएल. दांत क शोभा देषि तालिवें हृदय वीदीर्ण कएल. अधर क शोभा देषि प्रवाल द्विपान्तर भेल. कानक शोभा देषि बौद्ध ध्यानस्थित भेल । …स्तन क शोभा देषि चक्रवाक उछन्न भेल. जंघयुगल क शोभा देषि कदलीं विपरीत गति कइलि.

P. 16 **(वर्षारात्रि)**—काजर क भीति तेंलें सिचलि अइसन रात्रि. पछेवाँ काँ वेगे काजर क मोट फुजल अइसन मेघ. निविल माँसल अन्धकार देषु,

(अन्धकारवर्णना)—पाताल अइसन दुः प्रवेश. स्त्री क चरित्र अइसन्दर्क्ष. कालिन्दी क कल्लोल अइसन माँसल. काजर क पर्वत अइसन निविल. आतङ्क क नगर अइसन भयानक.

P. 17 **चन्द्रमा**—निशा क नाइका क शङ्खवलय अइसन आकाश. दीक्षित क कमण्डल जइसन. चन्द्रकान्त क प्रभा अइसन. तारका क सार्थवाह अइसन. शृङ्गार समुद्र क कल्लोल अइसन. कुमुदवन क प्राण अइसन. पश्चिमाचल क तिलक अइसन.

P. 26 **वेश्या**—चउवटाकापुर. कनक प्रकार मण्डित. चतुरस्र अनेक थे आवास तें मण्डित …निर्ल्लज्ज, आचारहीन. निर्गति. निराश्रय. कामुकादि ये लोकतें सङ्कुल…

P. 27 क्रित्रिम लज्जा. कपट तारुण्य. धनार्थें प्रेम. लोभार्थें विनर्य कारणे सौभाग्य. निम्मूक्त स्वामिसिन्दूर… ……यौवना लोक्य कन्दर्पक आयतन प्राय सर्व्वकला सम्पूर्ण. पुष्पमोदित केशपाश. सम्भोगदेवता प्राय……

(Cf. Vidyāpati's description)

P. 33 (प्रयानक वर्णनो :—अपरः प्रकारः)—
अनन्तर काजरें वारिद लीपल अइअँसनि आकार. किटाएल काल सर्प्प अइसन सिङ्ग. डाम्भक फरेन्द अइसन आँषि. चच्च. कर्क्कश. कठिन. दुर्ज्जनमुह अइसन कान……सन्ध्या समय क आकाश जलधर मण्डित सौदामिनी क गतागत-सन……शरत क चान्द अइसन निर्म्मलि चमोजा एक हाथ तंका……कालरात्रि क जिह्वा अइसनि……

P. 38 (उपवन वर्णना)—कोकिला क कलख. भ्रमर क झंकार. मलयानिल क वेग. सहकार मञ्जरी पुष्पक संभार. वृक्षकर नूतनता. वसन्त क उद्भव. कामदेव क जन्म. नायक क उत्कण्ठा. नायिका क अभिलाष……

P, 39 (सरोवर)—शरत क चान्द अइसन. निम्मल बौद्धपक्ष अइसन आपातभीषण. उदयन सिद्धान्त अइसन प्रसन्न. योगी क चित अइसन सौम्य. हरिश्चन्द्र क त्याग अइसन अगाध……

P. 52 (श्मशान)—कँसारिक माल पजरल अइसन मुँह.
ओवारो दीप लेसल अइसन आँषि. पर्व्वत क दावानल
लागल अइसन केश. इथि क नाक पात अइसन कान.
फेद खाजुरी क केसर अइसन भौह. फरहदा फूल अइसन
नह. आरोगक छीगुली अइसनि आगुरि. सिकण्टा क पसार अइसन हृदय ····

P. 64 (विवाह)—गोत्र मेलापक भउ. पूगयज्ञोपवीतदान निर्व्वहु. द्वादशक. नवपञ्चक. तृतीयेकादशक. चतुर्द्दशक. समसप्तक. षडष्टक. प्रीतिषडष्टक. इथि आन्हुका योन-मध्य उतमयोनिनिर्व्वहु.

P. 65 ···सन. शंख. सोनलइ सिदूर दान करू···

—The *VR* shows a number of naturalised Persian words and these from their nature could be adopted and popularised in the Maithili speech only after a long contact. Some of the naturalised Persian words are :—

—तुलुक (तुर्क—P. 1)
—पआजु (पयाजु—P. 2-onion)
—सकलात (Costy Stuff-P. 14)
—तीर (arrow-P. 31)
—ताजी (ताजि—Arab horse-P. 31)
—मोजा, सरमोजा (Boot top boot-P. 32)
—नीक (Well.-good-P. 24)
—हजार (thousand-P. 26)
—तहसील (P. 26)
—चीनी (sugar-P. 69—चीनि)

ओहदा (Folio 29b ;) नओवति (guard ?-29b, 30b, etc.) पाधिक (Folio 44 a) etc. are some of the naturalised Persian words. It may, however, be noted here that in several senses in which words of Perso-Arabic origin are not found to be used in Hindustani or Bengali, they are found in Maithili—for example—

—अदना (Persian अदना)—Insignificant fellow—
—अलइनरैनी—disorderly affairs-wavering on two side. Nothing is settled on account of the doer's thinking of *Allah* at one time and of *Nārāyaṇa* at another.
—रामखोदाय—Carrying similar sense *i e.* wavering an two sides.
—Arabic कबुल (Consenting or Concession) is कबुला in Maithili (Promised Offering to God). The Muslims

of Mithilā use मनता, an Aryan word, in the same sense as कबुला is being exclusively used by the Hindus.

Some of the typical words used in the *VR* are :—

—लोरिकनाचो—associated with the Loric Ballad of Mithila (*Folio-10b*)

बहुत—(*16 a-*)—used in *Dohākoṣa*; also in the *PPm* (405. 2)

—घोम्पा (18 a)—(hair tied in a knot)

—साएयान (22 a)—clever

—मनौ (25 a)—men

—पएर (296)—foot

—अखलु (33 a)—अखड़ना—(Cf, Vidyāpati—मो हिय अखड़ल मान)

—मेघ उदुम्बर (35 b)—a kind of cloth—

—सिल्हटी (35 b)—a kind of cloth—घाघ of Mithilā mentions a rice of this variety—

आमनैक—Servant (38a, 43a, 44b)

टेंटसार—Gambling house—(38b)

मारिगज्जन—abuse (39b)

The *VR* thus includes the description of almost all things worth describing in human life. He has described everything good and bad—the description of moon and other scenic beauties illustrates his aesthetic sense and richness of the language. But he does not stop here and goes on to describe the gruesome cemetry, blazing funeral pyres, skulls, *Dākinis, Bhairavas, Mahākāla*, Oceans, Mountains and what not. Alliterations and Rhetorics reached the high water mark in his writings and he supplied the future poets with set materials. He has described the *Vidyāvanta, Bhāṭa, dāncer* (both male and and female). He says that an official bard (*Bhāṭa*), a sort of ambassador, should be proficient in all the eighteen lexicons, *viz.*—धरणि, विश्व, व्यालि, अमरनामलिङ्ग, अजय, पल्लूर, शाश्वत, रुद्रट, उत्पलिनि, मेदिनीकर, हारावली and others. Jyotiriśwara was read and respected till quite late as is attested by *Rasakadamba-kallolini* of Bhagawat Das, who in this commentary of the *Gītagovinda*, mentions *Panchsāyaka* of Jyotiriśwara and *Rasārṇava Sudhā* of Simha Bhupāla. [78] Maṇikara copied the *VR* in 1507 A. D. It also

78. Cf. S. K. De—*Sanskrit Poetics*—I. 242-43.
Cf. *PAIOC*—XII. P. 472 ff. ; Dr. Gurmaita has done a commendable work on the *VR*.

throws sufficient light on the contemporary life and condition of the people of Mithilā. He was a versatile genius and wrote a number of other works and bore the title of 'Kaviśekharāchārya' which he rightly deserved. The *VR* has been rightly called the "Ocean of Descriptions." The future discovery of a second *MSS* of this work would set many disputed points at rest. An annotated edition of this valuable work is yet a desideratum.

The *VR* reminds us of *Mānasollāsa* and *Aini-Akbari*. It is one of the most important and authentic works of the Indo-Aryan language, and from the linguistic and literary point of view, its importance is yet to be assessed. Its language is more archaic than anything than we find in the current poems of Vidyāpati, which itself is archaic enough for modern Maithili. The *VR* supplied the early narrative poets their technical outfit. It includes description of almost everything worth describing in human life. He is in love with all aspects of humanity. The literary acumen of the author is manifest at many places. If the sense of beauty is seen in his description of the moon, his sense of terrible can be seen in his description of darkness. His poetic vision may be gleaned through his comparisons of simile to the rippling waves on the ocean of milk moved by southern breeze.

To Jyotiriśwara and Umāpati goes the credit of introducing the Dramatic art in Mithilā. Jyotiriśwara was first to write drama in Maithili. Fortunately for us, the dramas have been discovered and published by the All India Maithili Sahitya Samiti, Allahabad. The *Dhūrta Samāgama Nāṭaka* is the oldest drama in the Maithili language and that also by the same author. Dr. J. K. Miśra, while editing this work has rightly observed—"The importance.....lies in the specimens of the earliest extant Maithili poetry.....there is very little scope of revealing any poetic qualities in the songs of this drama but the mastery of the language, the chaste diction and elegant handling of metre are evidence of the gifted talents of the author." (*op. cit.* Introduction—P. 6). Like the *VR*, this

Dhūrta Samāgama Nāṭaka

is the oldest vernacular work in northern India. The necessary details about the *nāṭaka* have been given earlier and hence need not be repeated here. Since there is doubt about the authenticity of *Pārijātaharaṇa* being placed in the 14th century A. D., I shall simply, quote here some *Maithili* songs from Jyotiriśwara, Umāpati and Vidyāpati to show their linguistic affinity.

Maithili Songs from Dhūrta Samāgama

राग सारंगी—

अइलि हे (रे) ममवासी
परधना बन्धि खाथि निवासी ॥ (ध्रुवं)
कुशकमण्डलु पूड़ा साँख
काकनवाह गरा रुदराख।
चाँन्दन वेन्दा लाइ सुललाट।
पथिक ठकथि वैसलि बाट ॥
आरब आहर धरम मोख।
मुरख समर्थ सवहि सोख ॥
सुनिज सुरत प्रिआ रीति।
हसइ सिरि गणेसर मान्ति ॥ (P. 3)

ललित राग—

चल चल चलम्मा विफ(?क)ल तजी
सिक्षामहु बोलसि समवासी राजो ॥
गाल पचकि लवि गेलओक आ।
तइअओ न छाड़सि अपनु कि मया ॥
भुषलि किञ्चिनि सनतोहर चान
ककें विहुसि हसि लेसि परान ॥
पडअ पयोधर पाकल बार
सिव-सिव कत करब अनविकार ॥
कविशेषर जोति क एहु गाव
राए हरसिंह बुझए रसभाव ॥ (P. 7)

नाटरागे—

चल सरोज सुन्दर नयने
मामनुकम्पय शशि वदने ॥ (ध्रुवं)
राजमराल विदित गमने
रति पति सव हुत वह शमने ॥
विशलति का मृदु भुज युगले
काम कलामय रस कुशले ॥

कामनिधन कलश पयोधरे
सज्जत मुनिजन मन मनोहरे ॥
विश्व नगरामिह भजन मिते
कविशेषर जोतिक भणिते ॥ (P. 12)

एकताली रागे—

तोहर ओ नहि के सनातन भगव
तोहरि नहिं नारी ।
हमरिए हमरा लग अछ वैसलि
परतष हलिअ विचारी ॥ (ध्रुवं)
परुकाँ सपने हमे अवलोकलि
हमरि तेहि केन जाने ।
हारल भगय सनातके दुहुजने
तन्हि असजातिक थाने ॥
कविशेषर जातिक एहु गावे
राए हरसिंह बुझ भावे ॥ (P. 23)

Maithili Songs from Pārijātaharaṇa of Umāpati—

नटरागे गीतम्—

सुरतरुधन उपवनकरुमण्डप वेदिरचल मलहिम अचला ।
अपनहि आननदान-वचनमल पुनपुन गोओलि भवानि भला ॥
परमेसरा परमेसरा जय जय समरस पेसर । (ध्रुवं)
चानकला नयनावल थापल मानल सुरव भुजंगवरा ।
अभिय सार हर अविरल होमल हसलसकलसुर असुरनरा ॥
गाङभिजाय भाङभौ भोजन, सेज ओछाओल बाघ छला ।
दीष समीप वरय फनि मन गन, देवि देवि दुहुमन मिलला ॥
भाव भगति भावित भगवति गव, देथु सदा जय अभयवरा ।
सुगुरु उमापति सकल नृपति पति, हिन्दूपति प्रतिगालथुधरा ॥
(*Grierson's edition*—PP. 28–29)

नटरागेण गीतम्—

कि कहव माधव तनिक विसेसे ।
अपनहु तनि धनि पावस लेसे ॥
अपनुक आनन आरसि हेरि ।
चानक भरम कोप कत बेरी ॥
भरमहु निअकर उर पर आनी ।
परस तरस सरसी रुह जानी ॥
चिकुर निकर निव नयन निहारी ।
जलधर जाल जानि हिअ हारी ॥

अपन बचन पिक रव अनुमाने ।
हरि हरि तेहु परितेजय पराने ॥
माधव अबहु करिअ समाधाने ।
सुपुरुष निठुर न रहए निदाने ॥
सुमति उमापति मन परमाने ।
माहेसरि देइ हिंदुपति जाने ॥ (P. 40)

मालवराग—

अरुन पुरब दिसि बहलि सगरिनिसि
गगन मगन भेल चन्द ।
मुनि गेल कुमुदिनि तहओ न होइर धनि
मूनलमुख अरविन्दा ॥ (P. 44)
× × ×
कमल बदन कुबलय दुइ लोचन
अधर मधुर निरमाने ।
सगर सरीर कुसुम तुअ सिरिजल
कि तुअ हृदय परवाने ॥ (P. 45—
—Cf. the description of Vidāpati)
× × ×
असकति कर कंकन नाहिं परिहसि
हृदय हार भेल भारे
गिरि सम गरुअ माननहिं मुंचसि
अपरुब तुअ बेवहारे ॥ (P. 45)

ललित राग—

जलधर समय करथु जलदाने
भरलि रतथु धरनीधन धाने ॥
धरम प्रजा परिपालथु राजा
चारु वरण करथु निज काजा ॥
बामन वेद खेद जनु पावे
साधु क संग कुजन जानु आवे ॥
बिसुन पाद जनु नृपातिक काने
गुनबुझि भूप करिअ सनमाने ॥
चिरै जिवथु हिन्दूपति देओ
गुन कीरति गावहि सब केओ ॥ (PP. 57–58)

Umapati, the author of *Pārijātaharaṇa,* has given us twenty one lyrical songs which stand unique as the finished product of chaste Maithili diction. He set to music some of his songs,

full of imageries and natural picturesqueness. The archaic features of Umapati have similarities and affinities with Vidyāpati. His lyrics are sweet and superb.

Side by side with Jyotiriśwara and Umapati, there flourished a host of writers and poets in the Maithila court of whom Saṁkaradatta was one. He was a devout Vaiṣṇava, a renowned scholar and a poet. He belonged to a Karaṇa Kayastha family whose ancesty is yet to be discovered. Some of his stray songs are found here and there from which it can be deduced that he was a Vaiṣṇava by faith and composed songs in honour of Kṛṣṇa whom he addresses as Mādhava. Though little known, he finds a place in the galaxy of those renowed authors who contributed to the development of early Maithili writings.

Saṁkaradatta

Maithili Songs from Gorakṣavijaya of Vidyāpati—

मालव राग—

कुच हास न कुसुम वास।
मुदित मदन तिमिर हास॥
खञ्जन लोचन कमल मुखी।
मुख देखि मने परम सुखी॥ (ध्रुवं)
खेल नरपति रे=
खेल नरपति चुवति सङ्गो
कालु आलिङ्गए कातु निहार।
काहु लिलोपन मलाये भार।
काहु बुझाव विसेषि सिनेह।
पुलके भुकुल माण्डित देह।
बहुल कामिनी एकल कन्त।
कृष्णपति आएल सयन तन्त।
रूपे से नागर रस सिङ्गार।
= कौतुके गाव कवि कण्ठहार : (Miśra edition–PP. 12-13)

× × × × × × × ×

कोलाव राग—

चामर विजय चौदिसि नारि
चरण पसाइन कर सए चारि।
इच्छा भोजन वड़ परिवार।
राज तेआग करए के पार॥

केओ अनुरागिनी केओ अनुराग।
सुपुरुष तेओ निते निते जाग॥
मनइ विद्यापति अनुभव जानि।
सागर छाड़ि कहा वस पानि॥ (PP. 18-19)

These specimens have been given just to show that they belong to a definite tradition of literary compositions in Maithili and Umāpati can not be kept at later date than Vidyāpati : The lyrical tone in Umāpati is as finished as in Vidyāpati and the typical Maithili words are common to all of them. A concordance of the Maithili words in all these three literary giants of Mithilā would prove to be of great help to the Maithila philologists. The dramatic qualities of all these writers have aleady been discussed earlier (*Supra*—Vide Sanskrit drama) and the *Prakrit* forms used in these dramas can be scientifically explained with the help of the *PPM.* The Maithili *Apabharaṁśa* had its own peculiarity and the develepment of Maithili came in its wake. The *Prākṛit-Paiṅglam* represents the earliest specimen of the remains of proto-Maithili and *avahaṭṭa*, used by Vidyāpati. It is the floating mass of popular poetry and song current among the people of eastern India and one of them, atleast, is said to represent Maithili.[79] According to S. K. Chatterji Avahaṭṭa is the younger form of *Sauraseni Apabhraṁśa* and according to P. C. Bāgchi that of *Māgadhi Apabhaṁśa. Avahaṭṭa* has its independent existence and Drs. Umeśa Miśra, B. R. Saxena and Śri Sivanandana Thākura call it *Maithili Apabhraṁśa* since it contains some of the earliest forms of Maithili. The *Maithili Apabhraṁśa* has its nearest forms preserved in the *Charyāpadas*. The *Kīrtilatā* of Vidyāpati is in *Maithili Apabhraṁśa*. Both in the *Kīrtilatā* and the *Kīrtipatāka*, the literary flavour of Vidyāpati in *Apabhraṁśa* is evident. Even those who connect Vidyāpati's *Avahaṭṭa* with the western *Sauraseni Apabhraṁśa* admit that his *Apabhraṁśa* works are distinguished from the *Apabhraṁśa* proper by a cansiderable intermixture of early Mathili and Brajabuli forms.

The Prākrit Paiṅglam & the Maithili Apabhraṁśa

79. S. N. Thakur—*op. cit.* P. 184—*fn.* 1.

Even his *Padāvali* possesses an exclusively large number of *Prākrit* vocables even without any phonetic modifications. [80]

The language of *Kīrtilatā* and *Kīrtipatākā* is called *Desilabayana* by Vidyāpati himself. This is an old form of *Maithili*, mixed with *Prakrit* and *Apabhraṁśa*. It has many archaic features in common with the *Dohākoṣa*. Vidyāyati composed his works in this language as it was sweet for the people who could not understand the finer sentiments of the Sanskrit and Prākrit poetics. *Avahaṭṭa*, in his days, had acquired the status of people's language and Vidyāpati was equally proficient in this language too. As he had written in Sanskrit, so did he in *Avahaṭṭa* and Maithili. The Maithili of these two works is fairly mixed and artificial literary medium and as *Avahaṭṭa*, then, had a wider range, he preferred to write in this language. This is a further proof of the fact that the poet had a good linguistic background. I am giving below a few extracts from the *Dhūrtasamāgamanātaka*, *Gorakṣavijayanātaka*, *Kīrtilatā* and the *Kīrtipatākā* to show the unity of the contemporary languages and to prove their validity a few specimens of the *PPm* are also given here.

Dhūrtasamāgam—

भअवं प्रेक्ष्य एकस्मिं आमुत्थ मैत्थिआ संयुत महाहन्द
कुहपरिमलुग्गारो आग्गिमभवणादोणं सेवदि, ता एदंज्जेव
सुर अप्पिआए वासभवनं तक्केमि ..... (P. 2)
—भअवं कोदिसी भिक्ष्का कीदिसीए वेलाए केनि आई ने अधागि ।
(P. 5)
—एदं शरीरं विरहेण जुतं
पाणा तहा धम्मफलेक्क सारा ॥
सव्वं तुहा अतमुदार किति
का वाहिरे वत्थुणि अत्थि अत्था ॥ (P. 6)
—अले ले अणङ्ग सेणिय जाणिदे तुम्ह चलिदं जवालं
—वालं क अमअण मन्दिर(?क्खौल) वे अणं पत्थन्ते
पहुवाल हगे नए (प ?) प्रासदे ता संपदं पयंच्छ ॥
अण्णधा लाअ दोहाइं दोइस्सं— (P, 26)

80. *JASB* (Letters)—XXII. PP. 20, 21 (*Māgadhi Apabhraṁśa* is taken as the Source of Maithili) ; P. 34.
—Cf. *JBRS*–XLIII—PP. 67–73—Shaktidhara Jha's article on Maithili language.

Kirtilatā—Quotations are well known—

—गंभीर गुग्गुरीवर्त कल्लोल कोलाइल कान भरन्ते, मर्यादा छाणि महणिव उठ—

× × ×

वेश्यान्हि करो पयोधर जटीक हृदय चूर·····बहुत बापुर चूरि जाथि आवर्त विवर्त रोलहो·····खने एके सबे विक्कणथि सबे किंधु किनइते पावथि— (Saxena edition—PP. 28-30)

× × ×

लज्ज किंतिम कपट तारुन्न । धन निमित्ते धर प्रेम, लोभे विनिअ. सौभागे कामन····· (P. 34)

··· × —अलक तिलका पत्रावली खण्डन्ते, दिव्याम्बरे पिन्धन्ते, उभारि उभारि केश पाश बधन्ते·····(Ibid)

(Cf. *VR.*'s description of Prostitutes)

—गिरि टरइमहि पड़इ नागमन कंपिआ,
तरणि रथ गगन पथ धूलि भरे झंपिआ ।
तबल शत बाज कत भेरि भरे फुक्किआ
प्रलय छण सह हुअ णर ख लुक्किआ ॥ (*Ibid.* P. 41)

× × ×

सम्बर निरबल किरिस तनु अम्बर मेल पुराण ।
जवन सभावहि निक्करुण तौ ण सुमरु सुरुतान ॥
(*Ibid.* P. 44)

Kirtipātākā—

—दारिद्द खग्गो परिखण्डी खण्डिअ (Miśra's edition—P. 7)
—तिरहुति मज्जादा वहि रहिअ (P. 7)

× × ×

—अरुझाएल केस कलाप तहाँ
गअ गंज्जिअनीर सेमार जहाँ ॥

अति चुम्बने आन नीगाहि
आँजन चन्द सुधारस रनो आलि ॥

आपुनु माधव सिद्धि सुसोभहि
अरुलोचन कज्जरु लागु तही ॥

नवनील सरोरुह पत्र जही ।
कुच मण्डल मण्डिअ रेह तही ॥ (P. 13)

× × ×

धन वज्जिअ, रणभूनरराए सिवसिंघ भारि करु,
कोटि सहस्स छाइल केश जनि विकसि पुज्जरि तरुरुहि ।····· (P. 15)
सुतलि विरनि ददाए जागली पाच्छिल जूझ खाउ खिरे सचेत । (P. 15) [80(a)]

× × ×

सुरुतान सलागिअ सज्जमइ
हथे पक्खर रदूर खग्ग नहि
शरशल्य सन्नाह चमक्क तहाँ
झन छड्डिअ ताराये जोति जहाँ
धअल चामर चारु पलाकन सेवहु
कानन पल्लव फुलह सेवहु
राइक चक्क मक्क तही परयन्त ।
नहिअ दोन जहि करिउ परउ ओट अरे
नु भरे जनि पच्छय झम्पिअ वारि धरे ॥ (P. 16)

Gorakṣavijaya—अहो अहो महाराओ तेलङ्ग = एदौ नटे
तिट्ठद यथा आँणवेदि— (P. 13)

× × ×

अरे महाराओ एआणं वोइ स्वाणं वयणेहि अइआणं उसियान्ता
मेणया पहुदीनं परिकरं परिपसाइदुइच्छतः— (P. 19)

× × ×

अयाणं न पविए इव एआणं मिच्छा वयणेहि (P. 20)

× × ×

Prākṛtapaiṅglaṁ—

उआसीण जइमितकज्ज किछुण देखावइ
उआसीण जइ मिच्च सब्ब आअति चलावइ
उआसीण उआसे मंद भल किछुअण देक्खिअ

(P. 46—*B. I.* edition—Maithili forms are in Black Type)

× × ×

उवरल अंके लेख्खि कहावइ (P. 48)

× × ×

पुच्छल अंक मिटावइ सेख (P. 55)

× × ×

80.(a)—भागलपुर विश्वविद्यालय पत्रिका १९६९ में डॉ० वीरेन्द्र श्रीवास्तव ने कीर्तिपताका का एक नया पाठ प्रकाशित किया है और उसमें उनका मन्तव्य इस प्रकार है—"(पाण्डुलिपि) के प्रथम पृष्ठ से अष्टम पृष्ठ तक पाठ धारावाहिक और अवच्छिन्न है·····अभी तो जिस रूप में कीर्तिपताका प्राप्त है उसमें उपक्रम और उपसंहार का कोई मेल नहीं है।"

अंके **उवरल** कोट्ठ पुरइ णिस्संके
मत्तामेरु अंक संचारि **बुज्झह**
बुज्झह जण दुइ चारि— (P. 80)

× × ×

मत्तासंख्ये **कोठ करु** पंती छक्क **पथारि** ।
तत्थ दुआदिक अंक **धरु** पढ़महि पंतिविचारि ॥
आइ अंक परिज्जि कहु सब्बहि पंती मझारि ।
पुब्ब जुअल सरि अंक धरु बीजी पंति विचारि ॥

× × ×

अक्खर मक्कइ जाणहु लोइ जे जाणे मण आणंद होइ ।
जो बुज्झइ सोइ वै **बुज्झइ** मक्कइ जालहत्थि **विरुज्झइ** ॥ (P. 96)

× × ×

चंडेसरबर किती जावण अप्पंणिदंसेइ । (P. 107)
जहा, सुरअरु **सुरही** परसमणि, णहि वीरेस समाण ।
ओ वक्कल अरु कठिणतणु, ओ पसु ओ पासाण ॥ (P. 139)

× × ×

किरणावलि कंदा बंदिअ चंदा, णअणहि अणल **फुरन्ता** । (P. 169)

× × ×

बरमंति **चंडेसर** किति तुअ, तत्थ देक्ख हरिबंभ मण । (P. 184)

× × ×

अद्धा कइ पिंगल कइइ चलइण हरिहर बंभ— (P. 197)
अहि ललइ महि चलइ गिरि खसइ हर खलइ ।
ससि घुमइ अमिय वमइ मुअलजिवि उट्ठए ॥
पुणु धसइ पुणु खसइ पुणु ललइ पुणु घुमइ ।
पुणु वमइ जिविअ विविह परिसमए दिट्ठए ॥ (P. 266)

× × ×

जहाँ, फुलिअ महु ममर बहु रअणि पहु ।
किरण लहु अब तरु बसंत ॥
मलअगिरि कुहर धरि पवण वह ।
सइव कइ सुणु सहि णिअल णहिकंत ॥ (P. 270)

× × ×

बरिस जल ममइ घण गअण सिअल पवण मणहरण ।
कणय विअरि णचइ बिजुरि फुलिआणीवा ।
पत्थर वित्थर हिअला पिअला णिअलंग आवेइ ॥ (P. 273)

× × ×

.....**आवे कंता कहु कहिया—** (P. 391)

× × ×

चलि चूअ कोइल साव महुमास पंचमगाव ।
मण ममझ बम्मह ताव णहु कंत अज्ज विआव ॥ (P. 397)

× × ×

(Favourite Eatables of Mithilā)

जहा, ओग्गर भत्ता रंभए पत्ता ।
गाइक घित्ता दुधु सजुत्ता ॥
मोइणि मच्छा लालिच गच्छा ।
दिज्जइ कंता खा पुणबंता ॥ (P. 403)

× × ×

सरअ सुधाअर वअणा बिकल सरोरुह णयणा ।
मअगल कुंजर गमणी पिअ सहि दिट्ठिअ तरुणी ॥ (P. 410)

× × ×

देवक लिक्खिअ केण मेटावा । (P. 412)

Besides being mentioned in Caṇḍeśvara, a *Khañjana* bird is always mentioned in Mithilā only when a comparison has to be made with the eyes. Vidyāpati's poems are full of such examples. The *PPm* also mentions *Khañjana*.

जहाँ, खंजण जुअल णयण वर उपमा ।
चारु कणइ भुअजुअ सुसमा ॥
फुल्ल कमल मुहि गअवर गमणी ।
कस्स सुकिअ फल बिहि गढु तरुणी ॥ (P. 477)

× × ×

महुमास आविअ लोअ लोअण रंजणा । (P. 491)

It has not been possible for me to resist temptation of quoting extensively from the *PPm*, which I consider to be one of the main sources of Maithili language. The readers may refer to my articles and to pages 10, 12, 42, 44, 59, 89, 147, 167, 217, 233, 249, 283, 289, 296, 300–301, 306, 322–23, 334, 453, 455, 470, 523, 528, 537, 541, 547, 554, 563, 586 for the use of Maithili forms in *PPm*. Comparative study of the *Avahaṭṭa* literature of Mithilā and the *PPm* would go to confirm that the poems of the *PPm* were composed in the vicinity of the area where *Avahaṭṭa* and *Maithili Apabhraṁśa* were predominant. Want of space deters me from going into the details of the question but it would be profitable for any linguist to take up a comparative study with an open mind. It may be noted that the *Maithili-Avahaṭṭa* was a link between

the vernacular language and the Māgadhi Prākrit. Vidyāpati, in his *Kīrtilatā,* has used several metres as found in the *PPm* and some of his metres also belonged to the obsolete *Prākrit* and *Apabhraṁśa* forms. The prose passages of Vidyāpati in the *Avahaṭṭa* language (*Kirtilatā* and *Kīrtipatākā*) are indicative of the fact that our poet was a finished prose writer as well. Vidyāpati's poems were largely influenced by the rules of Sanskrit poetics. [81]

Vidyāpati as a poet

Mithilā is proud of her master singer, Vidyāpati, who sang in a melodious tone for about half a century. His name rests on the sweet lyrics he wrote and it is here that his genius found its forte. There have been numerous editions of his works. It was Grierson who first brought the nightangle of Mithilā to the forefront, prior to which he was counted as one of the important Vaiṣṇava poets of Bengal. All editions of *Vaiṣṇava Bhajanāvalis* and *Padāvalis* of Bengal have collections from Vidyāpati and it was through the Bengali source that Coomaraswamy and Aruna Sena published the *Padāvali Baṅgiya* in English language containing translation of Vidyāpati's poems. As early as 1873-1875, Beames included some poems of Vidyāpati in his *Early Vaiṣṇava poets of Bengal.* [82] Among the two important Vaiṣṇava contemporaries of Vidyāpati were Ratnapāṇi, [83] the author of *Kṛṣṇācaraṇa Candrikā,* to whom a copy of Vidyāpati's *Dānavākyāvali* was presented by somebody in L. S. 341 and Viṣṇupurī, [84] author of *Bhaktiratnāvali.* Vidyāpati is believed to have been a disciple of Hari Miśra. His literary genius began flowering very early and one of the earliest poems, ascribed to him, is in praise of Bhogīśvara.

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81. H. P. Sāstri—*Kirtilatā* ; S. N. Thnkur—*op. cit.* 110 ff ; Narendranāth Das—*op. cit.* PP. 15-60; This is the best work on the poetry of Vidyāpati in so far as his comparative estimate is concerned ; Aurobindo—*Songs of Vidyāpati* (Pondichery-1956).
82. *IA* (1873)-II. PP. 1, 37; 187 ff; (1875) IV. PP. 299 ff.
83. *JASB* (N. S.)—XI. 422.
84. *PAIOC*—XII.

In our *resume* on Vidyāpati's faith, we have given a brief outline of the *Rādhākṛṣṇa* episode in his *Padāvali* (supra) and as such we need not repeat them here. Almost all branches of Maithili poetry, *viz. Tirhuti, Baṭagamani, Māna, Goālari, Bārahamāsa,* etc. are found in the collections of Vidyāpati. The genuineness of his poems is yet a matter of controversy. About eighty-six poems of the *Tarauni MSS* (published in S. N. Thakur's collection) are believed to be genuine. A detailed discussion on this aspect is to be found in the introductory chapter of the *MM* edition. Since he was one of the earliest vernacular poets, his songs had a very wide circulation all over northern India and he influenced the literary compositions of Orissā, Assam, Bengal and other provinces. His songs were committed to memory by those who sang them and the tradition still persists in Mithilā. It was through the oral means that the practice continued from generation to generntion and Grierson, in his efforts to collect them, caught hold of such singers from different corners of Mithilā. It was a difficult task indeed to collate all these and then to publish. Under these circumstances, modifications were natural. In my casual enquiry in villages, I have found females singing songs with all modern Maithili tone but adding the *bhanitā* to Vidyāpati. They say these songs are by Vidyāpati. Some publishers of Mithilā are also responsible for such songs. The *Padakalpataru,* the *Padāvali* of Nagendranath Gupta, collections of Grierson, and others show the divergence of language, phonetics and sometimes even the songs themselves. Whoever has edited the text, he has twisted the pronounciation in his own way. The *RT* and the *Nepal MSS* are so corrupt that no proper collations could be made. For the present, Thakura's *Viśudha-Vidyāpati Padāvali* should be taken as the only faithful edition in so far as the linguistic aspect of the question is concerned. [84](a)

84.(a)—The edition, published by the *Bihar Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Pariṣad,* is far from satisfactory. Uptil now no satisfactory edition has come out and it will taxe time to prepare an authentic edition of Vidyāpati's poems from different sources.

Vidyāpati's lyrics deal with the love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa—beginning from the dawn of youth to re-union. All aspects have been nicely dealt with. Though they are not in form of a connected Kāvya, the dramatic element in lyrical form is there and in that sense we can call him a lyrical dramatist. He had a theme upon which he weaved out a garland of songs in praise of the *Kṛṣṇalīlā*. There is no lack of inspired experience and his indebtedness to his *Pūrvācāryas* is evident. He was well-versed in poetics and as a poet of love and beauty, he created visions of the 'beautiful.' He has succeeded in portraying the all-sided emotions of his hero and heroine. Whatever be the occasion, he goes on multiplying metaphor to his lovely expressions while describing the various poses, concealed and revealed emotions. Rādhākṛṣṇa's sports in the grooves attracted his attention. *Rāsalīlā* is a patent story of the Kṛṣṇa legend. In a dark night, Kṛṣṇa thinks how Gopīs will come after crossing the Yamunā and it is here that Vidyāpati asserts that the Gopīs are wiser than *Kānha* and they know the way out. Love here takes the form of adventure. Rādhā's longing for Kṛṣṇa has been picturesquely painted and there are some of the finest lyrics depicting her restlessness. In the presentation of Radhakṛṣṇa theme, he sets a new line and he has twisted the story according to his own convenience. The story begins with Rādhā's coming to age (*Vayaḥsandhi*) or the dawn of youth. Rādhā is younger than Kṛṣṇa (according to Vidyāpati). Rādhā is a special creation of beauty, a dream seen in the flesh. A sweet smile such as befits a model damsel is displayed in the soft curve of her coral lips. The messenger talks to Rādhā about Kṛṣṇa and *vice-versa*. Both of them see each other and thus starts the *pūrvarāga* (the first attraction). Stage is then set ready for *Abhisāra* and the first meeting takes place. The poet creates a wilderness of lavish metaphors, overloaded with classical and conventional figures. In the graceful curves of a bow, her eyebrows are bent and her forehead beams with the lustre of the moon. Her eyes remind of the *Khañjana* bird, nose of the *tila* flower and the lips have the hue of coral. The

tendernass of the meeting is indescribable. Then begins *Māna* (the pique) and again they meet. Rādhā describes Kṛṣṇa—"He is a flower to be placed upon head; he is the collyrium that makes her eyes beautiful; he is a precious necklace clinging about the neck; she can not conceive life without him—he is to her what water is to the fish, or wings to a bird, the very breath of her being and the only object of her life." The story on the whole is *ekāṅgī* (gushing love) of the one party and Vidyāpati has taken only such episodes which he thought necessary for his poetry, departing from the original wherever desirable. It is said that when Kṛṣṇa went to Mathurā, the messenger took Rādhā's message to him and this part is his own invention. In the *Bhāgavata* story, the reference is made to the Gopīs and not to Rādhā in particular. He has referred to Uddhava, which is another departure from the original.

In his use of *utprekṣā*, he is as unsurpassed as Kālidāsa has been in the use of *Upamā*. Here are a few typical examples :—

—पीन पयोधर दुबरिगता।
मेरु उपजल कनकलता॥
× × ×
भऊँह कथा पूछह जनु।
मदन जोड़ल काजल धनु॥
× × ×
कनकलता अवलम्बन उगल हरिनही नहि मधामा।
नयन नलिन दओ अञ्जन रञ्जन भौंह विभंग विलासा॥
चकित चकोर जोर विधि बाँधल केवल काजर पाना।
गिरिवर गरुअ पयोधर परसित गिम गज मोती कहाए।
काम कम्बु भरि कनक शंभुपरि ढारन सुरसरि धारा॥
× × ×
गुरु नितम्ब भरे चलए न पारए माँझ खीनिमनिभाई।
भांगि जाइत मनसिज धरि राखलि त्रिवलिलता अरुझाई॥
× × ×
वेनी विमल विराज तनु रस कुसुमावलि हार।
श्याम भुजंग देखिकटु कियो काम परहार॥
कम्बुकण्ठ मृणाल भुज वलित पयोधर भार।
कनककमल रसे पुरि रहु संचित मदन भण्डार॥
× × ×

केश कुसुम छिरिआएल फूजि।
ताराएँ निमिर छाड़ि इलु पूजि॥
हेरि पयोधिर मनसिज आजि।
शंभु अधोगति धएल समाधि॥
× × ×
चाँदसार कए मुख रचना करु,
लोचन चकित चकोरे।
अमिय धोए आँचर धनि पोछलि
दह दिस भेल इजोरे।
× × ×

Istances of various types os *utprekṣās* can be multiplied from the *padāvali* but the want of space deters us from going into exhaustive details. We have examples of *Vastu-utprekṣā; Kriyā-utprekṣā; Jāti-utprekṣā* and many other and our poet is a finished artist in that art. It is difficult to find out any match. Vidyāpati is superb in many aspects of the poetical feats of his age.

Vidyāpati always prefers the concrete to the abstract. His style is picturesque and he has a wonderful capacity of easy expression. His poetic talents were almost instinctive with him. As a born poet, his style is simple, natural, lucid, racy with a flow which makes it vivid with life. *He chose Maithili to bind together all the different sections of the people living in the land of Mithilā and succeeded in making it the most important language of the period. Love and devotion formed the basis of his songs and through his philosophy of love, he appealed to all irrespective of caste, creed, class, sex and religion. His songs touched hearts of all sections of people and he was a great humanist.* The idyllic romance of Rādhākṛṣṇa represents the vital phases of human experience and the fusion of natural phenonomen with the greatest of lovers. Like the age of Aeschylus in Greece and Shakespeare in England, the age of Vidyāpati marked the final blooming of renaissance in Mithilā. There is nothing left to be desired in Vidyāpati. The narrative is refreshingly simple and natural without any external decoration or artificial adornment. The picture of conflict between propriety and enjoyment, passionate and pathetic sentiments, sensuous and receptive moods, remorse and longing, is ably

depicted in a charming language and in a sophisticated manner. He describes nature in the background of human emotions. *He is great because he struck a human note that was altogether new to vernacular literature.* To him sex was not a taboo but a hard truth and there was nothing unnatural in singing about this fundamental urge of life. Human love is being valued for its own sake as something to be offered to another human being. Leaving aside the allegorical setting, these poems can be read and enjoyed as pure love poems.

He had around him the vision of natural sceneries of Mithilā and he does not fail to take inspirations for his poetry. *'Rādhā'* is a village girl and her beloved is a cowherd *'Kṛṣṇa'* and their description at different places and in different poses are always refreshing and sometimes marked by the directness of appeal to our sense of beauty. Even when they are highly sophisticated, they never cease to be natural. He is as natural in describing the angry mood as in the sensuous and receptive moods. Natural description of conflict between the lover and the beloved of secret meetings, of the pranks and of reconciliation, make the poet a superb painter of human mind and emotions. *It appears as if his poems have the way for high-class paintings of human emotions,* One can have a glimpse at the *Saṁbhoga* and *Vipralaṁbha,* at the *Viraha* and *Milana* where poet's expression is natural. They represent the highest peaks of his lyrical achievements. His description of nature is equally superb. It is in the background of human emotions, that he describes the beauty of nature—be it a description of the evening, morning, spring on the rainy season—

(i) रयनि काजर बम भीम भुजंगम
(description of Night—rainy season)

(ii) मानिनि अरुण पुरुब दिसा वहलि सगरि निसा
(iii) गगन नखक छल से आवेकत मेल
(early morning)

(iv) माघ मास सिरि पंचमी गजरिली—(spring)

(v) काजरे साजलि रात, घन भए बरिसए जलधर पाँति।
बरिस पयोधर धार, दूर पथ गमन कठिन अभिसार॥
× × ×
बिजुरी तुरंग डराइ, तों भल कर जो पलटि घर जाइ।
Rainy season.

According to Dr. Subhadra Jha (op. cit. P. 22) Śivasiṁha had several wives and he would like love poems and as such Vidyāpati's natural genius for erotic composition found an excellent outlet. He, further, observes—"Finding himself rather without a patron (i.e. after Śiva Siṁha), he looked towards the almighty for help and guidance. Now Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa became divine beings and the poet began to sing in their praise, craving their protection" (*Ibid*—P. 23). These points have been discussed earlier *(Vidyāpati's faith)* and I do not think it worthwhile to pursue the argument beyond what has been written above by me. Though some of his songs are erotic, *some are exclusively secular. These secular songs are poetically excellent.* The bilateral cravings in his poems do not detract them from being symbolic in character. Jayadeva and Vidyāpati are on the same lines. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa admire each other. Even when Vidyāpati composed songs to please his masters, they have the devotional element in them. We can not deny the fact, in the present state of our knowledge, that Vidyāpati recognised *Rādhākṛṣṇa* as divine beings. Govindadāsa has praised Vidyāpati for his songs on *Rādhākṛṣṇa.* According to Dr. Sukumar Sen, Vidyāpati's songs are connected with secular love. [85] Even when his songs are erotic, they are secular and devotional. The devotional poems seek the blessing of Mādhava, and in the Nepal *MSS,* we have numerous references to Mādhava and in such poems, the names of patrons are not there. The remarkable spontaneity, unique simplicity and directness of expression in his songs are indicative of the fact that the poet wrote everything in a most vivid manner born out of personal intuition and experience. He is a master of similes and metaphor and has been rightly called a poet of emotions and ideas. As Lila Rai has suggested—"The vocabulary and language of Vidyāpati's poetry is comparatively pure but as might be expected, archaic and frequently obscure and most difficult." [86] He was the greatest poet of eastern India and a master craftsman who has succeeded in giving his most poignant and

85. *History of Brajabali Literature*—P. 12.
86. *Bengali Literature.*

deepest feelings in simple language. Besides being artistic, his songs are musical and tuned to different *rāgas*. Harmonisation and perfection marked his poetic excellence.

As a poet of love, he succeeded like a successful gardener in presenting a beautiful garland of songs, the priceless heritage of which has never been forgotten. It is poignant and deep feelings of separation are unique. Rādhā's love attainments at a particular moment reaches perfection to a degree unheard of so much so that the poet pictures *Viparītarati* in the coming of a *pralaya* or deluge. In the brilliance of his metaphors and similes, in the choice of expressions and in the higher flights of his poetic fancy, he overshadows all vernacular poets. He had the unique distinction of inspiring poets of neighbouring provinces and the language of his songs became the vehicle of poetic expression. He was instrumental in making Maithili the literary language throughout the whole of north-eastern India. He made us realise that poetry was an integral part of life and not a mere adornment of it. His intrinsic greatness is yet to be assessed in a proper perspective. His lyrics have become a part of a whole people for more than five centuries now in a way in which no other poet has permeated the lives of the people. He drew forth such soul-entrancing strains from his mother tongue that acquirred for it not only an acknowledged literary status but also made it a rival to the classical language. Many of his poems seem to be a mere string of similes. His songs at once cultivate the ear. It is as a poet that he has been remembered through the centuries.

Most of his images have a freshness and individuality about them. In their profusion and boldness, his images are unique since they are drawn from the whole contemporary life, mythology, literature, business, law, court, nature, etc. No image was too low or too sublime if it came pat to his purpose while some of the images are quite fanciful. Though apparently unconnected, his songs are consistent in theme like the various parts of T. S. Eliot's *"Waste Land."* His metaphors and similes are guided by the conventions of

Sanskrit. Instances of non-conventional similes can be seen in the songs of marriage of *Vasanta,* in the comparison of conjugal union to worshipping, in comparing a woman's breast to Śiva; in the comparison of necklace with the currents of river Gaṅgā and so on. The use of sexual image in a devotional poem is the height of boldness. The geometrical image in a love poem is indicative of his mastery over the literary art—

"Now and again as side long look,
Along her lashes its shy curve took."

Though not a poetic drama in the sense of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda,* Vidyāpati has certain dramatic elements in the *Padāvali.* His lyrics seem to arise from specific situations and they are the impassioned utterances of specific characters characteised by abruptness and flexibility of tone. The *Padāvalī* illuminates the great romance but avoids all sense of gathering drama. His gift of extraordinary sensibility and his power to express it in musical and artistic language make him supreme as a poet. He has given the woman her due. He has explored the entire gamut of feelings that a women in love can have. He is almost feminine while describing a woman. Rādhā is described from woman's point of view with matchless tenderness.

His lyrics are a blend of eroticism and devotion and there are reasons for being so. Being hard put to reconcile on the one hand the demand of his patrons for the courtly and erotic poetry, and on the other hand the demand of the society for poetry which may save Hinduism, he wrote primarily love and secular poems where the quality of ecstatic praise, of intense and personal devotion is wanting. To that extent his songs were dealing with secular love. It was in such contexts that he regarded two breasts as incarnation of Śiva. It must also be admitted that he gave his lyrics a devotional character by having Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as the protagonists of love duels. In his description of *pūrvarāga, Saṁbhogamilana, Abhisāra* and *Māna,* he is more of a poet than a prophet. He ransacks the whole classical store to find

out an apt simile and is never weary of applying as much of these as is within his knowledge, like the sound scholar of rhetoric that he is.

Rādhā is described as a luminous wand created by lightning like a golden tendril. The rich clusters of her black hair are like the clouds of the bees but are soft and tender like the *'Śaibāla'* (moss). Certain deep feelings expressed in connection with Rādhākṛṣṇas tale can not be the result of a mere feeling for poetry but of actual experience in life. *In the realm of poetry he was an original genius and as a poet of love he was unrivalled. He lived a full life and therefore he has idealised the fulness of life.* His nearest equivalent in English literature is Spencer who also wrote mellifluous poetry. He took recourse to archaism but Vidyāpati's language, because of raciness and crispness, has passed into common speech. The English love poets have invariably confined themselves to the feelings of the male parteners in love but our poet has given the woman her due. His matchless handling of the tenderness of a woman sets female almost on a parity with the males. He loved and admired female temperament but did not blind himself to the masculine traits. Living long before Shakespeare, Vidyāpati showed so deep an understanding of love. Like Donne, Vidyāpati in his late religious verse expressed the same ardent rapture which had earlier found expression in his poetry of love. We cannot but marvel at the sweetness of his imagination which ranged from normal human love to love which transcends the individual plane and melts into impersonal ecstacies on the universal plane.

Few specimens of his poems would give us an idea of the poet—

From Aurobindo's *Songs of Vidyāpati*—

No. 11—कि कहब हे सखि कानुक रूप ।
को पतियायब सपन स्वरूप ॥
अभिनव जलधर सुन्दर देह ।
पीतवसन परा सौदामिनी सेह ॥
झाम समार कुटलहि केश ।
किये शशिमंडल शिखंड संवेश ॥

जातकी केतकी कुसुम सुवासे।
पुलशर मनोमत तेजल तसासे॥
विद्यापति कह कि बोलब आर।
शून्य करल विहि मदन भाण्डार॥

No. 16—कवरी भए चामर गिरि कंदरे
मुख भये चाँद आकाशे।
हरिणी नयन भये स्वर पय कोकिल
गति भये गज वनवासे॥
सुन्दरि काहे मोहे सम्भाषिन जासि
तु आ डरे इह सब दूरहि पलायल
तुहुँ पुन काहे डेरासि॥
कुच भए कमल-कोरक जले मुदिरहु
घट परवेशे हुताशे।
दाडिम्ब श्रीफल गगने वास करु
शंभु गरल करु ग्रासे॥
भुजभये कणक मृणाल पंकरहु
कर भय किस लय काँपे।
विद्यापति कह कत कत ऐसन
कहब मदन परितापे॥

No. 38—मधु ऋतु मधुकर पाँति।
मधुर कुसुम मधुमाति॥
मधुर वृन्दावन माझ।
मधुर मधुर रसराज॥
मधुर युवतिगण संग।
मधुर मधुर रस रंग॥
मधुर यंत्र रसाल।
मधुर मधुर करताल

मधुर नटन गति भंग। मधुर नटिनि नट रंग॥
मधुर मधुर रसगान। मधुर विद्यापति भान॥

S. Jha *Songs of Vidyāpati*—

No. 7—कंटक माझ कुसुम परगास। Also No. 86 for four common lines.
भमर विकल नहि पावए पास॥

× × ×

No. 13—कोकिल कुल कलरव काहल बाहर बाजे।
मंजरि कुज मधुकर गुजर से सुनि कुजर गाव॥
मने मलान परान दिगन्तर लगनु किए न लाज॥
विरहिनी जन मरन कारन वेकत भउ विधुराज॥

सुन्दरि अवहु तेजिअ रोस ।
तु वर कामिनि इ मधुयामिनी अपदन दिअ दोस ॥
कमल चाहि कलेवर कोमल वेदन सहए न पार ॥
चान्दन चन्द कुन्द तनु तावए तावल मोतिमहार ॥
सिरिसि कुसुम सेज ओछाओल तहु न आवए नीन्द ॥
आकुल चिकुर चीर न समरत सुमरत देव गोविन्द ॥

No. 42—नयन क नीर चरण तल गेल ।
थलहुक कमल अम्भोरुह भेल ॥
अधर अरुण निमित नहिं होए ।
किसलय सिसिरे छाड़ि हलु धोए ॥
ससिमुखि नोरे ओल नहिं होए ।
तुअ अनुराग शिथिल सब कोय ॥

No. 54—पञ्चवदन हर भसमे धवला तीनि नयन एक वरए अनला ।
Śiva
दुख बोलए भवानी जगत भिखारि मिलल हम सामी ॥
विसधर भूषण दिण परिधाना विनु वित्तेइसर नाम उगना ।
भनइ विद्यापति सुनु भवानी हर नहिं निधन जगत (केर) सामी ॥

No. 106—आलसे अरुण लोचन तोर, अमिअे मातल चन्द चकोर—

No. 124—चरित चातुर चिते वेआकुल मोर मोर अनुबन्धे ।
Śiva
पूत कलत सहोदर बन्धव सेष दसा सब धन्धे ॥

Also Cf. एहर गोसाञे नाह मो जनु देहु उपेषि ॥

No. 252, × × ×

254, 255 आवे की करब सीर पए धूनब गेल दिन नहिं आवे—

No. 130—खेत कएल रषवारे लूटल ठाकुर सेवा भोर ।

Relates to *Rāma*

वनिजा कएलहुँ लाभ नहिं पओले अलपनिकट भेल थोल ॥
रामधन वनिजहु वेज अछ लाभ अनेक ।
× × ×
जो जस वनिजए लाभ तस पावए मुष मरहि गमार ।
विद्यापति कह सुनहु महाजन, राम भगति अछि लाभ ॥

No. 131—जलधर अम्बर रुचि परिहाउलि, सेत सारङ्ग करवामा ।
सारङ्ग वदन दाहिन कर मण्डित, सारङ्ग गति चलुरामा ॥
मायव तोरे बोले आनलि राही ॥
सारङ्ग मास पास सओ आनलि, तुरित पठावह ताही ।
शम्भु धरणि वेरि आन मेराउलि, हरिसुत सुतधुनि भेला ॥
अरुण क जोति तिमिर पिडिउगल, चान्द मलिन भए गेला ॥

No. 158—अरुण लोचन घूमि घुमाओल जनि रतोपले पवन पालोल ।
आकुल चिकुर आनन झापल जनि तम ठाञे चान्द चापल ॥
× × ×
No. 159—उभरल चिकुर मालकर रग, जनि जमुना जलगाङ्ग तरङ्ग ॥
× × ×
पिआ मुख सुमुखि चूम्ब तेजि ओज, चान्द अधोमुख पिवए सरोज—
× × ×
No. 162—चरण नूपुर उपर सारी मुखर मेखल करे निवारी ।
× × ×
समुद कुमुद रमसरसी अवही उगत कुगत ससी ।
× × ×

No. 164—काजरे काहु उरग लिख काग विष मलयज पुनु मलयज पाङ्क ।
चान्द पवन पिक मदन तरास सर गदगद वन छाड़ निसास ॥
No. 177—सामर लोम लता कालिन्दी, हारा सुरसरि धारा—
No. 199—जलद वरिस जलधार, सर जञो पलय प्रहार—
No. 218—काजरे राङ्गलि भञे जनि राति—
No. 224—करतललीन दीनमुख चन्द किसलय मिलु अभिनव अरविन्द ।
अहनिसि नयन गले जलाधर, खञने गिलि उगिलल मोतिमहार ॥
No. 237—आएल वसन्त सकल वनरञ्जक कुसुमवान सानन्द ।
फूलल मालि भूपल भमरा पिविगेल मकरन्द ॥
No. 239—रअनि काजर वम, भीम भुअङ्गम, कुलिस पलए दुरबार ।
गरजतरज मन, रोसे वरिस घन, संसय पलु अभिसार ॥
सजनी वचन बोलइते मोर लाज ॥

No. 261—चल देखने जाउ ऋतु वसन्त, जहा कुन्द कुसुम कैतवहसन्न ।
(Cf. No. 257) जहा चन्दा निरमल भमरकार, रयनि उजागर दिन अन्धार ॥
मुगुधुलि मानिनि करए मान, परिपन्तिहि पेखए पञ्चवान ।
परिठवई सरस कवि कण्ठहार, मधुसूदन राधा वन विहार ॥

While his poems relating to *Vaiṣṇavism* have been given in connection with the description of his faith (Supra), here I have given just a few specimens of his poetry. His quoted lines are not given here since they are well known.[87] The lyric grew with the development of music in Mithilā. In the age of Vidyāpati, the glory was due to the final blooming of the renaissance of music and dancing introduced by Nānya-

87. Cf. My—*Maithili Sāhityika Nibandhāvali*; and my article—*"Gitināṭyakāra Vidyāpati"*; The cultivation of *Avahaṭṭa* was regarded as one of the 64 arts by Jyotiriśwara—*VR*. 55ख.

deva and his successors. Vidyāpati successfully enriched the Maithili language. He represented the culmination of all the new tendencies of the age. His popularity can be gleaned through the fact he is equally claimed by two sister languages—Hindi and Bengali—which, according to Grierson, *is unparalleled in the history of literature.*[88] From whatever angle we intend to judge him, he appears to us as the real representative of age in all its aspects. Some of his poems refer to minor quarrels between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, while some refer to various *Śṛṅgāras* and Viraha—

(i) कुञ्ज भवन सयँ निकसलिरे. रोकल गिरधारी।
एकहि नगर वस माधव रे, जनुकर वमारी॥ (Khagendranath Mitra—No. 126).

The poignant lines—

(ii) के पतिया लए जाएत रे, मोर पियतम पास।
हिय नहिं सहए असह दुख रे, भेल साओन मास॥ (*Ibid*—No. 300)

Māna—

(iii) मानिनि! आव उचित नहिं मान।
× × ×
रभसि रभसि अलि विलसि विलसि करि करए मधुर मधुपान।
अपन अपन पहु सबहु जेमाओल, भूखल तुअ जजमान॥
(*Ibid*—No. 408)

Some of his devotional poems are superb—

(i) माधव, कत तोर करब बड़ाई (*Ibid*-P. 281)—to Kṛṣṇa
(ii) जय जय शंकर जय त्रिपुरारि (*Ibid*-P. 309)—to Śiva
(iii) बड़ सुख सार पाओल तुअ तीर (*Ibid*-P. 329)—to Gaṅgā
(iv) जय जय भैरव असुर भयाउनि (*Ibid*-P. 1)—to Śakti

As a representative of his age, he wrote songs for all occasions. His *Maheśavāṇis* and *Nachāris* are very popular, no doubt. In excellent humour, he sings of the different forms of Mahādeva, Gaurī's mother is known as *Manain* and he addresses *Maheśavāṇis* to her and thereby professes to describe the life of Śiva as that of a common householder of Mithilā.[89] Abundance of images from the court life is also there. Wealth, poverty, miser, businessmen, oilmen and all

88. *Maithili Chrestomathy*—(Introduction to Vidyāpati's poems) P. 34.
89. N. N. Das—*op. cit.* P. 29; *MM*-Introduction.

other communities have found place in his poems. Even some of the Muslim rulers are there in his description. Inspite of his sophisticated language, based on familiar conventions and stock phrases, he does not neglect the social needs of the people in general. His proverbs [90] reflect many aspects of the every day life. Several poems for the common folk for almost all occasions in Mithilā were composed by the poet. [91] While on the one hand through his Nachāris, he reflects the life of an ordinary but poor peasant, on the other he does not hesitate to castigate the evils of child-marriage (quoted earlier).

Nachāri—कखन हरब दुख मोर, हे भोलानाथ !
दुखहि जनम भेल दुखहि गमाओल
सुख सपनेहु नहिं भेल, हे भोलानाथ ॥

In so far as his similies, epithets, metaphors and imagery are concerned, he was guided by the conventions of Sanskrit, no doubt, but he did not forget to draw inspiration from the natural sceneries of Mithilā around him. Birds like *Chakora, bee*, lotus, lion, gold, antelope, pomegranate, nectar, Rāhu, moon, trunk of plantain tree, elephant and *Śrīphala, Bilva, Bimba, Pravāla*, etc. are very common in his poems. Parrot and cat are also there (Cf. S. Jha—Nos. 36; 3, 37, 46, 126, 164-65, 258, 46, 70, 97, 7, 76, 87, 100, 43, 98, 121, 99, 185, 201; 204, 209, 224; 39, 40, etc.—for a description of Cuckoo, fragrance of mango, Mālati flower, *Chakora, Khañjana*, spring etc.). His realistic imagination is wonderful. He succeeds in giving originality to the metaphors and similes (Cf.—Khagendra Nath Mitra—No. 29). His beauty lay in expressing poignant feelings in simple language (Cf. *Ibid*—PP. 326, 329, 267, 235). His lyrics fall in line with that of Kālidāsa, Jayadeva and Rabindranātha. Rabindranātha acquired a powerful command over Maithili through Vidyāpati

90. Collected by Dr. Umesh Miśra—in his *Mahākavi Vidyāpati* PP. 156–177.

91. Cf. N. N. Das—*op. cit.* e.g. *Gosauni, Uchiti, Minti, Samadāuna, Chumaon, Parichehana* etc. Also Cf. *Mithilā Geeta Saṁgraha*—3 parts.

and he was so impressed that he wrote a number of lyrics under the pen name of Bhānu Siṁha Thākur. It was Vidyāpati who developed and perfected Mithilā school of Music. Pannikar says—"After all, Vidyāpati, Kabira, Mīrābai, Tulsidāsa and Nānaka, have become the poets not merely of Maithili, Hindi or Punjābi but of India." [92]

Impact of Vidyāpati on other poets and provinces—

Mithilā

In Mithilā, on the lines of Vidyāpati, a new school of Music was founded and Lochana bears testimony to this fact. Sivasiṁha appointed Jayanta to tune the songs of Vidyāpati and tradition of Vidyāpati Music, like the modern *Rabindrasaṅgīta,* continued to be cultivated by a host of musicians in Mithilā. Govindadāsa refers to Vidyāpati as his Guru. [93] In Mithilā, there was a host of imitators of Vidyāpati. Imagery, technique and prosody of Vidyāpati were either taken or followed by a number of writers in the succeeding years. Maithili language came to the forefront and it was due to the influence of Vidyāpati that it influenced all the neighbouring states.

Bengal

Bengal claimed Vidyāpati as her own for a number of years. [94] Maithili had attained the status of a literary language through his poems as he was the earliest singer of eastern India. What Jayadeva began, Vidyāpati perfected and his *Rādhākṛṣṇa* songs were carried to Bengal by students who came over to Mithilā to study *Nyāya.* The sweetness and excellence of his songs, in a language which was akin to Bengali, were responsible for his popularity in Bengal. Vidyāpati seems to have inspired both Caṇḍidāsa and Caitanya. There are many lines in the *Kṛṣṇakīrtana* which show affinity with Vidyāpati. Basanta Ray of Jessore wrote under the name of Vidyāpati [95]

92. N. N. Das—*op. cit.* P. 278.

93. M. P. Dikṣhit—*Govinda Gītāvalī*—P. 3; Cf. S. Jha—*op. cit.* Introduction.

94. R. C. Datta—*Bengali Literature*—P. 15.

95. *Maithili Chrestomathy*—P. 34; Cf. Sukumar Sen—*History of Brajabuli Literature,* P. 68 ff.

and a new type of language known as *Brajabuli* came into existence. These songs have been grouped into four classes—(i) in pure Maithili, (ii) pure Bengali, (iii) Maithili-Bengali mixed and (iv) in Bengali with mixed *Brajabhāṣā*. [96] The greatest imitator of Vidyāpati in Bengal in modern times was Rabindranātha whose *Bhānusiṁha Thākurera Padāvali* contains *Rādhākṣṇa* episode in Maithili.

Cf.—आओ आओ सजनि वृन्द
हेरब सखि श्री गोविन्द
श्याम को पदारविन्द
भानुसिंह वन्दि छे। [97]

Vidyāpati's influence on Assamese literature came through the Brajabuli songs and Śaṁkaradeva, the greatest Vaiṣṇava reformer of Assam was inspired by the songs of Vidyāpati. It should be noted here that the Assam *Brajabuli* is different from Bengal and in Assam these songs are divided into two groups—*Baragita* (celestial songs) and *Aṅkiagitas* (song associated with *Aṅkia* dramas). Like the Maithili songs of Vidyāpati, they have the *Rāgas, Dhrupadas, Bhanitās,* etc. Maithili influence on these songs are greater. [98]

Assam

Though the contact between Orissa and Mithilā had been long and intimate, the influence of the Maithili language reached here through Bengal. Rāmānanda Rai of Orissa wrote in Brajabuli (Cf. Sukumar Sen—*op. cit.* P. 28). He is said to have met Caitanyadeva. The Oriya Brajabuli has mixed *Maithili, Brajabhāṣā,* Bengali and Oriya forms. Some poems of Rāmānanda Rai have been included in Sukumar Sen's book and recently Professor Priyaranjan Sen has published a collection of the Brajabuli poems of Rāmānanda. [99]

Orissa

96. *PAIOC*—XII. Part I (Summaries) P. 130.

97. *Brajabuli Literature*—P. 373.

98. Barua—*Assamese Literature.*

99. *Rai Ramanander Bhanita Yukta Padāvalī* (Calcutta 1352).
Also Cf—Radhakrishna Choudhary and Surendra Sastri "*The Prabodhachandrika of Baijaladeva*" in the *ABORI—XLIV*—PP. 75–46.

Nepāl

Vidyāpati's influence on Nepal was greater still. Maithila scholars frequented the court of Nepal and Maithili was one of the recognised languages of Nepāla. Vidyāpati's music was very popular there. Several Malla kings of Nepal wrote on the pattern of Vidyāpati. Recent Nepali writers on the history of Nepal do not accept the authority of the Karṇāṭas over Nepal and the writings of D. R. Regmi are proofs of that tpye of thinking. There was a lose link between Mithila and Nepal, both politically and culturally. The Malla inscriptions and the *MSS* (spread over a wide area) support our contention that the Karṇāṭas had political links with Nepal. [99](a) In one of the *MSS* of *Rāmāyaṇanāṭakam*, we have *"Nepāla Kāyal Rajye Harisiṁhadeva"* Shri P. K. Singh 'Moun' has made frantic efforts to collect and pubiish some of the songs of Vidyāpati as found in the Nepal Terai and Morang area and a similar attempt in the field of folk literature has been done and is being done by Dr. Brajkishore Varma. Vidyāpati influenced the writers and poets of Nepal. Maithili literature received royal patronage in Nepal and we have a number of *MSS* on Maithili songs in the different libraries of Nepal, the most important being *'Kaṃsanārāyaṇa padāvali"; Vidyāpatigītam, Gītapañcāśikā, Bhāṣāgītasaṁgraha,* etc.

Influence on Bhojapuri

Sri Durgāsaṁkara Siṁha in his *Bhojapuri Lokegeeta* has published some songs which are ascribed to Vidyāpati. His song No. 4 (PP. 255–56) contains the Bhanita—

मनहि विद्यापति रामा (सुनहु) ब्रजनारि।
धरिजा धरे हुए राधा मिलिहें मुरारि॥

Grierson observed—"Songs of Vidyāpati are not known in the Bhojapuri area." Grierson might not have

99.(a)—Cf. (i) R. K. Chaudhary—*'Bihar and Nepal'* in G. D. College Bulletin No. 4.

(ii) S. V. Thavali—*Nepāla Upatyakā Ko Madhyakātina Itihāsa*

(iii) Balachandra Sharma—*Nepala Ko Aitihasika Ruparekhā*

(iv) Prafulla Kumar Singh Moun—(i) मोरंग में प्राप्त मैथिली कविक पद (मिमि—३ दिसम्बर १९६७); (ii) मोरंग पदावलोक किछुपद (मिमि—७ गुलाई १९६८) (iii) विद्यापत (मिमि—१८ दिसम्बर १९६६)—

—Dr. Shailendra Mohan Jha has recently discovered four poems of *Baidyanātha* and has published the songs of *'Chatur Chaturbhuja'* and *'Siddhi Narasiṁhamalla.'*

been able to collect them but the Bhojpuri writer himself admits that the influence of Vidyāpati on Bhojpuri was immense. The often quoted line "पिया मोर बालक हम तरुणी" (ascribed to Vidyāpati) is also found in Śrī Singh's collection (P. 492). He holds that *Vidyāpati is a very popular poet in Bhojapuri and is held in higher esteem than Sūra, Tulasi and Kabira.* The whole series of Vidyāpati songs in Bhojapuri is styled as *'Vidyāpatarāgas.'* Sri Singh has collected a large number of Vidyāpati songs (PP. 260, 325–330, 331, 332; PP. 44–45) etc. *Barahamāsā* songs are mostly Maithili songs. He believes that Vidyāpati must have visited the area. Song No. 7 of his collection is definitely a Maithili song and has been corrupted by the passage of time. Since Vidyāpati was the greatest poet of eastern India of his time, it is natural to suggest that his poems became immensely popular on the west of Mithilā in the Bhojapuri area. His genius crossed the geographical limit and spread far and wide. Singh states that Dharaṇīdāsa also wrote in Maithili and *Dr. Subhadra Jha has gone to the extent of ascribing Maithili to Kabiradāsā.* A gloss over the collections of Singh and R. N. Tripāthi shows that Vidyāpati had acquired a good name and fame in the Bhojpur area. In course of journey to Jaunapur, Vidyāpati must have come into contact with the languages of western people and as such his association with Bhojpur can not be rejected outright. *'Vidyāpatarāga'* is an ample illustration of the fact that he was known to the people of Bhojapura area. Hence to say that *"there was no notice taken of him in the Madhyadeśa"* does not appeal much to a critical mind. [100]

Available literature on Vidyāpati—

(i) Beame's Article in the *IA* (1873, 1875)
(ii) Akṣaya Chandra Sarkar—*Kāvya Saṁgraha* (1878–79)
(iii) S. C. Mitra—*Vidyāpati Padāvalī* (1878–79)
(iv) G. A. Grierson—Maithila Chrestomathy (1880–82)
(v) Brajanandan Sahaya—Maithila Kokila Vidyāpati (1908).

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100. *HML*—I. 182.; We have already referred to the mention of Vidyāpatis, Nachari by a writer of western India.

(vi) N. N. Gupta [101]—Vidyāpati Padāvalī (Allhabad—(1910-11).
(vii) Rambriksha Benipuri—Vidyāpati.
(viii) Dr. Janardan Miśra—Vidyāpati.
(ix) Dr. Babu Ram Saxena—Kīrtilatā (also by Umesh Miśra).
(x) Shyam Sundar Das—Hindi Bhāṣa O Sāhitya.
(xi) Ramchandra Śukla—Hindi Sāhitya kā Itihāsa.
(xii) Ramakumār Varma—Hindi Sāhitya kā Ālocanātmaka Itihāsa.
(xiii) S. N. Thākur—Mahākavi Vidyāpati.
(xiv) Narendra Nath Dass—Vidyāpati Kāvyaloka.
(xv) *Kīrtipatākā*—edited by Umeśa Miśra.; (also by Dr. Virendra Śrivastava)
(xvi) Gorakṣavijaya—edited by U. Miśra & J. K. Miśra.
(xvii) J. K. Miśra—History of Maithili Literature.
(xviii) U. Miśra—Vidyāpati Thākur.
(xix) K. N. Mitra and B. B. Majumdar—Vidyāpati.
(xx) My books and articles—already referred to in the body of this book and in the footnotes.
(xxi) Among the editions—
(a) Tarauni Palm leaf *MSS* (used by Gupta)—said to be fairly authentic.
(b) Nepal *MSS*—on the basis of which Dr. S. Jha published his edition.
(c) Rambhadrapur *MSS*—used by S. N. Thakur.
(d) Rāj Library *MSS*—
(xxii) *JBORS*—XXVIII. Pt. IV.
(xxiii) *JBRS*-XXXIV. Pts. I & II
(xxiv) *JGJRI*—II-Pt. 4. PP. 403-416.
(xxv) Lochana—*RT*.
(xxvi) All histories of Bengali literature.

Cf. Sahidullah—विद्यापति पदावलीर संस्करण—in *Sāhitya* LIX PP. 13-34.

101. Still very valuable for it contains most of the valuable things otherwise difficult to collect.

—Many new books and articles on Vidyāpati and Maithili literature are coming out daily in different languages and the study of Vidyāpati is yet an open question. A comprehensive and exhaustive bibliography on Vidyāpati is yet a desideratium.

(xxxii) Latest publication of the Poems by Vidyāpati has come out recently from Patna (*Bihār Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Parishad*).

(xxxiii) Shiva Prasad Singh' Kīrtilatā'.

(xxxiv) Vidyāpati Vāṅgamaya. (published from Calcutta)

(xxxv) *Likhanavali* by Indrakant Jha.

Estimate—

The above short survey gives us an insight into the genius of Vidyāpati who subdued every poetic element into a harmony of artistic perfection. He gave the colour and form to Maithili language. His extraordinary ability to express everything in musical and artistic tone made him one of the finest poets of all times and as a master of simile and metaphors, he is second only to Kalidāsa. His wide vision is evident from his songs. His riddles and occasional songs are equally important. Even when writing Sanskrit or Avahaṭṭa, he did not forget his sweet mother tongue. Whatever may be his faith or sect, the fact remains that he was a great poet and Mithilā is proud of Vidyāpati. It is in the background of emotions that he succeeds in depicting nature in relation to diverse moods generated by different seasons. So far as his lyrics are concerned, he is yet unsurpassed and in this respect, Mithilā, Bengal, Assam and Orissa are indebted to him. It has been rightly held—*"Seven cities might have contended for the honour of the birth place of Homer but with the exception of the poet, Vidyāpati, I can recall no other name of a poet claimed as their own by two peoples speaking two different languages"*—(quoted in Harinandan Thākur 'Saroja' —*Mahākavi Vidyāpati*—P. 55).

Contemporaries of Vidyāpati

From the point of view of literary achievements, the age of Vidyāpati is, by far, the most important. Apart from the contributions that Vidyāpati personally made towards the development of Maithili language and literature, there were other important writers and poets in Mithilā whose contributions were no less important. The trouble, in these cases, is as usual. Their collections are either unknown or have not yet

been discovered. Whatever information we get is sketchy and sometimes doubtful. I propose to give a brief sketch of these writers in the following lines.

(i) *Amṛtakara*—

He was not only a contemporary of Vidyāpati but his fast friend. He was the minister of Sivasiṁha and was a direct descendant of Śrīdharadasa, the renowned author of *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*. In some of his poems he is called अमिअकर and in some अमृतकर. Like Vidyāpati, he was also a lyricist. So far as the two names are concerned, the Panji records give us the same two names both in the *Balain* and *Biarasaṁ* families. Our own ancestor's list gives us the name of Amṛtakara. Since they were contemporaries, I believe that these two names have been confused with the one and the same man. Both the families were associated with the kingdom of Mithilā since its inception in 1097 and both the families had acquired important status in the court. The known poems, ascribed to Amṛtakara or Amiyakara, are very few. Vidyāpati pays glowing tributes to Amiakara in the following lines [102]—

नीति निपुण गुणनाह अंक में अतिशय आगर ।
कोष काव्य व्याकरण अधिक अधिकारक सागर ॥
सबकर कर सम्मान सबहुँ सौं नेह बढ़ाविअ ।
विप्रदीन अतिदुखी सबहुँकों विपति छोड़ाविअ ॥
कायस्थ माँह सुरसिद्ध भउ चन्द्र तुलायिव शशिधर ।
कविकंठहार कल उच्चरइ अमिय वरसइ अमिअकर ॥

In the *Visuddha Vidyāpati Padāvali* of S. N. Thakur, we have the following lines of Amṛtakara—

102. N. N. Das—*op. cit.* Introduction. Chanda Jha also gives an account of this man—Appendix to his edition of the *PP*. For the views of Dr. B. B. Majumdar Cf. *JBORS*–XXVIII. P. 410; *Vidyāpati* (Introduction). I have only recently acquired six volumes of Palm-leaf *Panjis* of the Karaṇa-Kāyasthas of Mithila and results of invesigation would clear some of the mists surrounding the notable Karaṇa-Kāyastha families. Till the Panjis are extensively and intensively studied, confusion is bound to persist and we have to wait for a correct appraisal. In this work of mine, I am being helped by a dedicated worker named Śri Benode Bihari Varma to whom goes the credit of discovering these six volumes of palm-leaf *Panjis*.

No. 68—सुनि मनमथ सरसाजे समन्दि पठावह अओवह आजे।
बचनहु नहि निरवाहे जनि लोभी तह किअअ सताहे ॥ ध्रुव ॥
पेयसि पेम बुझायी कइतव कएने कि फल कन्हायी।
सुपुरुष के सब आसा चान्द चकोरी हरइ पिआसा ॥
अभिभव कहहि न जाइ पवनहु परसे कुसुम असिलाइ।
अधर न होइ उपामे विद्रुम थोएल जनि एकहि ठामे।
समय न सह विधिमन्दा मालति फुललि वासि मकरन्दा ॥
भनइ अमृत अनुरागे कपटे कुसुमसर कौतुक गारे।
जसमा देवि रमाने भैरव सिंह भूपरस जाने ॥

No. 82—आनन विकच सरोरुहरे देखि कैसन हो भान।
नागर लोचन वरे भमि भमि कर मधुपान ॥ ध्रुव ॥
तोर नयन धनि नोतुअरे हेरइते नर हे लोभाक।
केसर कुसुम कपोल तलरे अधर सुधाकर मन्द ॥
जे न बुझए वरु से भनहे, जे बुझ तासओ मन्द।
उर अरगज मुकुतावलिरे, कइसन दहु परिभास ॥
कुचयुग चकोर बझाओलरे, मअने मेललि जान फास।
सुकवि अमृत करे गाओलरे पुहवी नव पञ्चयान।
मधुमति देवि……हरि विरेसर जान ॥

MM—P. 607 & S. Jha—*Appendix Nos.* 9-10—

पहिलहि महधि भइये देवि दिठि दूती पठाउवि आडी डीठि।
अति अरथिते किछु छाड़व लाज कौतुके कामे साहिदेव काज ॥ ध्रुव ॥
सुन सुन सुन्दरि रसधर गोए अरथिते अभिमत कवहु न होए।
सखिजन अनइते रहब अङ्क मोलि परपति आओब विरह बोलिबोलि ॥
सिनेह लुकाएन करब अवधाने पहु कहोएबह दोसरि पराने।
मनइ अमृतकर भल एहुबानी के सुनि एहु धर सुनुखि सयानी ॥
दह दिसि भमि भमि लोचन आव तेसरि दोयर कतहुन पाव।
लगहि अछल धनि विहिहरि लेलि तलितलता मागरिका भेल ॥
हरि हरि विरहे छुइल वछराज वदन मलान कओन करु आज।
चान्द न सीतल ताहेरिकाए तखने न भेलिए हृदय मोहि लाए।
ते अधिकाइलि मानस आधि धक धक कर मदनानल धाधि ॥
भनइ अभिअकर नागरिनाम आकवि कएलिहि सिरिजल काम ॥

Lochana *RT*—PP. 84-85

सुरति समापि सुतल वर नागर पानि पयोधर आपि।
कनक सम्भु जनु पूजि पुजारें धएल सरोरुरे झापी ॥
सखि हे मालति केलि विलासे।
मालति रमिअ तिताम्रिअ अगो। कि पुनु रति रङ्गक आसे ॥
वदन मेराए धएलन्हि मुखमण्डलं कमले मिलल जनि चन्दा।

भमर चकोर दुअओ अलसाएल पीवि अमिअ मकरन्दा ॥
भनइ अमिअकर सुनु मधुरापति राधा चरित अपारे ।
राजा शिवसिंह रुपनारायण लखिमादेइ कण्ठहारे ॥

Thus it appears that Vidyāpati mention *Amiakara* and the above two poems are by *Amiakara.* To me it seems that *Amṛtakara* and *Amiakara* were two different persons though they seem to have flourished in the same age and were the contemporaries of Vidyāpati. For the present we can not accept Dr. Miśra's contention that *Amṛtakara, Amiakara* or *Amiaṅkara* are one and the same person.[103] Unless further evidence is forth coming, it is desirable to leave the matter. A critical study of the *Kāyastha Panji* may give us some clue regarding the identification of these two names. They possibly belonged to the *Balain* and *Biarasaṁ* Mūla and were contemporary. The similarity, though the difference is also apparent, of names is responsible for such hasty conclusions by the author.

Vidyāpati has complimented Amiakara as a person, well versed in politics and poetics, of philanthrophic disposition. He was a source of perpetual relief to the poor and the needy. He is described as a moon among the Kāyasthas and a repository of nectar. His greatness as a poet, musician, grammarian and lexicographer is attested to by Vidyāpati. It is wrong to call him an imitator of Vidyāpati who pays him tribute in such high sounding words. Vidyāpati was proud of his company at the Oinwāra court. Amṛtakara wrote from the time of Śivasiṁha to that of Bhairavasiṁhadeva. His poems are available only in quotations. Amṛtakara and Amiakara were two different persons.

(ii) *Chandrakalā—*

Lochan in his *RT* (54) quotes a poem by Chandrakalā, daughter-in-law of Vidyāpati. The poem has been cited as an illustration of *Prākrita Rāgini*—few lines are given below—

श्यामा सवन्दिने अनि समय गीत सुशोभिते ।
आत्मदान समान सुन्दरि धार वर्षति सिञ्चये ॥
सिञ्चह सुन्दरि ममहृदयम्, अधर सुधा मधुपान मियम् ।

103. *HML*—I. 198 f.n.

चन्द्रकवि जयदेव मुद्रित मानतेज तोहें राधिके ॥
वचन ममधर कृष्ण अनुस किन्तु काम कला शुभे । [104]
चन्द्र कलाहे वचन करसी, मानिनी माधव अनुसरसी ॥

In the extant poem, Chandrakalā illustrates *pritikarirāgini*. In those days bilingualism was a common feature in literary compositions in Mithilā. The identification of Chandrakalā has been questioned by Kanchinath Jha' '*Kiran*' who has in recent years discovered a number of unknown poems of Vidyāpati and his contemporaries. Vedanāth Jha has also corected and published some of the unpublished songs of Vidyāpati and his contempprariés.

(iii) *Harapati*—He was the son of Vidyāpati. Dr. U. Miśra in his *Vidyāpati Thakur* (3rd edition, 1960) has quoted the following lines from Harapati, who is also said to have been a scholar of *Jyotiṣa* (PP. 57-60).

आरे विधिवस नयन पसारल, पसरल हरिक सिनेह ।
गुरुजन गुरुतर डरे सखि, उपजल जिवहु सन्देह ॥
दुरजन भीभ भुजङ्गम, वमकुवचन विषसार ।
नेंह तोखें विषे जनि माखल, लाग मरम कनियार ॥
परिजन परिचय परिहरि, हरिहरि परिहर पास ।
सगर नगर बड़ पुरजन, घेर घेरकर उपहास ।
पहिलुक पेमक परिभव, दुरसह सकल जन जान ।
धरैज धनि धर मुने गुनि, कवि हरपत भान ॥

Only recently some of his poems, hitherto unknown, have been bought to light by Śrī Vedanātha Jha of Nāhar (Darbhanga). Like his father Harapati was a poet of love and beauty.

× × × ×

Two more poems have been quoted there.

(iv) *Bhānu Kavi*—We do not know much about this man except that he was a contemporary of 'Chandrasiṁha (C. 15th century A. D.). He is also identified with Bhanukara Kavi of Sanskrit anthologies. [105] His Maithili poem is known to us from the Nepal collection. [106]

104. *Ibid*—199. He has in his possession anotaer text of this poem.

105. Krishnamachariar—*op. cit.* 774; S. K. Dey—*Poetics*–I. 241; Cf. also Kāne–'*Poetics.*'

106. S. Jha—*op. cit.* appendix.

कुमुद बन्धु मलिन भासा चारुचम्पक वन विकास
शुद्ध पञ्चमगाव कलरव कलय कण्डी कुञ्जरे ॥ ध्रुवं ॥
रे रे नागर जान दे घर छोड़ अञ्चल जाव ।
पथ नहिं पथिक सञ्चर ।
लाज डर नहिं तो परानी दे मेरानी रे ॥
सुनिअ दन्दा जनक रोरा चक्क चक्की विरह थोला ।
निसि विरामा सघन ढक्कइ तम्बं चूला रे ।
धोए हलु जनि नयन कज्जल अमिअ लए जनि कएल उज्जल ।
अवहु न वल्लभ तुअ मनोरथ काम पुरओ रे ॥
हृदय उरवल मोतिमहारा निफुल फूल मालतिमाला ।
चन्द्रसिंह नरेश जीवओ भानु जम्पए हे ॥

(v) *Gajasiṁha* [107]—He was a contemporary of Vidyāpati and flourished in the 15th century. His poems are also preserved in Lochana (*RT*–58–59, 68 and 72).

RT-P. 58—विसरलओरे तैसन सिनेहा पिअ मोरे ।
की परदेश भए रहल पिया पर वस ॥
अवगए ओरे अनुभवि मलकए जानल ।
की निरदए पुरुष जाति केर हिरदए ॥
पिअ सखि ओरे मलिकए विनति बुझाउवि ।
की हम ओरे जीवलइए पिआ मोर जीवओ ॥
गुनमय ओरे धीर कुमर सिरि गजसिंह ।
की रस जाने गुनमय कवि गजसिंह भाने ॥

× × ×

P. 68—मनकर गरल गरासिअ पाप आतम वध रे ।
जीवन लाग मरन सन मरन सोहाओन रे ॥
गजसिंह दुख छाड़त सुनइ विरही जन रे ।
नृप पुरुषोत्तम सहि रह तेंहि दयाञें मिलु रे ॥

P. 72—युगल शैलसिम हिमकर देखल एक कमल दुइ जोति रे ।
फूलल मधुरि फुल सिन्दुरे लोटाएल पाँति वैसलि गजमोति रे ॥
आज देखल जत के पतिआएत अपुरुव विहि निरमान रे ।
विपरित कनक कदलि तरें शोभित थलपङ्कज के रुप रे ॥
गजसिंह मन एहु पूरब पुनतइ अैसनि भजए रसकन्त रे ।
बुझए सकल रस नृप पुरुषोत्तम असमति देइ केरकन्त रे ॥

We have no definite information about him. In the *Tarauni Palm Leaf MSS* (No. 418), we have one *Hāsinideipati* Gajasiṁhadeva. Whether he was the same as Gajasiṁha,

107. [*Patna University Journal*–No. 2. PP. 15–17.

the poet, we can not definitely say in the present state of our knewledge. Since Prince *Puruṣottama* was the son of Bhairavasiṁha, Gajasiṁha can be placed in the 15th century.

(vi) *Rudradhara*—The famous *Nibandhakāra* of Mithilā was also a poet of the Maithili language and one of his poems are preserved in the Nepal *MSS*—

बोलितहु साम साम पए बोलितहु नहि से से विसवासे ।
अइसन प्रेम मोर विहि विघटाओलइना रहलि दुरासे ॥ ध्रुवं ॥
सखि हे कि कहब कहइन जाई ।
मन्द दिवस फल गनहि न पारिअ अपनहि कुपुत कन्हाई ॥
जलहुक थल जओ भरमहु बोलितहुँ जल थल थपितहु बेदे ॥
अनुपम पिरित पराइति पल ले रहत जनम धरि खेदे ॥
अइसना जे जरिअ से नहि करबे कवि रुद्रधर एहु माने ॥

(vii) *Bihari Miśra*—Nothing definite is known about him except that he mentions असमनदेई ।

(viii) *Daśāvadhāna*—Contemporary of Vidyāpati. His poems are collected in Lochana (*RT*–P. 86).

उपरे पयोधर नखरेख सुन्दर मृगमद पङ्के लेपला ।
जनि सुमेरु शशि खण्ड उदित भेल जलधर जालें झाँपला ।
अभिरानि हे कपट करह काँ लागी ।
कोन पुरुष गुने लुबुध तोहर मन रयनि गमओलह जागी ।
कारनें कओंने अधर भेल धूसर तुनु कोंनें आरत देला ।
दूधक परसें पवार धवल भेल अरुन मजिठ भए गेला ।
नवि पनारि गर्जे गंजि नडाउलि परसलि सूर किरने ।
अैसन देखिय कपट करह जनु वेकत नुकाओव कओ ने ।
दस अवधान मन पुरुष तेम गुनि प्रथम समागम मेला ।
आलमसाह प्रभु भाविनि भजिरहु कमलिनि भमर भुलला ॥

(ix) *Viṣṇupurī* [108]—He is one of the foremost *Vaiṣṇava* singers of Mithilā. He flourished in the 15th century and before being a *Sanyāsi*, his original name was Ramāpati. One of his songs is collected in the Nepal *MSS*—

Nepal MSS—प्रथम वयस जत उपजल नेह एक परान (दो) एक जनि देह ।
तइसन पेम जदि विसरह मोर काठहु चाहि कठि (न) हिअ तोर ।

108. *Patna University Journal*–Vol. I. No. 2. PP. 7–20; *Hindustāni*–VIII. 1. D. C. Sen–*Chaitanya and his Contemporaries*. His *Bhaktiratnāvalī* is a published work.

ए प्रभु ठाकुर न तेजह नारि तोह विनु नागर कओन ओहारि ।
सुपुरुस चिन्हिअ एहे परिनाम जैसन प्रथम तैसन अवसान ।
दुटल पेम नहि लाग एक ठाम विष्णुपुरी कह बुझासि विराम ॥

Viṣṇupuri is one of the most important composers of Maithili songs of mediaval period after Vidyapati. The favourite theme was the love of *Rādhākṛṣṇa*. He represented the scholastic side. His original name was Ramapati. His works were immediately translated into Bengali and he was taken to be a Bengali for a pretty long time. Some of his extant poems bear Viṣṇupuri as his *bhanitā*.

Other known poets, about whose authenticity we know very little, included (x) *Yasodhara Nava Kaviśekhara* (*RT*–67), (xi) *Kaviśekhara* [109]; (xii) *Rāja Pandita* [110]; (xiii) *Chatura Chaturbhuja*; whose extant poems hame been recently published by Shailendra Mohan Jha; (xiv) *Madhusudana* (*RT*–102) and (xv) *Jivanātha* (*RT*–112); (xvi) *Lakṣminārāyaṇa* (*RT*–65); (xvii) *Gopinātha*; (xviii) *Viranārāyaṇa*; (xix) *Dhireśwara* (S. Jha—*appendix*-No. 15); (xx) *Bhiṣmakavi* (*RT*–PP. 43, 58) and (xxi) *Gaṅgādhara* (*RT*–70). Some of these poets were associated with court of the king of Moraṅga, where Maithili was the official language. [111] The most important writer in the series was the last king of the Oinwāra dynasty (xxii) Lakṣminātha Kaṁśanārāyaṇa. He is believed to have been one of the most popular poets of Mithilā. [112] One of the various collections, discovered so far, refers to *Kaṁśanārāyaṇa Padāvalī* which refers to him as *Lakṣminathanareśa*. The ruler seems to have been a poet himself. He had the *Viruda Kaṁśanārāyaṇa*. Some of his poems are available in the Nepāl *MSS*—

(*xxii*) *Kaṁśanārāyaṇa*

109. *JBORS*—XXVIII. 422.

110. *Ibid*—P. 408. f n.

111. Cf *Subhakaramanirṇaya* by Murari Miśra gives a genealogy of the Moranga Kings of Nepal—Vide. Jayaswal— *Cat. of Mithila MSS*. I. PP. 450–51; Niz—*Lakṣmīnārīyaṇa, Rūpanārāyaṇa, Vīranārāyaṇa, Naranārāyaṇa, Jaganārāyaṇa, Trivikramanārāyaṇa*. Maithili appears to have been patronised by the rulers of Morang (Nepal). Murari's work is also published from Benaras.

112. *JGJRI*—II. 403.

1—माधवञें वेरि दुरहि दुर सेवा ॥
दिन दस धैरज कर यदुनन्दन हमे तपवरि वरुदेवा ॥ ध्रुवं ॥
करइ कुसुम वेकत मधुन रहते हठ जनु करिअ मुरारि ।
तुअ अहदाप सहए के पारत हमे कोमल तनु नारि ॥
आरति हठजञो करवह माधव तञो (न) आइत मोरी ।
काञ्चि वदरि उपभोगे न आओत उहेकी फल पओवह तोली ॥
एतिखने अमिञ वचन उपभोगह आरति अनुदिने देवा ।
लखिमीनाथ मन सुन यदुनन्दन कलियुग निते मोरि सेवा ॥

× × ×

2—पएर पलि विनवञो साजनारे जति अनुचित पलुमोर ।
जनु विघटावहु नेहवारे जीवन जौवन थोल ॥ ध्रुवं ॥
पलटह गुण निधि तोरे गुण रसिआ जीवे करइ वरु साति ।
पुछलहु उतर न आपहोरे अइसन लागेए मोहि भान ॥
कि तुअ मन लागलारें किए कुशल पचवान ।
काठ कठिन हिअ तोहरा रे दिनहु हृदय नहिं तोहि ॥
कंस नारायन गाविहा रे निरमम का नहि मोह ॥

× × ×

3—कालागि मिनेह बढ़ाओल सखि अहनिसि जागि ।
भल कए कपट अओ लओलन्हि हम अबला-वध लागि ॥ ध्रुवं ॥
मोरे बोले बोलब सुमुखि हरि परिहरि मने लाज ।
सहजहि अथिर यौवन धन तुहु यदि विसरए नाह ।
भेलिहु पनक कुसुम सम जीवन गेलेहि उछाह ॥
पिआ विसरन तह सवे लहु करि सिरिधर हेन मान ।
कंस नारायन नृपवर सोरभ देवि रमान ॥

× × ×

4—परिजन करलए देहरी मुह दए रोअए पथ निहारि ।
केओन कहए पुर परिहरि माधुर कओन दिन आओत मुरारि ॥
कहि दए सम दव के सूमझाओत कठिन हृदय पिय तोर ।
पिआए विसरल नेह अवसन भेल देह कत कत सहव संताप ॥
कालि कालि भए मदन आयु कए आओत पाउस पाप ।
कंस नृपति मन धैरज वर कर मन पूरत सवे तुअ आस ॥

× × ×

5 (*RT*-P. 97)—
साए साए पिआकें कह विनती ।
इहओ वसन्त रितु ओतहि गमावथु एत एक मलि नहि रीती ।
वनमलयज रस परसें लागविस दुसह सुनिअ पिकनादे ॥

अनल वरिस ससि निन्दओ न हो अनिसि एतए आओर परमादे।
जे सब विपरित से सवे कहव कतके पतिआएत आने।
जखने आओव हरि हमहिं निवेदव जओ राखत पंचवाने॥
सुमुखि समाद सभादरें समदल नसिरा साह सुरताने।
नसिरा भूपति सोरम देइ पति कंस नराएन भाने॥

× × ×

6 (*RT*-100-101)—

साए साए कौं लागि कौतुकें देखल निमिष लोचन आधे।
मोर मन मृग मरम वेधल विषम वान वे आधे॥
गोरस विरस वासि विसेषल छिकेंहुँ छाडल गेहा।
मुरलि धुनि सुनि मन मोहल विकेंहुँ भेल सन्देहा॥
तीर तरङ्गिनि कदंव कांनन निकट जमुना घाटे।
उलटि हेरै तें उवटि परल चरन चीरल काटे॥
सुकृत सुफल मुनह सुन्दरि गोविन्द वचन सारे।
सोरम रमन कंस नराएन मिलत नन्द कुमारे॥

Lakṣmināth Kaṁśanārāyaṇa was the last of the Oinwāras and was one of the greatest patrons of Maithili literature after Śivasiṁha. Himself a poet of repute, he patronised poets and scholars. The Bhagirathpur inscription contains an eulogy of the last great king of the Oinwaras. In one of his poems, *Kaṁśanārāyaṇa* sings of Nasratashah of Bengal. Under Kaṁśanārāyaṇa, there was a briliant revival of the lyrical tradition. The age was as glorious as that of Vidyāpati since a good number of lyrical poets found shelter under his hospitable roof.

Govinda Dāsa

Govinda occupied the same place in his court as did Vidyāpati in the court of Śivasiṁha. From a study of the Kāyastha *Panji*, it appears that Govinda was a Kāyastha. Like Vidyāpati, Govindadāsa was associated with the court of Bhairavasiṁha, Rāmabhadra and Lakṣmināth Kaṁśanārāyaṇa. He was a brilliant poet whose imageries are marvellous and metaphors remarkable. He is the master of racy language, lucid style and sweet songs. He was a devotee of Kṛṣṇa and his command over the language was unique. His expressions in superb

lyrical language are lucid. Maithili literature till the time of Govindadāsa continued to be dominated by the spirit of Vidyāpati.

(i) गोविन्ददास हृदय जनधारल हरिनारायण देवा
(ii) राजा नरसिंह रूपनारायण गोविन्ददास अनुमान ।
(iii) गोविन्ददास मन रसिक रसायन, रसयति भूपति रूपनरायण
(iv) दास गोविन्द मन कंसनारायण सोरमदेवि समाज ।

He also visited the court Raja Pratapaditya of Jessore. His name and fame spread from Bengal to the land of Braja. He was also taken to be a Bengali his the beginning but it was N. N. Gupta who first described him as a Maithila. [112](a)

× × ×

7 (*RT*-101-102)—

अगर उगार गारि मृग मदरस कएजनु लेपन देह ।
चललि तिमिर मिलि निकिषें अलख मेलि काचक सनि मसि रेह ।
हे माधव हेरह हरखि धन चान उगल जनि महितलें मेटि कलङ्क ॥
घर गुरुजन हेरि पलटति कतवेरि ससिमुख परमसङ्क ।
तु अगुन गन कहिआँ नलिअ साहिटारि दैव सुमुखि विसवास ॥
तें परि पराइअ जें पुनु पाविअ परधन विनु परयास ।
जपल जनम सत मदन महामत विहि सुफलित करु आज ॥
दास गोविन्द मन कंस नराएन सोरम देवि समाज ॥

Nos. 6 and 7—have been characterised as the poems of Govindadāsa—by Dr. B. B. Mazumdar (*MM*-P. 618).

Out of the five others, he gives only one which is common with the above list and he adds one more (*MM*-P. 617), the text of which is given below—

तन सुकुमार पयोधर गोरा, कनक लता जनि सिरिफल जोरा ।
देखलि कमल मुखि वरणि न जाइ, मन भोर हरलक मदन जगाइ ।
मौहा धनुष धएल तसु आगु तीष कटारख मदन शर लागु ।
सब तरु सुनिअ ऐसन वेव्हारा, मारिअ नागर उवर गमारा ।
कंस नराएन कौतुक गावैं पुनझले पुणकत गुनमति पावै ॥

The above quotation would go to show that Kaṁsanārāyaṇa was a reputed poet of Mithilā and his contributions to the

112.(a)—Cf. Sashinath Jha—'*Mahākavi Govindadāsa*' in the *Pariṣad-Patrikā*'—January 1968, pp. 102-112.

Dr. B. B. Mazumdar has also published a book on '*Govindadāsa*'.

growth of Maithili language seem to have been great. The publication of *Kaṁsanārāyaṇa Padāvalī* would enable us to present a critical evaluation of this poet, who has been otherwise confused with others. Dr. J. K. Miśra does not mention the *RT* collections of Kaṁsanārāyana (*HML* I. PP. 218–19) and does not equate Lakṣminātha with Kaṁsanārāyaṇa. He treats Kaṁsanārāyaṇa separately and there he mentions the *RT* collections (P. 220). Dr. Miśra rightly calls him the greatest patron of Maithili literature after Śivasiṁha. To me it seems that both *Lakṣminātha* and *Kaṁsanārāyaṇa* were one and the same person, just as *Kaṁsanṛpati* is a short variant of his *Viruda*. He was a contemporary of Nasrat Shah who ultimately destroyed the kingdom of Tirhut in the second quarter of the 16th century A. D. [113] He was the last independent Oinwāra king. The Maithili lyrical poets found in him a great supporter. Kaṁsanārāyaṇa also refers to Nasrata Shah. Poets like (xxiii) *Govinda,* (xxiv) *Kāśinātha,* (xxv) *Rāmanātha* and (xxvi) *Śrīdhara* thronged his court. Dr. Misra has given reference to a number of poems by Govinda [114] in *Kaṁsanārāyaṇa Padāvalī* (*Ibid*– P. 221; *KNP* Nos. 72, 99, 146, 136, 55, 57, 79; 107, 121; also *RT* 101, 102). Thus it appears that the literary activities in Mithilā continued unabated till the reign of Kaṁsanārāyaṇa, who was himself a poet of no less eminence. Other contemporary poets were *Rājapandita, Kaviratana, Nṛpamalladeva, Pṛthvichanda, Chandrasiṁha, Dhireśwara* and others. Their songs are collected in the appendix of Dr. S. Jha's *Songs of Vidyāpati.*

As we have seen above, the use of vernacular words in Mithilā begins early and the Maithila scholars, though well versed in Sanskrit, did not ignore their mother tongue. Rucipati, a contemporary of Bhairava Siṁha, in his commentary on the *Anargharāghava* of Murāri has used a number

113. Cf. My book—*History of Muslim rule in Tirhut*; *History of Bihar*; My article the *Oinwāras of Mithilā* (in *JBRS* of 1954); *Vaidehi Viśeṣāṅka* of 1960.

114. *HML*—221 ff.; For the latest work on Vidyāpati, Cf.—Niranjan Chakravarti—*Vidyāpati Samikṣā* (in Bengali), Calcutta 1970.

of Maithili words to explain Sanskrit and Prākrit words—e.g. आँचल आगल, थल, खवा, उलौंली, करचुरा (कलचुरी), गरतुल, कराट, कण्ठा, कामति, कतरनो, करौत, कुब्बिका, गमहर, जलहरी, टाँकि, फलकी, औरी, पिआजु, पुतली, डोंगी, ओहारि, पनारी, पड़िमान, पुतरी, वाट, विआरी, वहङ्गा, साँकर, सुआसिन इत्यादि. Jagaddhar, another writer of the 15th century A. D., in his commentaries on the *Mālatimādhava* and *Veṇisaṁhāra*, has used the following Maithili words—सरतुल, नेउरा, गमहर, टोप्पर, कंकारी, पैना, हुण्डार, गोह, वोहित, ओट्ठा, कौआ, रवड़ी—(Cf. *JBORS* XIV–PP. 266–273). Vācaspati, another writer of the 15th century A. D., has used Maithili words in the *V. C.*—e.g. ओहाली (ओहारी P. 97); गोन्दतल (P. 99), कोटवार-कोतवाल (P. 147); शाक (P. 157), छुछुन्दरि (P. 165); वेशवां or वेसरी (P. 108); वण्टनीय for वाँटब; बन्धीकृत for बन्धक; काट्ठमय भाण्ड for तामा-पैली; वड़वा for दासी; शलाकी for नापित and उद्धार for उधार etc. Vidyāpati in his *Dāna-vākyāvali* has also used vernacular terms—e.g. राहलि (P. 112), साठी (P. 113), बीजपूर (P. 196); आराम (P. 152) and उद्यान etc. (P. 153). All these are indicative of the fact that the Maithila scholars, beginning from Vṛddha Vācaspati down to our period, did not neglect the study of the Maithili language. The perfection of the literary style, attained as early as the 13th–14th centuries A. D., amply illustrates the fact that the cultivation of this language as a medium of literary expression was going on for a long time. Rahulji, in his *Hindi Kāvyadhārā*, has also given a list of Maithili words and that strengthens our point of view—e.g.

(i) जइमिडि P. 6 (in the poem of Saraha)
(ii) धरणी P. 12 Do.
(iii) अणठीय (modern–अनठिया) P. 16 Do.
(iv) मौउललि („ –मौलायल) P. 20 (Śabarapā)
(v) अछंत („ –अछैत) P. 18 (Sarah)
(vi) खाट P. 20 (Śabarpā)
(vii) सेज „ „
(viii) तिम्मण (modern–तीमन) P. 54, 98 (Svayambhū)
(ix) पोटल्ल („ –पोटरी) P. 64 „
(x) अच्छहि („ –अछि)
(xi) धाइ P. 68— Do.
(xii) अप्पण („ –अप्पन) P. 132 (Bhūsukapā)
(xiii) मइलि („ –मइल) P. 134 Do.

(xiv)	चङ्गेरा—		
(xv)	सासुनणंद—		
(xvi)	बेंग—		
(xvii)	हाँडी—	P. 164 Teṇḍaṇapā (Tantipā)	
(xviii)	साँझ—	,, ,,	,,
(xix)	खंभा—	,, ,,	,,
(xx)	बलद—	,, ,,	,,
(xxi)	डेकार—	P. 194	Puṣpadaṅta
(xxii)	चंगा—	P. 172, 194, 266—	
(xxiii)	कणइल्ल—	P. 200	Do.
(xxiv)	ठठ—	P. 280	Dhanapāla
(xxv)	पीयर—	P. 318, 326	Babbara,
(xxvi)	गरास—	P. 322	Do.
(xxvii)	दुब्बरि—		
(xxviii)	हीआ—	P. 324	Do
(xxix)	हुडु (उदण्ड)	P. 352	Jinadattaśūri
(xxx)	सुहाली (सोहारी)	P. 432	Vinayachandra Śūri.

These few words have been collected here just to show the antiquity of literary use of Maithili and they are spread over centuries. The age of Vidyāpati left an indelible mark on the history of Maithili literature. The rulers were very much interested in the cultivation of art and literature and some of them like Nānyadeva, Harisiṁhadeva, Sivasiṁha, Viśwasdevi, Kaṁśanārāyaṇa and others were themselves great in the field of art and learning. The passing away of the Oinwāra dynasty marked the decline of the literary activities. On the whole it can be said, without any fear of contradiction, that the age of Vidyāpati signified a high watermark in the tradition of literary activity.

Kirtaniya drama

As in the field of prose and poetry so in the field of drama, Mithila's contribution, during our period, is unique. In our *resume* on the Sanskrit drama in Mithilā, we have already given some description of the characteristic features of the Maithili stage. The reference to dancing and acting is there in the *PP* of Vidyāpati and the *VR*. Both Jyotirīśwara and Vidyāpati were the pioneers in the field of Maithili drama. Grierson wrongly attributed *Pārijātaharaṇa* and *Rukminiharaṇa* to

Vidyāpati.[115] Umāpati's *Pārijātaharaṇa* contains a good number of Maithili songs, specimens of which have been cited above. *Nalacharitanāṭaka* of Govinda (C. 15th–16th century A. D.) is an important specimen of the *Kirtaniyā* drama in Mithilā.[116] The drama deals with Nala's exile and, as usual, the dialogues are in Sanskrit and Prākṛit and the songs are in Maithili. Some of his songs, as quoted in *HML* (I. 295–96), are as follows—

(i) अपद सकल संपद पहु हारल न मानल कोनहुँ निषेधे ।
परिहरि परिजन गमन कएल वन दारुण दैव विरोधे ।।

× × ×

(ii) आयल नैषध वसुधानाथ, चान्दवदन दमयन्ती साथ ।
नक वलय माल कुण्डलहार, जन भुवने सुरपति अवतार ।।

The origin of *Kirtaniya* drama is associated with the worship of Viṣṇu but its use seems to have been very popular in the 14th century A. D. Now there is no available source to present a critical study of the *Kirtaniya* stage except the few dramas that are available. The drama had certain spiritual fervour and its greatest point was its popularity among all sections of the people of Mithilā. The Sūtradhāra played an important part in the drama and the dramatists had options to select a wide range of subjects. *Māna, Nachari* and *Tirhuti* songs were generally sung. The choice of subjects can be gleaned through the titles of the play like *Pārijataharaṇa, Gorakṣavijaya, Ūṣāharaṇa, Nalacharita, Gauri śwayaṁbara* etc. Umāpati (C. 14th century A. D.) may be taken as the founder of the *Kirtaniya* drama. These performances were always held in praise of the *Lord* or Almighty, no matter whatever name we give Him. The performances were held in the night. Maithila dress was used.[117] The *Nāradiya*

115. *LSI*–V. II. P. 17.

116. Sri N. N. Das has given me information about this *MSS*. The work refers to one Yādava Rai as his patron.

117. Narendranātha Dās says—"नायक 'जामा' 'नीमा' पैजामा पहिरि पदुक्का बान्हि चद्दरि ओढ़ि साठा पाग माथ पर राखि फुलहथ्था हाथ में लए साधारण नूआ टाँगि कए बनल बनाओल रंगमंच पर नान्दी पाठक क पश्चात् 'अलम विस्तरेण' कहैत प्रवेश करैत छलाह"—

form of Musical *Kīrtana* was prevalent and the actors were thoroughly trained before being presented to the audience. In Umāpati, we see that characterisation is of a developed kind and is intimately linked with the plot of the play. Nārada plays a prominent part. There is an element of suspense in the play and humour predominates. The foundation of the *Kirtaniya* drama was, no doubt, laid during our period. It was a short of poetic drama. [118]

Mithilā and Nepal

During our period, the cultural relation between Mithilā and Nepal was very intimate. The sweet lyrics of Mithilā were equally popular in Nepal and we see that some important Nepali rulers and writers have composed fine lyrics in Maithili. Simha Nṛpati was one of the famous Maithili poets of Nepal. The *RT* (P. 74–75) contains one of his poems—

Simha Bhupati (Simha Nṛpati)—

सबहु सखि परबोधि कामिनी आनि देलि पिअ पास ।
जनि बाँधि व्याधाअे विपिन सओ मृगनेजए तीख निसास ॥
वैसल शयन समीप सुवदनि जतने समुहि न होए ।
भेलमान सबु लए दहोदिश देल मनमथ फोए ॥
सकल गात दुकूल दृढ़ अति कतहु नहिं अवकाश ।
पानि परसें परान परिहर पुरति कीरति आस ॥
निविल निबन्ध कठिन कञ्चुक अधरें अधिक निरोध ।
कठिन काम कठोर कामिनी मान नहिं परबोध ॥
करब की परकार आवे हमें किछुन पर अवधारि ।
कापें कौसलें करए चाहिअ हठहि हल हिअ हारि ।
दिवस चारि गमाए माधव करति रति समधान ।
बड़हि का बड़ होए धैरज सिह भूपति मान ॥

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118. *HML*—I. 359—"The *Kīrtaniya drama* of Mithilā is one of the glorious achievements of Maithili literature. It simplified the Vidyāpati tradition of writing poems. It contributed to the growth of long narrative poems in Maithili, it kept generations of Maithili writers engaged in a profitable task and finally it contributed to the popularity and development of Maithili Language and literature during the centuries." Also of–J. K. Mishra 'कीर्तनिया नाटक';

He is believed to have been a ruler of Nepal. His poems bear the *bhanitas* of *Nṛpasiṁha, Narasiṁha* and Siddhi Narasiṁha etc. Shailendra Mohan Jha has published some of his poems.

RT (PP. 73-74)—has one song of Nṛpa Siṁha—

माँसे पखें उगए कलानिधि लैए सकल निज साज ।
तुअ मुख समनहि देखिअनें खिनमनें गुनि लाज ।।
कह दहुँ कओन पुरुष धनि जहि कर रह अनुराग ।
के अछ अहि महितल जे अरजल एहेंन भाग ।।
सामर चामर निन्दिए कोमल केस कलाप ।
भौंह मनोहर कि कहब कामें तेजल सरचाप ।।
पवन चलित नव पल्लव कुच कोरक तरें काप ।
धके धाओल नहिं पाओल आशा लुबुधल लोभ ।।
जेहनि रमनि नृपसिंह कह हरिहि निकट पए सोभ ।

In the *Nepal MSS*, we have one poem of Nṛpamalladeva, possibly a ruler of the Malla dynasty of Nepal. It is futile to identify him with any king of Mithilā. The song is given in appendix No. 8 in Subhadra Jha's collection—

कुसुमित कानन माँजरि पासे मधुलोभें मधुकर धाओल आसे ।
सजनी हिअ मोर झूरे पिया मोर बहुगुने रहल विदूरे ।। ध्रुवं ।।
माघ मास कोकिलरय विरल नदि मनवसि मन भरकर अवसादे ।।
तहि हम पिरित एके पराने से आबे दोसर के राषत के आने ।।
हृदय हार राखल मोरे अइमन पिआर मोर गेल छाड़ि रे ।।
नृप मलदेव कह सुनु ।।

Maithili lyrics are also found in large numbers in the Maithili dramas of Nepal. Even in Sanskrit Dramas, Maithili lyrics were introduced. Vidyāpati seems to have inspired the lyricists of Nepal. Nepal was, geographically speaking, the safest ground for the cultivation of literary and artistic works. Scholars from all over India had flocked to Nepal and even when the people of Tirhut experienced the political shock, they migrated to Nepal for safety. Keith has pointed out that the dramatists took refuge in those area where Muslim power was slowest to extend. [119] The vernacular was coming into prominence. Sanskrit and Prākrit had begun to be unintelligible and the dramatist had realised this truth. There

119. Keith—*Sanskrit Drama*—PP. 242-243.

was no dearth of plot in Indian Mythology and the themes varied from one source to the other. The stage was rejuvenated and simplified and the introduction of the folk element led to the further popularisation of the dramatic art in Mithilā and Nepal. Music and dancing were already there. More or less it was the musical entertainment that marked the play. The old emphasis of the Sanskrit dramatist on poetic beauty, complexity of action and psychological development of character had been a thing of the past. We have seen that the *Kirtaniya* drama in Mithilā was composed of men and women characters, persons of all sorts, literate or illiterate and of all castes. The common folk took active part in these performances. The popular character of the drama was further envigorated by the introduction of vernacular language and the Maithila dramatists carried them far to the land of Nepal.

Vidyāpati's art of writing popular dramas was so keenly followed by the dramatists of Nepal that vernacular plays came to be written over there in large numbers. Eminent Maithila Panditas were invited to the court of Nepal. Even the *Paddhatis* were prepared by Maithila *Paṇḍitas* in Nepal. Jayasthitimalla (C. 1380–1394) is said to have invited Kīrtināth Upādhyāya, Mahināth Bhaṭṭa, Śrīnāth Bhaṭṭa, Raghunāth Jha and others to codify social and religious laws in Nepal. According to Jayaswal, a host of other scholars continued to be invited to Nepal. [120] Even without invitation, Maithila scholars, in large numbers, took shelter in Nepal and helped the growth of Maithili language, culture and customs over there. They carried with them the sweet lyrics of Vidyāpati and other Maithila poets. Over and above, the musical attainments of Mithilā had already attracted the notice of the Nepalese people. During our period, there was hardly any difference between Maithili and Nepali and the former

120. *Cat. of Mithilā MSS*—II. PP. 2, 47, 63 etc. also introduction. Vaṁsamani Jha, Kṛṣṇadatta Jha, Śakti Ballabha, Bhānā Jha etc. thronged the court of Nepal and influenced her cultural activities.

was, to all intents and purposes, the *linguafranca* of a major portion of Nepal. The royal patronage to Maithili was a factor to be reckoned with and according to Dr. P. C. Bagchi it had practically attained the status of a court language. [121]

According to Dr. H. P. Sāstri, it was Jayasthitimalla who introduced the dramatic literature from Mithilā. [122] He is said to have introduced the *Dīpakarāga* which was played on instrumental music at the royal burials. It was during his reign that four-act *Rāmāyaṇa* was written and possibly staged. We have already discussed the importance of another drama, named *Bhairavānandanāṭaka* by Maṇika. It is said that the drama was staged on the auspicious occasion of the marriage ceremony of Dharmamalla, son of Jayasthiti. [123] Due to the uncertainty in political life of Nepal after Jayasthiti, the cultural movement had a set back. Yakṣamalla was a ruler of some importance and after him the kingdom seems to have been divided into three parts—occupied by the three sons of Yakṣamalla. Raimalla ruled at Bhātgaon, Rāmamalla at Banepā and Ratnamalla at Katmandu. The Malla period of Nepal, though disturbed politically, is important in so far as the cultural activity is concerned. The Mallas were closely associated with the Karṇāṭas of Mithilā, [124] who had gone to Nepal after 1324 A. D. With the Karṇāṭas, culural tradition of Mithilā had also entered Nepal. Kumar Ganganand Siṁha in his brilliant review of the dramatic art and literature of Mithila and Nepal has rightly observed—".....we get a very favourable impression of the court of Nepal as a place for the encouragement of literature, music and art.....

121. Cf. *Vaṅgiya Sahitya Pariśad Patrikā* (Bangābda–1336) PP. 171–72—मिथिलार राजसभा तखन विद्यापति सङ्गीते मुखरित हच्छे। एइ संगीतओ ये क्रमे नेपाल गिये पौंचिवे ताते आर आश्चर्य कि ?..... **नेपालेर प्राचीन वंशेर ओ प्रभाव सम्पन्न व्यक्तिदेर शिक्षार भाषा छिल मैथिली कारण तॉंदेर अनेकेई मिथिला थेके गिये छिलेन.....**

122. Sāstri—*Nepal Cat.* XXXVII. ff.

123. *Ibid.*

124. Cf. My article—'मिथिला ओ नेपाल' in the *Vaidehi Viśeṣāṅka* of 1960. Necessary references are given there.

the language of these poular plays denotes the remarkable fact that Maithili had then become the literary language of Nepal." [125]

Even when the Sanskrit texture was gone, the framework continued to be the same though the new technique and the vernacular language now dominated the scene. Jayarmadatta of Banepā (C. 1496 A. D.) composed a drama called *Pāndava Vijaya* or the *Sabhāparvanāṭaka.* He was possibly a contemporary of Vidyāpati. The court of Katmandu was the centre of Maithila scholars among whom Vaṁśamani Jha was the foremost. [126] Jagajyottirmalla's *Muditakuvalayāśwa* is very important even from the historical point of view as it contains a good deal of information regarding the history of Nepal and Mithilā. The first Maithili drama, entitled *Vidyāvilāpa,* by Viśvamalla, was written at Bhatgaon in the first quarter of the 16th century A. D. The Nepali Maithili drama, based on the Sanskrit tradition, was throughly influenced by the Mithilā school of Music. The contributions, in this respect, of the Malla rulers of Nepal are outstanding and the Maithili dramas continued to be written with vigour and enthusiasm till the close of the 18th century A. D.

Since the days of Caṇḍeśvara, Maithila *Nibandhakāras* were invited to frame laws and rules and the contact between the two countries became close and intimate. Maithila scholars gained access to the court. The smaller Zemindars on the Indo-Nepalese borders also patronised literary and cultural activity. Nepali scholars imitated Maithili in their own compositions. Vidyāpati was a great force in Nepal. The Malla kings employed musicians to set his songs to music. Vidyāpati had a host of successors in Nepal. Many Maithila

125. Cf. *JASB* (N. S.) XVIII (1922) P. 253 ff; XX. P. 73 ff; Also Cf. P. C. Bagchi—*Nepali Bhāṣanāṭaka* in the *Vangiya Sāhitya Pariśad Patrikā* of B. S. 1336; Nani Gopal *Nepāli Bhāṣā Nāṭaka;* Also Dr. U. Miśra's article on the same topic in the *Hindustāni* (1935).

126. He was the author of Maithili Dramas—गीतदिगम्बर and मुदितमदालसा ।

musicians and poets were invited and appointed. Siṁhabhupāla or Bhupālasiṁha (author of *Sangitaratnākara* and *Rasārnavasudhākara*) is believed to be earliest Maithili writer of Nepal. He is sometimes confused with Siddhi Narasiṁha of Patan whose poems are collected in the *RT*. He was a great poet and dramatist and is believed to have been a descendant of Harisiṁhadeva. Maithili acquired the status of a dignified language at Bhatgaon, Patan and Katmandu.

Maithili's influence on the Assamese

The rise of Maithili in the age of Vidyāpati influenced the course of literary movements of the whole of eastern India and its influence on the Assamese was more pronounced and marked. The relation between Assam and Mithilā in the middle ages was very intimate and cordial. The Bengal Vaiṣṇava preachers had popularised Maithili through their songs and the message of Vidyāpati was carried to Orissa and Assam by these Vaiṣṇava teachers, Mr. B. K. Barua in his *Assamese Literature* has shown that Śaṁkaradeva was responsible for the propagation of Vaiṣṇavism in Assam. He further suggests that he was influenced by the Maithili language (P. 21). The Assamase dramatists also used Maithili as their medium.[127] Barua says—".....*a common language was formed at mithilā, the great centre of this neo-Viṣṇavism. Maithili.....soon became the language of a definite literature. Through his emotional and lyrical songs, Vidyāpati made the language an eminently suitable and exclusive vehicle of expession for the Vaiṣṇava poets of his time.....Scholars from Kāmarupa also visited Mithilā and learnt the language.*"[128] Śaṁkaradeva is credited with having written a number of dramas in Maithili. He also wrote a drama, *Pārijātaharaṇa*. His story is different from that of Umāpati. Śaṁkara's play is in Maithili.[129] His chief disciple, Mādhavānanda, also wrote in Maithili. He

127. Cf. B. K. Barua—Introductions to *Aṅkia Nāṭ*-PP. 5, 24, 25.

128. *Ibid*—PP. 5–6.

129. *Ibid*—PP. 15 ff-नाटक कलियादमन, रामविजय, रुक्मिणीहरण, केलि-गोपाल, पत्नी पसाद-are his important dramas.

was greatly influenced by the Tirahuti Vaiṣṇava saint, Viṣṇupuri and translated his work *Bhaktiratnāvali*. He also wrote a number of dramas in Maithili. All these dramas are associated with the Vaiṣṇava thought and movement and deal, mainly, with lord Kṛṣṇa. The next important writer in Maithili was Gopāladeva. One of the disciples of Saṁkaradeva is said to have written *Śyāmantaharaṇa*. It should be noted here that in these *Assamiya dramas*, we have not the pure Maithili of Vidyāpati but only a mixed from of Maithili and Assamese of which Saṁkaradeva was the greatest founder. One of the main features of the Assamese *Ankiānāṭas* is the use of long prose passages, a fact which is practically absent in the *Kīrtaniyā* dramas of Mithilā and the Maithili dramas of Nepal. Since the dramas in Assam were written purely with religious fervour and motive, we find therein different scales of emotions and solemnity aroused. The main aim is to inspire the audience with similar *Bhakti*.

IV

Conclusion—

The age of Vidyāpati left an indelible mark on the history of Mithilā. Mithilā was the centre of orthodoxy and in the field of *Nyāya* and Dharmaśāstra, she made her name all the world over. Being comparatively free from the then political upheavels she could afford to give protection to a large number of scholars from all over the country and could also devote much of her time in the pursuit of learning. The patronage of the local rulers to various branches of learning and culture stimulated and accentuated the growth of Sanskritic studies with renewed vigour. A study of the history of Mithilā, during the period, has an important bearing for an adequate understanding of the life and culture of the people of Mithilā and Bengal. The intellectual renaissance in Mithilā was an important event in the middle ages. In almost all branches of cultural activity, Mithilā made unique contributions. The contemporary court of Mithilā was engrossed in luxurious enjoyment of literature and art and D. C. Sen has frankly admitted that the civilisation of Bengal came from Mithilā at a time when Magadh had ceased to give light. Nānya-

deva's contribution to dramaturgy is unique in the sense that he introduced much new matter in the treatment of *Jātis* and *Rāgas*, not usually found in Bharata. The traditional music of Mithilā largely influenced the music of Nepal and Assam. In the field of lyrics, Mithila had no rival in the age of Vidyāpati. Mithila's folklore was equally rich in tradition and the folk art had attained perfection. The establishment of Tuljāshrine at Nepal is ascribed to a ruler of Mithilā. [130]

In the realm of Maithili language, the age was really fortunate. After the decline of the classical languages, Maithili was the first to give vernacular dignity of literary vehicle in the whole of eastern India. The lyrics of Vidyāpati constituted an important landmark in the history of early Maithili literature. He took by storm a large number of his contemporaries. There developed the Brajabuli language as a half way house between Bengali and Maithili and between Assamese and Maithili. The popularity of Vidyāpati's songs has gradually established him in the imagination of the Bengal and Assam Vaiṣṇavas. They consider Vidyāpati as a *Mahājana*. Vidyāpati overshadows all vernacular singers. His flight of imagination is a brilliant poetic feat and according to Grierson his songs of sensuality and lust are a strange combination of holy and unholy, earthly and heavenly.

The medieval period was the golden age in the literary history of Mithilā since many of the illustrious names in the field of literature, philosophy and *Smṛti* flourished during this period. Not only Mithilā but the whole of India is rightly proud of these luminaries in different branches of knowledge. From here flowed the eternal light of learning and the place was the much frequented resort of the refugee scholars for centuries. Even when their political sovereignty was a thing of the past, they succeeded in maintaining their cultural tradition to a great extent. The people of Mithilā changed with the time. Caṇḍeśvara proposed that simply by an obligation to pay tribute to an overlord, sovereignty does not cease. Sovereignty can also subsist where overlord-

130. *JASB* (Letters) XVI. P. 186 ff.

ship consists only in demanding regular tribute. His *ratnakaras* have influenced the social system of Mithilā. The sixteen *Saṁskāras* of the *Gṛhyasūtras* were reduced to ten during this period. For that purpose various *paddhatis* (systems) were compiled and they ultimately replacedt he *Gṛhyasūtras*. Rigours were imposed on social intercourse among different castes and classes and people were expected to conform to the codes laid down for the purpose. The grip of feudalism was so strong that it was difficult to pronounce any ideal of equality. Vidyāpati made poetry an integral part of life and he drew his imageries from the contemporary system.

APPENDIX-I

अथ विद्यापतिविरचितो

विभागसारः

VIBHĀGASĀRA

(an Unpublished Work)

by

VIDYĀPATI

(Being a Treatise on the Law of Inheritance)

Edited with the help of Shri Mahesh Mishra of Awadh Bihari Sanskrit College, Rahimpur, and for some time a colleague of mine at G. D. College, Begusarai.

It is printed here for the first time. The poet compiled this work and thereby secured a place among the Nibandhaka–ras of Mithila. The work is referred to as being of prime importance by all the legal luminaries.

अथ विद्यापति विरचितो
विभागसारः

॥ ॐ नमो गणेशाय ॥

गंगा मेऽसौ ममापि प्रथय कथमहो वैष्णवीति प्रसिद्धेः
किन्वास्यामेस्ति[1] भोगः स तु भवतु तथा भेदभाजः प्रमाणम् ।
भिन्नोऽहं कोऽत्र साक्षी विधिरिति विधिना सस्मितं वीक्ष्यमाणौ
पायास्तां निर्विवादौ सपदि हरिहरौ व्यङ्गमात्रोत्तरान्नः ॥ १ ॥
राज्ञो भवेशाद्धरिसिंह आसीत्तत्सूनुना दर्पनरायणेन ।
राज्ञा नियुक्तोऽत्र विभागसारं विचार्य विद्यापतिरातनोति ॥ २ ॥

अथ विभागः

तत्र नारदः—

विभागोऽर्थस्य पित्र्यस्य पुत्रैर्मात्र[2] प्रकल्प्यते । दायभाग इति प्रोक्तं तद्विवादपदं बुधैः ॥

पुत्रैरित्युपलक्षणम् । पूर्वस्वामिसम्बन्धादेव निमित्तात्तत्र स्वत्वं स दायः । स्वत्वं तु पूर्वस्वामिस्वत्वनाशादेव । तत्र मुख्यकालमाह **मनुः—**

ऊर्ध्वं पितुश्च मातुश्च समेत्य भ्रातरः समः[3] । भजेरन्[4] पैतृकं रिक्थमनीशास्ते हि जीवतोः ॥

सर्वमिदमुपलक्षणं पितामहादेरपि पौत्रादयोऽपि । पैतामहादिकमपि विभजेरन्नित्यर्थः ।

शंखः—

अकामे पितरि रिक्थभागो वृद्धे विपरीतचेतसि । योगिनिरेति[5] । विपरीतचेतसि विक्लवप्रांकरणे[6] ।

देवलः ।

पितर्युपरते पुत्रा विभक्तेयुर्द्धनं[7] पितुः । अस्वाम्यं हि भवेदेषां निर्दोषे पितरि स्थिते ॥

निर्दोषे पातित्यादिदोषरहिते । तथा च पितुः स्वातन्त्र्यविषयो धनं मृते पितरि विभक्तनीयम् ।[8] एवं मातृधनमपि पैतृकमित्यत्रैकशेषात्[9] ।

नारदः—

पितुर्युपरते पुत्रा विभक्तेयुर्द्धनं[10] पितुः । मातुर्दुहितरोऽभावे दुहितृणान्तदन्वयः ॥

अत्रोभयत्राभावान्वयः । तेन पुत्राभावे दुहितरः तदभावे तदन्वय इति सम्प्रदायः । केचित्तु मातुर्धनं दुहितृणामेवेति तन्न ।

"जनन्यां संस्थितायान्तु समं सर्वे सहोदराः ।
भक्तेरन् मातृकं ऋक्थं भगिन्यश्च सलामयः[11] ॥" इति

मनुवचनेन विशेषाभिधानात् । मृतपितृकादिविभागेन विशोद्धारादिनियमः । सममित्यभिधानात् । पारिजातहलायुधमते सममिति स्थाने सहेति पाठः । तेन नात्राऽपि विंशोद्धारादीत्यर्थः । **शंखलिखितौ** । अत ऊर्ध्वमृक्थभाजो न जीवनि पुत्रा रिक्थं विभक्तेरन् ।[12]

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१. "किन्वस्याम् मेऽस्ति" इति शुद्धपाठः । २. पुत्रैर्यत्र । ३. भजेरन् ।
४. समम् समाः वा । ५. योगिनि पितरीति । ६. विक्लान्त-करणे ।
७. विभजेयुर्धनं । ८. विभजनीयम् । ९. "पितामात्रे"त्येकशेषात् ।
१०. विभजेयुर्द्धनं । ११. सनाभयः । १२. विभजेरन् ।

यद्यपि स्यात् पश्चादधिगतं तैरनर्हा एव पुत्रा अर्थधर्मयोरस्वातन्त्र्यात्। स्वार्जितस्यापि जीवति पितरि न पुत्रेच्छया विभाग इत्यर्थः। **मनुः**।

ज्येष्ठ एव तु गृह्णीयात् पित्र्यं धनमशेषतः।
शेषास्तु स्वमुपजीवेयुर्य्यथैव[1] पितरन्तथा॥ इत्यादि

वाक्यं सहवासपरं पुनरग्रे विभागदर्शनात्। तदाह।

एवं सहवसेयुर्वा पृथग्वा धर्मकाम्यया। पृथग्विवर्द्धते धर्मस्तस्माद्धर्म्या पृथक् क्रिया॥

मृते पितरि तज्ज्येष्ठं पुरस्कृत्य[2] वसेयुर्द्धर्मार्थं वा विभजेरन्। धर्मवृद्धौ युक्तिमाह **बृहस्पतिः—**

एकपाकेन वसतां पितृदेवद्विजार्चनम्। एकं भवेद्विभक्तानां तदेव स्याद् गृहे गृहे॥

अविभक्तधनेन साधारणमेव पुण्यं विभक्तधनेन[3] साधारणं पुण्यमित्यर्थः। इति मृतपितृकविभागः।

पुत्रा विभक्तेर[4]न्नित्यधिकृत्य नारदः।

मातुर्निवृत्ते रक्तसि प्रत्तास्व[5]भगिनीषु च। निवृत्ते वापि रमणे पितर्य्युपरते गृहे॥

प्रत्तासु विवाहितासु पितापुत्रयोः सतोः पितामहे मृते तद्धने याज्ञवल्क्यः।

तुर्य्या पितमहो पाता निबद्धो द्रव्यमेव वा। तत्र स्यात्सदृशं स्वाम्यं पितुः पुत्रस्य चोभयोः॥

बृहस्पतिः।

द्रव्ये पितामहोपात्ते स्थावरे जंगमे तथा। सममंशिमुभाख्यातं[6] पितुः पुत्रस्य चोभयोः॥

अत्र पुत्रेच्छयापि विभागः। पितुरनर्जितत्वात्। तेन जीवत्यपि पितरि विभागः कर्तुं शक्यत इति स्मृतिसारः। रत्नाकरमते तु नात्रांशाधिक्यं न वा समांशिनः।

विष्णुः—

पिता चेत्पुत्रान्विभजेत् स्वेच्छया स्वयमुपात्तेऽर्थे। अत्र समविषमभागे पितुरिच्छा अपि विभजेत स्वयम्। सर्ववा स्वयं गृह्णीयात् इति स्मृतिसारः। स्वार्जितं कथमपि स्वीभूतम्। गृहस्थकाण्डे कल्पतरुरत्नाकरादौ स्पष्टम्। एवमुद्धृते पितुरिच्छयैव विभागः।

तदाह मनुः—

पैतृकन्तु पिता द्रव्यमनवाप्तं यदाप्नुयात्। न तत् पुत्रैर्भजेत्सार्द्धमकामः स्वयमर्जितम्॥

तथा

पैतामहं हृतं पित्र्यं[7] स शक्त्या यदुपार्जितम्।
विद्याशौर्यादिना प्राप्तं तत्र स्वाम्यं पितुः स्मृतम्॥
प्रदानं स्वेच्छया कुर्य्याद् भागं चैव ततो धनात्।
तदभावे तु तनयाः समांशाः परिकीर्तिताः॥[8]

पितामहेन परहृतं नोद्धृतम्। पितामहादितो धनमादाय स्वशक्त्या यदुद्धृतं तस्य दानादि पिता स्वेच्छया कुर्य्यादित्यर्थः। यदा तु तद्धनोपश्लेषेणार्जितं तदा स्वतन्त्रसम्बन्धात्तदपि पितामहधनमेव। पितामहे मृते तद्धनेन पितुरिच्छया दानादि द्वयोरप्यर्जितत्वात्

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१. शेषास्तमुपजीवेयुर्यं थैव। २. पुरस्कृत्य। ३. विभक्तधनेनासाधारणम्।
४. विभजेरन्। ५. प्रत्तासु। ६. सममंशित्वमाख्यातम्।
७. पित्र्यं। ८. मनुः द्रष्टव्यः।

तथा च स्वार्जिते स्वोद्धृते च पितुरिच्छा पुत्राणामत्रैवानीशतेति संक्षेपः । अत्रैव **याज्ञवल्क्यः**—

यदि कुर्य्यात्समानांशात्पत्न्यः कार्य्याः समांशिकाः ।
न दत्तं स्त्रीधनं यासां भर्त्तार्या स्वस्तवे न वा ॥

दत्ते त्वर्द्धं प्रकल्पयेदिति । पितुः कर्तृत्वेनोपात्तत्वात् तत्प्रतियोगिकमेव पत्नीत्वमवगम्यते । यदा त्विच्छया विभजेदिति श्रवणात् स्वयमधिकं गृह्णाति पुत्रेभ्यः किञ्चिद्दत्त्वा अंशं स्वयं वा गृह्णाति तदंश एव पत्न्यः । अतएव यदि कुर्य्यात्समानांशानीत्युक्तं भातृपत्नीत्वे दृष्टतार्थता स्यात् । **हारीतः** । स्वल्पेन वा विभज्य भूयिष्ठमादाय वसेत् यदुपदश्येत् पुनस्तेभ्यो गृह्णीयात् । उपदश्येत् निर्धनो भवेदित्यर्थः । पितुरस्वार्जिते तु **नारदः** ।

द्वावंशौ प्रतिपद्येत विभजन्नात्मनः पिता ।

तत्रैव शंखलिखितौ—

यद्येकपुत्रः स्याद् द्वावंशावात्मनः कुर्य्यात् ।

द्विचतुष्पदेषु रूपमधिकं[1] वृषभो ज्येष्ठाय गृहं यवीयसे अन्यत्र पितुरवस्थानात् । **आपस्तम्बः** । एकधनेन ज्येष्ठं तोषयित्वा जीवत्पुत्रेभ्यो विभजेत्समम् । जीवत्पदान्मृतस्य पत्न्या भागो नास्ति मृतस्य पुत्रस्तु स एव "आत्मा वै जायते पुत्रः" इत्यभिधानात् । वाच्यान्तरात् पत्न्या अप्यस्तु मा वास्तु एकपुत्रो ज्येष्ठपुत्रोऽर्जनयोग्यः । अन्यथा तु सममेव गृह्णीयात् । संख्यापरत्वेनानुत्तरपदं विभज्येत् । एकधनेनेत्यादिः तथा च स्वार्जिते पितुरिच्छावचनबलात् । पैतामहे तु पितुरिच्छयैव न विभागः पुत्रांशित्वादिति विधिः ।

तथापि पितृकृतो विषमोऽपि विभागः प्रमाणं न्यायात् । न च

द्रव्ये पितामहोपात्ते स्थावरे जंगमे तथा ।
सममंशित्वमाख्यातं पितुः पुत्रस्य चोभयोः ॥ इत्यादिवचने

समपदोपादानात् समविभाग एवेति वाच्यम् । सविशेषणानां वृत्तिप्रवृत्तस्य[2] च विशेषणयोगो नेत्युक्तेः । सममंशित्वे विशेषणं भवितुमर्हति नत्वंशे । तेनांशितामात्रावगमात् । अन्यथा "द्वावंशौ प्रतिपद्येत विभजन्नात्मनः पिता" ।

यद्येकपुत्रः स्याद्द्वावंशावात्मनः कुर्यादिति नारदशंखलिखितवचनविरोधः स्यादेव ।

मनुः—

भ्रातृणामविभक्तानां यद्युत्थानं भवेत्सह । न तत्र विषमं भागं पिता दद्यात् कथञ्चन ॥

अभ्युत्थानमर्जनं विषमभागो न निषेधात् । नात्र पितुर्द्वयंशः । तथा नोद्धारो ज्येष्ठस्य । **मनुः**—

ज्येष्ठस्य विंश उद्धारः सर्वद्रव्याच्च यद्वरम् । ततोऽर्द्धमध्यमसास्या[3] उदीयस्तु यवीयसः ॥

तथा सर्वेषां धनजातामाददीताग्र्यमग्रजः[4] । यच्च सातिशयं किञ्चिद्दशतश्चाप्नुयाद्धनम् ॥

बौधायनः—

दशानाञ्चैकमुद्धरेज्ज्येष्ठः सममितरे भजेरन् । पितुरिक्थहराः पुत्राः सर्व एव समांशतः ॥

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१. रूपमधिके ।

२. सविशेषणानां वृत्तिर्न वृत्तस्य च विशेषणयोगो नेत्युक्तेः ।

३. ततोऽर्द्धं मध्यमस्य स्यात् उदीयस्तु कनीयसः ।

४. सर्वेषां धनजातानामाददीताग्र्यमग्रजः ।

वि···कर्मयुतस्तेषाम्[1] धिकं लब्धुमर्हति ।
ज्येष्ठस्य न्यायवृत्तस्य दशमं भागमाहरेत्" ॥ इति ।

सर्वमेतत् पितुरिच्छाप्राबल्यप्रकाशनार्थं पितृकृतो विभागो नान्यथा करणीयम् । तदाह **बृहस्पतिः—**

समन्यूनाधिकाः भागाः पित्रा येषां प्रकल्पिताः ।
तथैव ते पालनीयाः पतिताः स्युरतोऽन्यथा ॥

पिता यस्य प्रथमं मुखं पश्यति स प्रथमापत्यं पुमान् ज्येष्ठः ।

जन्मविद्यागुणज्येष्ठो द्वंशं दायमवाप्नुयात् । समांशभागिनस्तुल्ये[2] तेषां पितृसमो हि सः ॥

तथा च—

पितृरिक्थहराः पुत्राः सर्व एव यथांशतः । विद्याकर्मयुतस्तेषामधिकं लब्धुमर्हति ॥

व्यासः—

साधारणं समाश्रित्य यत् किञ्चिद्वाहनादिकम् ।
धनं शौर्यादिना प्राप्तं भ्रातरस्तत्र भागिनः ॥
तस्य भागद्वयं दत्त्वा शेषास्तु समभागिनः ।

वशिष्ठः—येन तेषां यत्स्वयमुपार्जितं द्वयंशमाहरेत् । द्वयंशभाक् जन्मविद्यागुणे ज्येष्ठः । युगपदेवेत्यर्थः । विद्ययैव चेत्तदाधिकभागीति । साधारणद्रव्येणार्जकः द्वयंशभागेव ।

नारदः—

कुटुम्बार्थे चोपयुक्तस्तत् कार्यं कुरुते च यः । स भ्रातृभिर्गृह्णीयो[3] ग्रासच्छादनवाहनैः ॥

किञ्चिद्देयमित्यर्थः । **याज्ञवल्क्यः—**

विभजेरन् सुताः पित्रोरूर्ध्वं मृक्थमृणं समम् । सामान्यार्थसमुत्थाने विभागस्तु सभः स्मृतः ॥

समुत्थानं वर्द्धनं । नात्र वर्द्धनकर्तुरधिको भागः । इदं तुल्यार्जनपरम् । अन्यथा वशिष्ठवचनविरोधः ।

अनेकपितृकाणां तु पितृतो भागकल्पना ।

अस्यार्थः । अविभक्तमृतानां भ्रातॄणां यद्येकस्यैक एकस्य च हरः पुत्राः[4] अन्तमैकं[5] धनवर्द्धनकारिणोऽपि स्वं स्वं पितृभागमेव गृह्णन्ति नाधिकमिति ।

नारदः—

कुटुम्बार्थेषु चोपयुक्तस्तत्[6] कार्यं कुरुते च यः । स भ्रातृभिर्गृह्णीयो[7] ग्रासच्छादनवाहनैः ॥

कुटुम्बभरणप्रवृत्तस्य अन्नादिना समभागो भ्रातृभिर्यथांशतत्कार्यसम्पादनं कर्तव्यम् ।

मनुः—

भ्रातॄणां यस्तु नैहेत धनं शक्तः स्वकर्मणा । स निर्भाज्यः स्वकादंशात् किञ्चिदुत्सोपजीवनम् ॥

यः शक्तः स्वभागं परित्यजेत । सोऽपि किञ्चिदुत्सैव निर्भाक् कर्तव्ये विभागनिर्णयाय । अन्यथा तत् पुत्रादीनां दायविवादः स्यादेव । अत्रैवार्थे पूर्वोक्तनारदवचनानि । **हलायुधः—** प्रकाशेन यो भागिषु[8] धनार्थं व्यापृतेष्वालस्यादिना व्याप्रियते स व्यापारजनिताद्धनाद्बहिः कार्यो मूलधनमात्रभागीत्यर्थमनुवचनं व्याख्यातम् ।

कात्यायनः—

अविभक्ते निजे प्रेते तत्सुतं रिक्थभागिनम् । कुर्वीत जीवनं येन लब्धं नैव पितामहात् ॥
लभेतांशं स पित्र्यन्तं पितृव्याद्वापि तत्सुतात् । स एवांशस्तु सर्वेषां भ्रातॄणां न्यायतो भवेत् ॥

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१. विद्याकर्मयुतस्तेषाम्·····। २. समांशभागिनस्त्वन्ये। ३. स भ्रातृभिरनुग्राह्यो। ४. चत्वारः पुत्राः। ५. अन्योन्यं। ६. चोपयुक्तस्तत्। ७. स भ्रातृभिरनुग्राह्यो। ८. भ्रातृषु।

लभेत तत्सुतो वापि निवृत्तिः परतो भवेत् ।

मृतस्य पुत्रः पौत्रश्च पितृव्यादितः भागं लभेत तथा च प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तं भागः । तदुत्तरं निवृत्तिरिति इदं सहवासपरं पाकादिना विभक्तः[1] । अलब्धभागस्तत्रेयं व्यवस्था समोपभोग-कर्त्तुस्तद्धनस्वामिनो भागाभावे न्यायाभावात् । **देवलः—**

अविभक्तविभक्तानां कुल्यानां वसतां सह । भूयो दायविभागः स्यादाचतुर्थादिति स्थितिः ॥

विभक्तानामपि सं···दौ[2] सहवासमाचतुर्थादित्यर्थः ।

वशिष्ठः—

अथ भ्रातॄणां दायं भागो याश्चानपत्यः[3] स्त्रियस्तासाञ्चापुत्रलाभात् । यदि पुत्रो नास्ति तदा सगर्भ्या तेषां पत्नीभागं लभते ; न चेत् पुत्रो भवेत्तदा देवरादिभिर्भागो ग्राह्यः । एवं पितर्य्यपि न्यायसाम्यात् । **बृहस्पतिः—**

तदभावे तु जननी तनयांशसमांशिनी । समांशा मातरे स्वेषां तुरीयांशा च कन्यका ॥

पितुरभावे पुत्रवती जननीमातरस्ताः पुत्रसमांशिन्यः । अविवाहिता भगिन्यः भ्रात्रंश-तुरीयांशभाजः । **नारदः—**

येषान्तु न कृताः पूर्वं संस्कारविधयः क्रमात् । कर्तव्या भ्रातृभिस्तेषां पैतृकादेव तद्धनात् ॥

अविद्यमाने पित्रर्थं स्वांशादुद्धृत्य वा पुनः । अवश्यकार्यः[4] संस्कारा भ्रातृणां[5] पूर्वसंस्कृतैः ॥

अवश्यकार्या इत्यनेनोपनयनान्ताः संस्कारा ग्राह्याः ।

व्यासः—

अस्वतन्त्राः पितुः पत्न्यो[6] समांशा परिकीर्तिताः । पितामह्यश्च ता सर्वा मातृतुल्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः—

पितुरूर्ध्वं विभजतां माताप्यंशे समं लभेत ।

एता अप्यंशिन्यः । अत्रायमर्थः । विभागेऽवीराणामेतासामेवं भागो देय एव सर्वे वेरापश्यमेतव्यत्वादयं धर्मः[7] । **कात्यायन—**

प्रच्छादितन्तु यद्धेन पुनरागत्य तत्समम् । भक्तेरन[8] भ्रातृभिः सार्द्धमभावे तु पितुः सुताः ॥

अन्योन्यापहृतं द्रव्यं दुर्विभक्तञ्च यच्छरेत् । पश्चात् प्राप्तन्तु विभजेत् समभागेन त···गुः[9] ॥

प्रच्छादितं विभागकाले गुप्तम् । अन्योन्यापहृतं सुखेच्छया गृहीतम् । दुर्विभक्तं न्यायं विना विभक्तम् ।

क्षेत्रं साधारणं त्यक्त्वा योऽन्यशोदंश समाश्रितः । तदंशस्यागतस्यांशः प्रदातव्यो न संशयः ॥

क्षेत्रं यत्र कृषगद्युत्पत्तिः ।[11]

तृतीयः पञ्चमो वापि सप्तमो वापि यो भवेत् । जन्म नाम परिज्ञाने लभेतांशं क्रमागतम् ॥

इदं देशान्तरगतविषयम् । तथा ।

स[12] एव यः परम्परया यौनाः सामन्ताः[13] स्वामिनं विदुः ।
तदन्वयस्यागतस्य दातव्या गोत्रजैर्महो ॥

इति विभागव्यवस्था ।

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१. विभागः । २. संस्कारादौ । ३. याश्चानपत्न्याः । ४. अवश्यकार्याः ।
५. भ्रातृभिः । ६. पत्न्यः । ७. विभागेऽविभागानामेतासामेव भागो देय एव । सर्वे समांशभागित्वादयं धर्मः । ८. भजेरन् । ९. यद्भवेत् । १०. तत्पुनः ।
११. कृष्याद्युत्पत्तिः । १२. त एव ये । १३. यावन्तः ।

अथ भागानर्हाः

तत्रापस्तम्बः—

यस्त्वधर्मेण द्रव्याणि प्रतिपादयति ज्येष्ठेऽपि तं भागं कुर्वंति। समद्रयी ज्येष्ठः। गोतमोऽपि[1] सवर्णजोऽपि पुत्रोऽन्यायप्रवृत्तो न लभते भागमिति अन्यायप्रवृत्तो विध्यतिक्रमी। **बृहस्पतिः—**

सवर्णजोऽप्यगुणवान्नार्हः स्यात् पैतृके धने। तत्सपिण्डाः[2] श्रोत्रियाये[3] धनन्तेषां विधीयते॥

गुणसामान्यभावो विषयः।

मनुः—

सर्व एव विकर्मस्था नार्हन्ति भ्रातरो धनम्।

विकर्मस्था असद्विरुद्धकर्मकराः। **शंखः**। अपपात्रितस्य रिक्थपिण्डोदकानि निवर्तन्ते। नृपसिंहसनादि[4]-महोत्कटपातेन[5] ज्ञातिभिः कृतवटापवर्जनः स पिण्डदानेऽपि नाधिकारीति विशेषः। **मनुः—**

अनंशौ[6] क्लीव पतितौ जात्यन्धबधिरौ[7] तथा। उन्मत्तजडमूकाश्च ये च केचिन्निरिन्द्रियाः॥
सर्वेषामपितन्यायं[8] दातुं शक्या मनीषिणा। ग्रासाच्छादनमुत्पन्नं पतितो ह्यदतद्भवेत्॥
यद्यर्थिता तु दारेस्यात्स्त्रीरादीनां कथञ्चन। तेषामुत्पन्नतन्दूनामपत्यन्दायमर्हति॥

कृनीया[9] अनेकप्रकाराः। येषां पुत्रोत्पादनशक्तिस्तेषां क्षेत्रजापत्यमपि सम्भवति। तेन नातद्गुणसंविज्ञानबहुव्रीहिः। निरिन्द्रिया पाणिपादादिरहिताः श्रोताद्ययोग्यत्वाद्दायानर्हाः। इति पर्यवसितार्थः पतितोत्पादातिरिक्ता पतितोरसपुत्राभागार्हाः।

याज्ञवल्क्यः—

पतितस्तत्सुतः क्लीबः पङ्गुरुन्मत्तको जडः। अन्धोऽचिकित्सरोगार्तो भर्तव्यास्तु निवंशकाः॥

असाध्यरोगादिमाननर्हः।

उरस[10] क्षेत्रजास्वेषां निर्दोषा दायहारिणः। सुता स्वेषां प्रभर्त्तव्या यावद्वै भर्तृसात्कृताः॥

उरसाः पूर्वोत्पन्नो[11] न तुरजाः। उत्तरजा अपि भर्त्तव्याः। सुताः अन्ये प्रभर्त्तव्याः।

निर्दोषाः साधुवृत्तयः।

अपुत्रा योषितभ्यैव[12] भर्तव्या साधुवृत्तयः। निर्वास्या व्यभिचारिण्यः प्रतिकूलास्तथैव च॥

प्रतिकूला विषादिना प्राणहरणप्रवृत्ताः।

नारदः—

पितृद्विट् पतितो पण्डो यश्च स्यादपपातितः। उरसा अपि नैतेऽशं लभेरन् क्षेत्रजाः कुतः॥

पितृद्विट् पितृताडनादिप्रीतिकारी श्राद्धादिविमुखश्च।

तीव्रदीर्घामयग्रस्ता जडोन्मत्तान्धपङ्गवः। भर्त्तव्याः स्युः कुलस्यैते तत्पुत्रास्त्वंशभागिनः॥

तथा देवलः—

मृते पितरि न क्लीवकुष्ठोन्मत्तजडान्धकाः। पतितः पतितापत्यं लिङ्गी दायांशभागिनः॥
तेषां पतितवर्ज्जानां भक्तवस्त्रं प्रदीयते। तत्पुत्राः पितृदायांशं लभेरन् दोषवर्जिताः॥

मृते इत्युपलक्षणम्। लिङ्गीरतिकपटव्रती[13]। दोषाः पूर्वोक्ताः। **वशिष्ठः**—अनंशा आशुमान्ततः आशुमान्तरं गार्हस्थ्यात्। **कात्यायनः—**

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१. गोत्रजोऽपि। २. तत्सपिण्डैः। ३. श्रोत्रियाय। ४. नृपहिंसनादि। ५. च। ६. अपंगो। ७. वधिरस्तथा। ८. सर्वेषामपि तु न्यायं। ९. क्लीबा। १०. औरस। ११ पूर्वोत्पन्नाः। १२. योषितश्चैव। १३. लिङ्गी अतिकपटव्रती।

अक्रमो···सुतश्चैव[1] सगोत्रादयश्च जायते । प्रव्रज्या वसितश्चैव न सक्यं तेषु कर्हिचित् ॥

यस्य यः शास्त्रीत्या विवाहस्तदतिक्रमेणोद्वायाः[2] सुतः प्रव्रज्यावसितः । अत्र पूर्वोक्तानुपसंहारः ।[3] विरुद्धकर्मा अपपात्रः पतितः क्लीवः । अचिकित्सरोगः[4] अन्धो बधिरः उन्मत्तजडः मूकः पाणिपादविहीनः कुष्ठादिमान् पितृद्वेषी राजयक्ष्मी कपटव्रती आश्रमान्तरगामी एते भागानर्हाः । पातित्यपूर्वकालजनितः[5] पूर्वोक्तदोषरहिताः एतेषां पुत्रा भागार्हाः ।

अथासंस्कृतसंस्कारः

तत्र **व्यासः**—

असंस्कृतास्तु ये तत्र पैतृकादेव तद्धनात् । संस्कार्या भ्रातृभिर्ज्येष्ठैः कन्यायाश्च यथाविधि ॥

तथा च **नारदः**—

येषान्तु न कृताः पित्रा संस्कारविधयः क्रमात् । कर्तव्या भ्रातृभिस्तेषां पैतृकादेव तद्धनात् ॥
अविद्यमाने पित्र्यें स्वांशादुद्धृत्य वा पुनः । अवश्यकार्याः संस्कारा भ्रातृभिः पूर्वसंस्कृतैः ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः—

असंस्कृतास्तु संस्कार्या भ्रातृभिः पूर्वसंस्कृतैः । भगिन्यश्च स्वकादंशाद्दत्त्वांशन्तु तुरीयकम् ॥

देवलः—

कन्यार्थन्तु पितृद्रव्यं देयं वैवाहिकं वसु । अपुत्रस्य तु कन्यार्थं धर्मतः पुत्रवद्धरेत् ॥

मनुः—

स्वेभ्यः स्वेभ्यस्तु कन्याभ्यः प्रदत्तमृतरः पृथक् । स्वात्स्वोदंशाच्च[6] तुर्भागं पतित्स्युरदित्सवः ॥

असंस्कृतस्य संस्कृतज्येष्ठैः संस्कारः कार्यः । पितृधनाभावे स्वार्जितधनेनापि । अनेन विभागप्रतिबन्धकत्वं नास्ति किन्तु संस्कारार्थं द्रव्यदानस्यैवावश्यकत्वं प्रतिबन्धकाभिधानाभावात् । एवमनूढायाः कन्यायाः पितृधनात् स्वधनाद्वा तुरीयो भागो भ्रातृभिर्देयः । स्वेभ्यः स्वेभ्यः सजातीयभ्रातृभ्यः । भ्रातृपदमुपलक्षणम् । तत् पितुर्धनग्राहकमात्रं तद्धनस्वामिनस्तत्पितुस्तदेवावश्यकर्तव्यत्वात् तत्र तस्या अप्यंशित्वाच्चेत्यपरे । अत्र चतुर्थभागस्यानावश्यकत्वं यावता संस्कारनिर्वाहस्तावद्देयम् । अनूढानान्तु[7] कन्यानां वित्तानुसारेण संस्कारं कुर्यात् इति विष्णुवचनात् ।

शंखः—

विभज्यमाने दायादे कन्यालंकारं वैवाहिकं स्त्रीधनं लभेत् । **तथा बौधायनः**—

मातुरलंकारं दुहितरः दायिकं लभेरन् । तद्द्रव्याभावे यावतानिर्वाहस्तावदेतन्निर्वाहार्थम् देयम् । चतुर्थभागो बहुधनत्व इति केचित् ।

देवलः—

कन्यार्थन्तु पितृद्रव्यं देयं वैवाहिकं वसु । अपुत्रस्य च कन्यार्थं धर्मतः पुत्रवद्धरेत् ॥
विभक्ताया अनूढाया[8] वैवाहिकं देयं । तत्र कन्यापदोपादानात् ।

अथ विभाज्यम्

कात्यायनः—

पैतामहञ्च पित्र्यञ्च यच्चान्यत् स्वयमार्जितम् । दायादानां विभागे तु सर्वमेतद्विभज्यते ॥

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१. अक्रमो असुतश्चैव । २. क्रमेणोद्वायाः । ३. पूर्वोक्तानामुपसंहारः ।
४. अचिकित्स्य रोगः । ५. पूर्वकालजनिताः । ६. स्वात्स्वादंशाच्च ।
७. अनूढानान्तु । ८. अनूढाया ।

स्वयमर्जितं पितृद्रव्योपश्लेषेणार्जितम्। अत्र विशेषमाह—

नारदः—

यच्छिष्टं पितृदायेभ्यो तद्दत्तुं[1] पैतृकञ्च यत्। भातृभिस्तद्विभक्तव्यमृणी स्यादन्यथा पिता॥

पितृदायः पितृणं पित्रादत्तं स्वत्वमेव नास्ति तेन पित्रा दत्तं दातुमङ्गीकृतमित्यर्थः। इति विशेषोध्यावशिष्ट वण्टनीयम्।[2]

अथ विभाज्यम्

व्यासः—

पितामहेन यद्दत्तं पित्रा वा प्रीतिपूर्वकम्। तस्य तन्नापहर्तव्यं मात्रा दत्तञ्च यच्छरेत्॥[3]

तथा च **बृहस्पतिः—**

पितामहपितृभ्याञ्च दत्तं मात्रा च यद्भवेत्। तस्य तन्नापहर्तव्यं शौर्यभार्याधनन्तथा॥

इदं प्रीतिदत्तमविभाज्यम्। **नारदः—**

वैद्यो वैद्याय नाकामो दद्यादंशं स्वतो धनात्। पैत्र्यं समाश्रित्य न चैत्रं न तदाहृतम्॥

यदा वैद्यार्जितधनेनापि संसृष्टं तदा दद्यादेव। यदा वैद्योऽपि नार्जकस्तदा तस्यापि न देयम्। **मनुः—**

विद्या धनन्तु यद्यस्य तत्तस्यैव धनम्भवेत्। मैत्रमौद्वाहिकञ्चैव माधुपार्किकमेव च॥

मैत्रं मित्रपुरस्कारलब्धम्। माधुपार्किकमहर्णादि।

व्यासः—

अनाश्रित्य पितृद्रव्यं स्वंशज्याप्नोति[4] यद्धनम्। दायादेभ्यो न तद्दद्याद्विद्यया लब्धमेव च॥

एवं बहुवचनेभ्यो विद्यार्जितमविभाज्यम्। अत्र साधारणधनानुपश्लेषेण यदार्जितम् तदेवाविभाज्यमिति प्रकाशः। तद् दुक्तं विद्यालब्धमेवेत्यस्य वैयर्थ्यापत्तेः। तेनायमर्थः यद् विद्याकर्मकार्जने साधारणधनोपश्लेषस्तया विद्यार्जितम् विभाज्यम्। तदन्यया विद्यार्जितमविभाजनम्। एतदेव स्फुटयति **कात्यव्यनः—**

परमक्तप्रसादेन प्राप्तविद्यो यदान्यनः। तथा प्राप्तं तु यद्दित्तं विद्याप्राप्तन्तदुच्यते॥

कुले विनीतविद्यानां भ्रातृतः पितृतस्तथा। शौर्यप्राप्तन्तु यद्दित्तन्तद्विभाज्यं **बृहस्पतिः**॥

परान्नभोजनेन परतोऽधीतया विद्यया यदर्जयति तद्विभाज्यमेव। विद्या तु शस्त्रशास्त्रयोरिति। विद्याधनं विवृणोति स एव—

उपन्यस्तेषु यल्लब्धं विद्ययापणपूर्वकम्। विद्याधनन्तु तद्द्विधा विभागेन विभज्यते॥

शिष्यादार्त्विज्यतः प्रश्नात् संदिग्धप्रश्ननिर्णयात्।

स्वज्ञानशंसनाद्वादाल्लब्धं प्राध्यापनाच्च यत्। विद्याधनन्तु तत् प्राहुर्विभागे न विभज्यते॥

शिल्पेष्वपि हि धर्मोयं मूलाद्यच्चाधिकं भवेत्। विद्याप्रतिज्ञया लब्धमेतद्विद्याधनं **भृगुः**॥

एवं शिल्पेषु विद्यार्जितधनवद् व्यवहारः। अविभाज्यमिति तदर्जकेच्छयैव विभाग इत्यर्थः। आर्त्विज्यतः वरकरणादितः।[5] प्राध्यापनम् बहुविद्यत्वात्। अहमिमां विद्यां जानामीति विद्याप्रतिज्ञः।

नाविद्यानान्तु दैवेन देयं विद्याधनात् क्वचित्। स्वसमानाधिकविद्यानान्देयं दैवेन तद्धनम्॥

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१. यद्दत्तं। २. इति विशेषो ज्ञावश्यम् वण्टनीयम्। ३. यद्भवेत्।
४. स्वं स्वमाप्नोति। ५. चरकरणादितः।

अत्र स्वसमानाधिकविद्यत्वेन दानप्रयोजकेऽदृष्टार्थतापत्तेः । किन्तु तदार्ज्जितमिश्रणमित्यभिप्रायः । स्वल्पधनेनैव येन स्वविद्यया बहूर्जितं तस्याप्यधिकभागः स्यादेवार्जकत्वात् ।

कात्यायनः—

कुटुम्बं बिभ्रमाद् भ्रातुर्यो विद्यामधिगच्छतः । भागं विद्याधनात्तस्यात्[1] स लभेताश्रुतोऽपि सन् ॥

तथा च विद्योपादानकाले दायादायुष्यमाणकुटुम्बकेन परतोऽधीतं न शास्त्रि ण शास्त्रेणवा साधारणधनमाश्रित्यापि यदर्ज्जितं तद्विद्यार्जितमेवाविभाज्यम् । **मनुः—**

आरुह्य संशयं यत्र प्रसभं कर्म कुर्वते । तस्मिन् कर्मणि तुष्टेन प्रसादः स्वामिना कृतः ॥

तत्र लब्धं च यत् किञ्चिद्धनं शौर्येण वा भवेत् । ध्वजाहृतं भवेत्सत्तु[2] विभाज्यन्नैव तत्स्मृतम् ॥

संग्रामादाहृतं यत्तु विद्वद्भ्य विद्वषाम्धनम् । स्वाम्यर्थं जीवितं त्यक्त्वा तद्ध्वजाहृतमुच्यते ॥

एतादृशं शौर्यमविभाज्यम् । यादृशमौद्वाहिकमसाधारणं भवति तदाह **मनुः—**

यल्लब्धा लाभकाले तु स्वजात्या कन्यया सह । कन्यालब्धं तु तद्विद्धि शुद्धं बुद्धिकरं स्मृतम् ॥

वैवाहिकं तु तद्विद्याद् भार्यायां यत्समागतम् । धनमेवंविधं सर्वं विद्वेयं धर्मसाधनम् ॥

क्रमागतमविभाज्यं निबद्धो यः क्रमागत इति कात्यायनवचनात् क्रमागतेऽविभाज्यक्रमेणागतः । **मनुः—**

जातिजानपदान्धर्मान् श्रेणीधर्मांश्च शेवितान् । समीक्ष्य कुलधर्मांश्च तन्धर्मं प्रतिपालयेत् ॥

येनास्य पितरो याता येन याताः पितामहाः । तेन यायात् सतां मार्गं तेन गच्छन्नरिष्यते ॥

न दुष्यत इत्यर्थः । **बृहस्पतिः—**

जातिदेशकुलानाञ्च ये धर्माः प्राक् प्रवर्तिताः । तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रजा प्रक्षुभ्यतेऽन्यथा ॥

सर्वेषां व्यवहाराणां व्यवस्थैव गरीयसी । व्यवस्था यादृशी यत्र सिद्धिर्भवति तादृशी ॥

देवलः—

अपि त्रैलोक्यकरणे क्षमो ब्रह्मा पितामहः । तथैव लौकिकाचारं मनसाऽपि न लंघयेत् ॥

कुलक्रमागतं प्रमाणमेवेति वर्तुलार्धः । राज्ञा दत्तं राज्यमविभाज्यम् ।

तत्र **नारदः—**

स्त्रीधनञ्च नरेन्द्राणां न कदापि च जीर्यति ।

न हीयत इत्यर्थः । राजकृतं प्रमाणमेवाह **मनुः—**

तस्माद्धर्मं यमिष्टेषु संव्यवस्येन्नराधिपः । अनिष्टञ्चाप्यनिष्टेषु तद्धर्मन्न विचालयेत् ॥

नातिक्रमेत । **नारदः—**

अस्वतन्त्राः प्रजाः सर्वाः स्वतंत्रः पृथिवीपतिः ।

महीपतिः अभिषिक्तजनपदपुरपालयितृपुरुषः । ननु विष्ण्वादिवचनविरोध इति चेन्न, लोकवृत्ताद्राज्यवृत्तमन्यदाह बृहस्पतिरिति वचनात् । तेषां सामान्यपरत्वात् । यद्यपि स्वच्छन्दवृत्तितैव तज्ज्येष्ठस्यैव ।

दत्त्वा दानन्तु विप्रेभ्यः सर्वदण्डसमुच्छ्रितम् । पुत्रे राज्यं समासज्य कुर्वीत प्रायणं वने ॥

इति मनुवचनात् आसन्नमृत्युः रणे प्राणत्यागं कुर्यात् ।

"रण" इत्युपलक्षणम् मोक्षसाधनोपाये अभिप्रायः । ननु पुत्र इति सामान्यात् कथं ज्येष्ठस्यैवेत्युच्यते ।

यस्मिन्नृणं सन्नयति येन चानन्त्यमश्नुते ।

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१. तस्मात् । २. भवेत्तत्तु । ३. विद्विषां गणम् ।

स एव धर्मजः पुत्रः कामजा नितरां विदुरिति मनूक्तेः प्राथम्यात्। तथा च मन्त्रिवरवीरेश्वरकृतनीतिसारे राज्यवृत्तमन्यत् लोकवृत्ताद्राजवृत्तमन्यदाह बृहस्पतिरित्युक्तेः। अत्रार्थे हेतुमाह **मनुः**—

"सोऽग्निर्भवति वायुश्च सोर्कः सोमश्च धर्मराट्। स कुवेरस्स वरुणस्समहेन्द्रप्रभावतः॥
बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः। महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठती"ति

पुनरत्रैवाभिषेकप्रकरणे **मनुः**—

दत्त्वा दानन्तु विप्रेभ्यः सर्वधर्मसमुच्छ्रितम्। पुत्रे राज्यं समासज्य कुर्वीत प्रायणं वने॥

अत्र इत्येकवचनादेकस्मिन्नेव प्राथम्यं ज्येष्ठ एव। तदाह **व्यासः**—

शाश्वतोऽयं स्मृतो धर्मः पार्थिवानां नरर्षभ। न यवीयान् स्थिते ज्येष्ठे राजा भवितुमर्हति॥

भारते—

कथं ज्येष्ठानतिक्रम्य कनीयाद्राज्यमर्हति[1]। एतत् संबोधयामास्था[2]न्धर्मं त्वं परिपालय॥

रामायणे—

नहि राज्यं सुताः सर्वे राज्ये तिष्ठन्ति भाविनि। बहूनामपि पुत्राणामेको राज्येऽभिषिच्यते॥
स्थाप्यमानेषु सर्वेषु सुमहान् नैव यो भवेत्। तस्माज्ज्येष्ठेषु पुत्रेषु राज्यतन्त्राणि पार्थिवाः॥
आसञ्जन्त्यनवद्याङ्गि गुणवत्स्वितरेषु च। ते च ज्येष्ठाः स्वपुत्रेषु ज्येष्ठेष्वेव न संशयः॥
आसञ्जन्त्यखिलं राज्यं न भ्रातृषु कथञ्चन।

आसञ्जन्त्य निःक्षिपन्ति। तद्राज्यमविभाज्यम्। तदाह **नारदः**—

स्त्रीधनञ्च नरेन्द्राणान्न कदापि च जीर्य्यति। **मनुविष्णूः**—

अन्वपष्लन[3] पितृद्रव्यं श्रमेण यदुपार्जितम्। स्वामी हित[4] लब्धञ्च नाकामो दातुमर्हति॥

श्रमः सेवादिः। ईहितं कृष्यादि। इत्युपलक्षणमात्रम्। साधारणानुपश्लेषेणार्जितमर्जकस्य।

अथ भागकल्पना

तत्र मनुः—

अविद्यानान्तु सर्वेषामीहातश्च धनम्भवेत्। समस्तत्र विभागः स्यादपित्र्य इति धारणा॥

यमः—अविद्याः समं विभजेरन्। ईहा कृष्यादि विशोद्धारादिरत्र नास्ति।

वशिष्ठ—

येन चैषां स्वयमुत्पादितं तद्वंशमाहरेत।

यदा बहूनां भ्रातृणाम्मध्ये साधारणं धनमाश्रित्य एक एव कृष्यादिनार्ज्जयति तदा तस्य द्वावंशौ शेषाणामेकैकः।

व्यासः—

साधारणं समाश्रित्य यत् किञ्चिद् वाहनायुधम्। शौर्यादिनाप्नोति धनं भ्रातरस्तत्र भागिनः॥

साधारणधनोपश्लेषार्जिते शौर्यमादि यस्येति बहुव्रीहेर्विद्याग्रहणं तेन कात्यायनपरिभाषितान्य विद्यार्जितेऽर्जकस्य भागद्वयम्। तेन "दायादेभ्यो न तद्विद्याद्विद्यया लब्धमेव चे"ति **व्यास**वचनान्न विरोधः।

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१. कनीयान्राज्यमर्हति। २. संबोधयात्मानं। ३. अनुपलब्धम्।
४. स्वामी हितं च।

अथ स्त्रीधनविभागः

तत्र स्त्रीधनमाहुर्**मनुकात्यायनौ**—

अध्यग्न्यध्यावाहनिकं दत्तं च प्रीतितः स्त्रियै । मातृभ्रातृप्रदत्तञ्च षड्विधं स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ॥

अध्यग्नि विवाहकाले येन केनापि दत्तं तदध्यग्नीति प्रसिद्धम् । अध्यावाहनिकं द्विरागमनकाले येन केनापि दत्तं यौतुकम् इति प्रसिद्धम् प्रीतिदत्तं प्रणतायै श्वशुरादिना दत्तं पादवन्दिकमिति । मातृदत्तं पितृदत्तं नात्र कालनियमः । एवं षड्विधं स्त्रीधनं तदाह **कात्यायनः**—

विवाहकाले यः स्त्रीभ्यः दीयते ह्यग्निसन्निधौ । तद् ह्यग्निकृतं सद्भिः स्त्रीधनं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥
यत्पुनर्लभते नारी नीयमाना हि पैतृकात् । अध्यावाहनिकत्वा[1] स्त्रीधनं समुदाहृतम् ॥
प्रीत्या प्रदत्तं यत् किञ्चिच्छ्वश्वा वा श्वशुरेण वा । पादवन्दिकन्यां तु लावण्याजितमुच्यते ॥

आधिवेदनिकं सपणं स्त्रीधनन्तदाह **याज्ञवल्क्यः**—

अधिविन्नस्त्रियै दद्यादधिवेदनिकं समम् । न दत्तं स्त्रीधनं यस्यै दत्तेत्वर्द्धं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥

अधिविन्नयापीति प्रथमभार्यायै तदाधिवेदनाकाले पत्या दत्तमधिवेदनिकम् ।

विष्णुः—

मातृपितृसुहृद्भ्रातृदत्तमध्यग्न्युपाहितम् । आधिवेदनिकं शुल्कत्वाधेयमिति स्थितिः ॥

शुल्कमाह **कात्यायनः**—

गृहोपस्करवाह्यानां दोह्याभरणकर्मणाम् । मूल्यलब्धन्तु यत् किञ्चिच्छुल्कं तत् परिकीर्तितम् ॥

तथा

विवाहात्परतो यत्तु लब्धं भर्तृकुलात् स्त्रिया । अन्वाधेयन्तु यत्प्रोक्तं यल्लब्धं स्वकुलात् स्त्रिया ॥

एवं दश स्त्रीधनानि । एतदेव स्त्रीणां सौदायिकम् । एतदेवाह **कात्यायनः**—

ऊढया कन्यया वापि पत्युः पितृगृहेऽथवा । भ्रातुः सकाशात् पित्रोर्वा लब्धं सौदायिकं स्मृतम् ॥

विवाहितायां अविवाहितायां वा पितृकुलतो वा पतिकुलतो वा यल्लब्धं तस्याः सौदायिकमिति संक्षेपः ।

कात्ययानः—

सौदायिकं धनं प्राप्य स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्यमिष्यते । तस्मात्तदानृशंस्यार्थं तैर्दत्तं तत्प्रजीवनम् ॥
सौदायिके सदा स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्यं परिकीर्तितम् । विक्रये चैव दाने च यथेच्छं स्थावरेष्वपि ॥

आपस्तम्बः—अलंकारोभार्य्याज्ञातिधनञ्चेत्येके । भार्यायाः स्वामीति[2] शेषः ज्ञातिधनं ज्ञातिभिर्दत्तमित्यर्थः ।

मनुविष्णूः—

पत्यौ जीवति यः कश्चिदलंकारो धृतो भवेत् ।
न तद् भक्तेरन्[3] दायादाः भक्तमानाः[4] पतन्ति ते ॥

धृतः स्वाम्यनुज्ञया परिहितः अत्र स्थावरेऽपि दानविक्रियायाः स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्यमेव कात्यायनवचनात् । पतिदत्ते तु जङ्गमे तथैव स्थावरे तु न स्वातन्त्र्यम् ।

भर्त्रा प्रीतेन यद्दत्तं स्त्रियै तस्मिन् मृतेऽपि तत् । सा यथाकाममश्नीयाद्व्याद्वा स्थावराद्ऋते ॥

इति **नारद**वचनात् । "ननूढया कन्यया वापि पत्यु"रिति **कात्यायन**वचनेन पतिदत्तस्यापि सौदायकत्वे कथन्न पतिदत्ते स्थावरे स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्यमिति मैवं पूर्वोक्तोपसंहारार्थकमेव

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१. अध्यावाहनिकत्वात्तत् । २. भार्यायाः स्वमभ्यमिति शेषः ।
३. भजेरन् । ४. भजमानाः ।

कात्यायनवचनमन्यथा पौनं[1] वृक्त्या तत्पूर्वोक्तस्य वैयर्थ्यापत्तेः, न चाग्निसन्निध्यादौ[2] येन केनापि दत्तसंग्राहकत्वेन पौनवृद्धिरिति वाच्यं[3] मातृभ्रातृपितृप्रदत्तस्य [4]पौनरुक्तेस्तादवस्थ्यात् तथा च तत् काले दत्तं सौदायिकमन्यत्र प्रीतिदत्तमिति सौदायिके व्यवस्था सिद्धा। मृतस्य पत्युर्द्धनग्राहेण्यस्त्रियस्तद्धनमाह **कात्यायनः**—

भर्तृदायं मृते पत्यौ विन्यसेत्स्त्री यथेच्छतः।[5] विद्यमाने तु संरक्षेत् क्षपयेत्तत्कुलेऽन्यथा॥
अपुत्रा शयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती व्रते स्थिता। भुञ्जीना मरणान्तं दायादा ऊर्ध्वमाप्नुयुः॥

विद्यमाने पत्यौ तद्धनं रक्षेत्। तत्र स्वत्वाभावात् मृते तु पत्यौ स्थावरं विना तद्धनं यावज्जीवं भुञ्जीत। तस्यां मृतायां तद्धनं दायादानां। धनाभावे पतिकुल एव कालन्नयेत्। स्थावरे स्त्रीणां दानविक्रयानधिकारः। तेन कात्यायननारदवचनयोर्न विरोधः। एवं मृतपतिस्थावरे भार्यासंक्रान्तेऽपि तथा स्थावरे न स्त्रीणां दानादौ स्वातन्त्र्यम्।

न्यायतौल्यात् तथा च पूर्वोक्तं स्थावरे सौदायिके स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्यम्। भार्यासंक्रान्ते पत्यु स्थावरे तथा पुत्रद्वारापि भार्यासंक्रान्ते पत्युः स्थावरे दानादौ न स्वातन्त्र्यमित्यर्थः। पत्युर्द्धनविषयमेतत् स्त्रिया जीवति भर्तरि[6]मृतौ[7] वा सुव्यायारेणार्जिते स्थावरे दानादौ स्वातन्त्र्यमेव येन यदार्जितं तत् तस्यैवेति न्यायसाम्यात् तत् स्वातन्त्र्यबोधकवचनाभावाच्च। अत एव पत्युः पिण्डदानव्यापारार्जिते स्थावरेऽपि भार्यायाः स्वातन्त्र्यव्यवहारोऽपि संगच्छते। तथैव तद्धनवत्याः स्त्रियः कृत्रिमपुत्रस्य तद्धनग्राहकताव्यवहारो बलीयानिति।

अथ स्त्रीधनग्रहणव्यवस्था

तत्राह **देवलः**—

वृत्तिराभरणं शुल्कं लाभश्च स्त्रीधनं भवेत्। भोक्त्री[8] च स्वयमेवेदं[9] पतिर्नार्हत्यनापदि॥

आपदि पतिर्गृह्णीयादेव स्त्रीधनमित्यर्थः। तथा।

वृथादाने[10] च स्त्रियै दद्यात् सवृद्धिकम्। आर्तार्तिहरणे चापि स्त्रीधनं भोक्तुमर्हति॥

वृथा दाने विभागे च निषेधः। अत्र प्रतीकारार्थं प्रदानविभागौ कार्यावित्यर्थः।

तदेव यदनुज्ञाप्य भक्षयेत् ज्ञातिपूर्वकम्। मूल्यमेव स दाप्यः स्यात् सदा स धनवान् भवेत्॥

तदनुमित्या विना पदमपि ग्राह्यम्। सति धने तन्मूल्यमेव पतिर्दद्यात् इत्यर्थः।

व्याधितं व्यसनस्थञ्च धनिकैश्चापि पीडितम्। ज्ञातिनिसृष्टं संप्रीत्या दद्यादात्मेच्छया हि सः॥

व्याध्यादिग्रस्तं पत्यादिकं विज्ञाय भार्यायाः यत् स्वधनं दत्तं तत् स्वेच्छया दद्यादित्यर्थः।

याज्ञवल्क्यः—

…भक्षे[10] धर्मकार्ये च व्याधौ च प्रतिरोधके। गृहीतं स्त्रीधनं भर्त्रा न स्त्रियै दातुमर्हति॥

प्रतिरोधके व्याधौ अस्यापवादे **कात्यायनः**—

अथ चेत्स द्विभार्यः स्यान्न मतं भजते पुनः। प्रीत्या निसृष्टमपि यत् प्रतिदाप्यः स तद्बलात्॥

द्विभार्य इति भजनहेतुर्विशेषणम्। ऋतौ न गच्छेत्तां तदा स्त्रिया प्रीत्या पूर्वोक्तनिसृष्टमपि बलादेव स दाप्यः।

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१. पौनरुक्त्या। २. चाग्निसानिध्यादौ। ३. पौनरुक्तिरिति वाच्यम्।
४. पौनरुक्तेस्तादवस्थ्यात्। ५. यथेच्छया। ६. मृते वा।
७. भोक्त्री। ८. स्वयमेवेयं। ९. वृथादाने विभागे च। १०. दुर्भिक्षे।

ग्रासाच्छादनवासानामच्छेदो यत्र योषितः । तत्र स्वामी ददीत स्त्री विभागं रिक्थिनस्तथा ॥
लिखितस्येति धर्मोऽयं प्राप्ते भर्तृकुलं वसेत् । व्याधिना प्रेतकाले तु गच्छेत् बन्धुजनं ततः ॥
अपकारक्रिया युक्ता निर्लज्जा चार्थनाशिनी । व्यभिचाररता या च स्त्रीधनं न तु सार्हति ॥
भर्त्रा प्रतिश्रुतं देयमृणं वा स्त्रीधनं सुतैः । तिष्ठेत् भर्तृकुले सा च न सा पितृकुले वसेत् ॥

यदा स्त्रीयै[1] ग्रासवस्त्रन्न ददाति तदा पतिव्याधिनिस्तारार्थमपि स्त्रिया दत्तं स्वधनवदपि[2] ग्राह्यमित्यर्थः । तस्मिन्न्यूने प्राप्ते भर्तृकुलं वसेन्न तत् पितृकुलं गच्छेदित्यर्थः ।

अपकारेत्यादि तादृश्यः स्त्रीधनमप्याः···पुत्रान्धवैग्राह्यमिति[3] । "भर्त्रा प्रतिश्रुतमिदमस्यै देय"मिति प्रतिश्रुतं देयमित्यर्थः ।

अथ स्त्रीधनविभागः

मनुः—

जनन्यां संस्थितायान्तु समं सर्वे सहोदराः[4] । भजेरन् मातृकं रिक्थं भगिन्यश्च सलामयः[5] ॥

कुमार्य एव सहोदरा भगिन्यः ।

यास्तासां दुहितरस्तासामपि यथौंशतः[6] । मातामह्या धनात् किञ्चित् प्रदेयं प्रीतिपूर्वकम् ॥

भगिनीसुताभ्योऽपि किञ्चिद्देयं किञ्चित्प्रीतिपूर्वकमित्यनेन प्रसादे सति देयमित्यर्थः ।

बृहस्पतिः—

स्त्रीधनं स्यादपत्यानां दुहिता च तदंशिनी । अपुत्रा चेत् समूढा तु लभते मानपूर्वकम् ॥
पुत्राणां अप्रत्ता पुत्रीणाञ्च समांशता ।[6]

तत्र विशेषाभिधानात् । ऊढा तु किञ्चिन्मात्रं लभत इत्यर्थः ।

गौतमः—

स्त्रीधनं दुहित्रीणा[7]मपुत्राणामप्रतिष्ठितानाञ्च ।

अप्रतिष्ठिताः निर्वाहोपायरहिताः मातृधनभागभाज इत्यर्थः । **मनुः—**

मातुस्तत् यौतुकं[8] यत् स्यात् कुमारीभाग एव सः । यौतुकातिरिक्ते पुत्रभागयोग्यान्यस्त्रीधने सत्ये चेयं व्यवस्था । अन्यथा श्राद्धकर्तुः प्रथमोपात्तस्य पुत्रस्य निर्भागापत्तेः ।

वसिष्ठः—मातुः परिणायां स्त्रियो भजेरन् । परिणायां परिच्छददर्पणादि । **याज्ञवल्क्यः—**

"मातुर्दुहितरश्शेषमृणं ताभ्य[9]ऋतेऽन्वयः ।" तदृणपरिशोधनावशिष्टं भजेरन् । ब्राह्मादि वैवाहिकपरिच्छदादिविषयमेतत् । **कात्यायनः—**

दुहितॄणामभावे तु ऋक्थं पुत्रेषु तद्भवेत् । बन्धुदत्तं बन्धूनामभावे भर्तृगामि तत् ॥
भगिन्यो बान्धवैः सार्द्धं विभजेरन् सभर्तृकाः । स्त्रीधनस्येति धर्मोऽयं विभागस्तु प्रकल्पितः ॥

मातुः परिणायां ब्राह्मादिचतुर्षु विवाहेषु पितृदत्तयौतुकञ्च पुत्र्यास्तदभावे पुत्रस्य तदतिरिक्तस्त्रीधनं पुत्रीपुत्रोभयगामि । बन्धुदत्तं भ्रातृभगिन्यास्तत्र भगिनी अविवाहिता समांशिनी । विवाहिता तु किञ्चिद् भाक् । तयोरभावे भर्तृगामि । एतदेवाह **नन्दः—**

ब्राह्मदैवार्षगान्धर्वप्रजापत्येषु यद्धनम् । अतीतायामप्रजसि भ्रातुरेव तदिष्यते ॥

विवाहविधाने मन्वादिभिरष्टविधो विवाह उक्तस्तत्रैव ग्राह्यत्वमग्राह्यत्वञ्चोक्तम् । तेन ग्राह्येष्वेतेषु ब्राह्मदैवार्षगान्धर्वप्रजापत्येषु पूर्वोक्तव्यवस्था ।

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१. स्त्रियै । २ स्वधनमापदि । ३. पुत्रवान्धवैर्ग्राह्यमिति । ४. सनाभयः । ५. देयं यथौंशतः । ६. पुत्राणाञ्चाप्रदत्तानां पुत्रीणाञ्च समांशता । ७. दुहितॄणाम् । ८. यौतुकम् ।

मनुः—

यस्याः स्याद्धनं किञ्चिद्विवाहे श्वशुरादिषु । अतीतायामप्रजसि मातापित्रोस्तदिष्यते ॥

आसुरादिषु आसुरराक्षसपैशाचेषु ग्राह्याग्राह्येषु । अप्रजसि अनपत्यायां । पितृगामीति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनैकशेषान्न विरोधः । **गौतमः—**जननी शुल्कं सौदर्याणामूर्ध्वं[1] सा तु पूर्वञ्चेत्येके । **बोधायनः—**

ऋक्थं मृताया कन्याया गृह्णीयुः सहोदराः स्वयम् । तदभावे भवेन्मातुस्तदभावे पितुस्तथा ॥

अथ गुप्तविभागः

याज्ञवल्क्यः—

अन्योन्यापहृतं द्रव्यं विभक्ते यत्र दृश्यते । तत् पुनश्च समैरंशैः विभक्तैरन्निति[2] स्थितिः ॥

अत्राविभक्तत्वादेव विभागे प्राप्ते वचनारम्भोऽत्र चौर्यदोषाभावं ज्ञापयति इति **हलायुधः** । मन्मते तु तादृशस्यासाधारणभक्तैर्लोकप्रसिद्धत्वाच्च साधारणाद्वैत्यपक्षयोर्भागबोधकमेव च न । **कात्यायनः—**

अन्योन्यापहृतं द्रव्यन्निर्विभक्तञ्च यद् भवेत् । पश्चात् प्राप्तञ्च विभजेत् समभागेन तद्भृगुः ॥
बन्धूनामविभक्तानाम्भोगं नैव प्रदापयेत् । प्रागुक्तं भोक्तानदाप्यः समेनेति विशेषणम् ॥

अथ वर्णविभागः

तत्र मनुः—

चतुरोंशान् हरेद्विप्रः त्रीनंशान् क्षत्रियस्ततः । वैश्यापुत्रो द्व्यंशमेकमंशं शूद्रापुत्रो हरेत्[3] ॥

महाभारते—

अष्टधा तु धनं कार्यं क्षत्रियस्तु युधिष्ठिर । क्षत्रियाया हरेत् पुत्रश्चतुरोंशान् पितुर्द्धनात् ॥
युद्धाविचारि[4]कार्यन्तु पितुरासीद्धरेच्च तत् । वैश्यापुत्रस्तथा भागान् शूद्रापुत्रस्तथाक्षमं ॥
एकैकन्तु हरेद्भार्या वैश्यस्य कुरुनन्दन । द्वितीया वा हरेच्छूद्रा न तु दृष्टान्ततः स्मृता ॥
पञ्चधा तु धनं काम्यं वैश्यस्य भरतर्षभ । वैश्यपुत्रेण कर्तव्याश्चत्वारोंशाः पितुर्धनात् ॥
पञ्चमस्तु भवेद्भागः शूद्रापुत्रस्य भारत । ब्राह्मणस्य चतुर्वर्णभार्या भवितुमर्हति ॥

तज्जाताश्चत्वारो यदा पुत्रास्तदेयं व्यवस्था ॥

तत्र चत्वारस्त्रयो द्वावेकः क्रमाद्भागा बोधव्याः । तथा क्षत्रियस्य क्षत्रिया वैश्याशूद्रा-भार्यास्तत्र क्षत्रिया यस्य[5] चत्वारो वैश्या यस्य[6] त्रयः शूद्रा यस्याष्टमः[7] । वैश्यस्य द्वे भार्ये तत्र वैश्याजस्य चत्वारो शूद्राजस्य पञ्चमम् । एवं दशभागाः अष्टभागाः पञ्चभागाः । युद्धाभिचारिकं खड्गादिः । **विष्णुः—**

अथ चेच्छूद्रापुत्रवर्ज्जं ब्राह्मणस्य पुत्रास्तदानवद्यधनं विभजेयुः । **बृहस्पतिः—**

न पितृहमूर्देया[8] क्षत्रियादिसुताय वै । यद्यन्यस्य पिता दद्यान्मृते विप्रा सुतो हरेत् ॥

वृद्धमनुः—

ब्रह्मदायागतां भूमिं हरेयुर्ब्राह्मणीसुताः । गृहान्द्विजातयः सर्वे तथा क्षेत्रं क्रमागतम् ॥

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१. सौदर्याणामुक्तम् । २. विभजेरन्निति । ३. द्व्यंशमेकमंशं तु शूद्रकः ।
४. युद्धाभिचारि । ५. क्षत्रियाजस्य । ६. वैश्याजस्य । ७. शूद्राजस्याष्टमः ।
८. पुत्रास्ता न विद्याधनं । ९. न प्रतिग्रहमूर्देया ।

ब्रह्मदायातां[1] याजनाध्यायनादिप्राप्तां द्विजातयो ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियो विंशः। **शंखः**। शूद्रापुत्रोर्थभागीयदेवरास्य पिता दद्यात् स एव भागस्य गोमिथुनञ्चापरन्दद्यात्। [2]कृष्णायसंकृष्टधान्यं तिलवर्जं। **मनुः**।

यद्यपि स्यात्सपुत्रो वा यद्यपुत्रोऽपि वा भवेत्। नाधिकं दशमाद्द्याच्छूद्रा पुत्राय धर्मतः॥

ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्रापुत्रो न रिक्थभाक्। यदेवास्य पिता दद्यात्तदेवास्य धनं भवेत्॥

सपुत्रस्त्रैवर्णिकपुत्रसहितः। न रिक्थभाक्। कल्पतरौ न दशमांशातिरिक्तरिक्थभागिति। तत्रैवात्यन्तनिर्गुण ऊढाशूद्रापुत्रोऽपि न पितुरिक्थभागिति। **बृहस्पतिः**।

अनपत्यस्य शुश्रूषुर्गुणवान् शूद्रयोनिजः। लभेदाजीवनं शेषं सपिण्डाः समवाप्नुयुः[3]॥

त्रैवर्णिकपुत्ररहितस्य सपिण्डा रिक्थभाजः इदमनूढशूद्रापुत्रे सति न ऊढशूद्रापुत्रे सति तस्यापि भागकथनात्। **मनुः**।

दास्यांवा दासदास्यां यः शूद्रस्य सुतो भवेत्।
सोऽनुज्ञातो हरेदंशमिति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः॥

सोऽनुज्ञातः पित्रानुज्ञातः। **याज्ञवल्क्यः**।

जातोऽपि दास्यां शूद्रेण क्रातोंश[4] धनं हरेत्। मृते पितरि कुर्युस्तं भ्रातरस्त्वर्धभागिकम्॥

शूद्रेणानूढशूद्रायां जातो भागं पितुरिच्छया लभते। मृते पितरि उढापुत्रोर्द्धं भागं लभते। अनूढा स्वयमनूढेत्यर्थः। तेनाप्यविवाहितायामन्यजस्य भागार्द्धमिति। तथा

अभ्रातृको हरेत् सर्वं दुहितृणां सुतादृते। विवाहिता पुत्रदौहित्रपरिभाव इत्यर्थः। **गोतमः**।

शूद्रापुत्र एव प्रतिलोमासु शूद्रादिना वैश्यादिषु जनितः शूद्रावज्जीविकामूलं हलकालादि[5] किञ्चित् सलभत इत्यर्थः।

अथ विभक्तजविभागः

याज्ञवल्क्यः।

विभक्तेषु सुतो जातः सवर्णायां विभागभाक्। दृश्याद्वा तद्विभागः स्यादायव्ययविशोधितः॥

विभागकाले गर्भस्थः पश्चाज्जातः स विभागार्हो भवतीत्यर्थः। उपचयापचयविशोधिताः। व्ययविशिष्टभागप्राप्तधनात् समभागं लभत इत्यर्थः। दृश्याद्वेति दृश्यमात्रादृश्योभयरूपाद्वा तैर्विभागप्राप्तात् आय उपचयः। व्ययोपचयः। ताभ्यां विशोधितात्। तेन व्ययितावशिष्टाद्वीष्यवृद्धिरहितात् भागप्रधानात् समागं लभतेऽयमार्थः। **हलायुधे**। सप्तनिर्गुणविषयो विकल्पः। **विष्णुः**। पितृभागोनन्तरोत्पन्नस्य भागं दद्युः। **मनुः**।

ऊर्ध्वं विभागाज्जातस्तु पित्र्यमेव धनं हरेत्। संसृष्टास्ते न वा ये स्युः विभजेत स तैःसह॥

एवकारेण सूच्यते विभागकाले गर्भस्थो भ्रातृगाद्[6] भागं लभते। विभागकालोत्तरजातस्तु पितृगृहीतभागं लभते।

पित्रा सह विभक्ता ये सपत्ना वा सहोदराः। जघन्यजाश्च ये चैषां पितृभागहरास्तु ते॥

अनीशः पूर्वजः पित्र्योर्भ्रातृभागे विभक्तजः।

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१. ब्रह्मदायागतां। २. कृषितः संकृष्टधान्यम्। ३. समभाप्नुयुः।
४. पित्रा दत्तं। ५. हलकाष्ठादि। ६. भ्रातृभागाद्भागं।

जघन्यजा इति। विभक्तजवदत्रापि पित्र्यमेव लभत इत्यर्थम्। अनीशः। अनीशः पूर्वज इति विभक्तश्च सन्नित्यर्थः। तथा सह एव

पुत्रैः सह विभक्तेन पित्रा यत् स्वयमर्जितम्।
विभक्तजस्य तत्सर्वमनीशाः पूर्वजाः स्मृताः। यथा धने तथार्णेऽपि दानधानक्रियेषु च॥
परस्परमनीशास्ते मुक्त्वा शौचादपक्रियाः।

अथ पुत्राः

तत्र **यमः**।

पुत्रास्तु द्वादशप्रोक्ता [1]मुनिस्तत्वदर्शिभिः। तेषां षड्बन्धुदायादाः [2]षड्दायादबान्धवाः॥
स्वयमुत्पादितस्त्वेको द्वितीयः क्षेत्रजः स्मृतः। तृतीयः पुत्रिकापुत्र इति धर्मविदो विदुः॥
पौनर्भवश्चतुर्थस्तु कानीनश्चैव पञ्चमः। गेहे च गूढ उत्पन्नः षडेते पिण्डदाः स्मृताः॥
अपविद्धः सहोढश्च दत्तः कृत्रिम एव च। पञ्चमः पुत्रिकापुत्रो यश्चोपनयने शुभम्॥
इत्येते संकरोत्पन्ना षड्दायादबान्धवाः॥

नारदः।

औरसः क्षेत्रजश्चैव पुत्रिकापुत्र एव च। कानीनश्च सहोढश्च गूढोत्पन्नस्तथैव च॥
पौनर्भवोऽपविद्धश्च दत्तक्रीतः कृतस्तथा। स्वयं चोपगता पुत्रा द्वादशैते प्रकीर्तिताः॥
तेषां षड्बन्धुदायादाः षड्दायादबान्धवाः।
पूर्वं पूर्व्यैः स्मृतो ज्येष्ठो जघन्यो यो च उत्तरः॥
क्रमादेते प्रवर्त्तन्ते मृते पितरि तद्धने।
ज्यायांश्च ज्यायसोऽभावे जघन्यो यो च अप्नुयात्॥

पूर्वाभावे क्रमादुत्तरस्तद्धनग्राही भवतीत्यर्थः।

पुत्रान् द्वादशानाह नृणां स्वायम्भवो मनुः। तेषां षड्बन्धुदायादाः षड्दायादबान्धवाः॥
औरसः क्षेत्रजश्चैव दत्तः कृत्रिम एव च। गूढोत्पन्नोपविद्धश्च दायादा बान्धवाश्च षट्॥
कानीनश्च सहोढश्च क्रीतः पौनर्भवस्तथा। स्वयं दत्तश्च शौद्रश्च षड्दायादबान्धवाः॥

बौधायनः।

औरसं पुत्रिकापुत्रं क्षेत्रजं दत्तकित्रिमौ। गूढजौरापविद्धञ्च [3]विभक्तभाजः [4]प्रचक्षते॥
कानीनञ्च सहोढञ्च क्रीतः पौनर्भवस्तथा [5]। स्वयं दत्तं निषादञ्च गोत्रभाजः प्रचक्षते॥
एवमेवाभिधाय देवलोऽपि एते द्वादशपुत्रास्तु सन्त्यर्थमुदाहृताः।
आत्मजाः परजाश्चैव लब्धयादृच्छिकास्तथा। तेषां षड्बन्धुदायादः पूर्वेत्येः [6] पितुरेव षट्॥
विशेषश्चापि पुत्राणामानुपूर्व्याद्भविष्यते। सर्वे ह्यनौरसस्यैव पुत्रदायहरा स्मृताः॥
औरसे पुनरुत्पन्ने ज्येष्ठस्तेषां निवर्तते। तेषां सवर्णा ये पुत्रास्तृतीयांशस्य भागिनः॥
हीनास्तमुपजीवेयुः ग्रासाच्छादनसंवृताः।

एवं पुत्रानभिधाय **विष्णुः**। एतेषां पूर्वः पूर्वः श्रेयान् स एव दायहरः स चान्यान् विभृयात्। तथा च प्रथम औरसः द्वितीयः क्षेत्रजस्तृतीयः पुत्रिकापुत्रश्चतुर्थः पौनर्भवः पञ्चमः कानीनो गूढोत्पन्नः षष्ठः सप्तमः सहोढः अष्टमो दत्तः क्रीतो नवमो स्वयमुपगतो

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१. मुनिभिस्तत्वदर्शिभिः। २. षट् च दायादबान्धवाः।
३. गूढजैवापविद्धञ्च। ४. भक्तभाजः प्रचक्षते। ५. पौनर्भवं तथा।
६. भवन्ति पितुरेव षट्।

दशमः अपविद्ध एकादशः पारशरो द्वादशः। केचित्तु त्रयोदश पारशरपुत्र इति तन्न। पुत्रान् द्वादशानाह नृणामिति मन्वादेर्विशेषाभिधानात्। विष्णुः। औरस-क्षेत्रज-पुत्रिकापुत्र-गूढोत्पन्नक'नीनपौनर्भवदत्तक्रीतकृत्रिमस्वयमुपगतसहोढोपविद्धाः।

पिण्डदोंशहरश्चैषां पूर्वाभावे परः परः।

याज्ञवल्क्यः।

औरसो धर्मपत्नीजस्तत्समः पुत्रिकासुतः। क्षेत्रजः क्षेत्रजातस्तु सगोत्रेणेतरेण वा॥

गूढप्रच्छन्न उत्पन्नो गूढोत्पन्नः सुतः स्मृतः। कानीनः कन्यकाजातो मातामहसुतः स्मृतः॥

अक्षतायां क्षतायां वा जातः पौनर्भवः सुतः। दद्यान्माता पिता वा यं स पुत्रो दत्तको भवेत्॥

क्रीतश्च ताभ्यां विक्रीतः कृत्रिमः स्यात् स्वयं यतः। दत्तः गोत्रस्वयन्दत्तो गर्भेविन्नः सहोढजः॥

उत्सृष्टो गृह्यते [1]जस्तु सोऽविद्धो[2] भवेत्सुतः। पिण्डदोंशहरश्चैषां पूर्वाभावे परः परः॥

धर्मपत्नी विवाहिता सवर्णा तत् पुत्र औरसः। अयं मातापित्रोः। तथा पुत्रिकापुत्रः क्षेत्रजः क्षेत्रिणः। क्षेत्रे क्षायी वाजिनः। तदिच्छायामुभयी। गूढोत्पन्नः स्वमातृजातीयः। स्वमातृपाणिग्राहकस्याकालीनो मातृपाणिग्राहकस्यापत्यत्वे मातामहस्यानपत्यत्वे मातामहस्य पौनर्भव इति। प्रथमे पत्यौ मृते तन्मातृग्राहकेण परेणोत्पादितः पुत्रः स पुनर्वोढः[3]। दत्तको गृहीतः। क्रीतो धनेनापत्यत्वेन क्रीतः। स्वीकृतश्च क्रेतुः। कृत्रिमः कर्तापुत्र इति प्रसिद्ध एव। कर्तुः स्वयमुपगतो मातापितृभ्यां परित्यक्तः स्वयं यस्य पुत्रत्वमङ्गीकृत्य प्राप्तः। सहोढः गर्भसहितायाः पाणिग्रहकस्य सुतः। अपरिद्धो मातापितृभ्यामुत्सृष्टो येन धृतस्तस्य पुत्रः।

बृहस्पतिः।

[4]एकत्र वौरसः पुत्रो धने स्वामी प्रकीर्तितः। तत्तुल्या पुत्रिका प्रोक्ता भर्तव्यास्त्वपरे सुताः॥

मनुः।

[5]एकत्र वौरसः पुत्रः पित्र्यस्य वसुनः प्रभुः। शेषाणामानृशंस्यार्थं प्रदद्याच्च प्रजीवनम्॥

आनृशंस्यं भवनम्। प्रथमकृते पुत्रिकापुत्रे पश्चादौरसे जाते तत्र पुत्रिकापुत्रौरसयोः समांशता।

पुत्रिकायां कृतायान्तु यदि पुत्रोऽनुजायते। समस्तत्र विभागः स्याज्जेष्ठता नास्ति हि स्त्रियः॥

इति मनुवचनात्।

कात्यायनः—

उत्पन्ने त्वौरसे पुत्रे तृतीयांशहरास्मृताः। सवर्णास्त्वसवर्णास्तु ग्रासाच्छादनभागिनः॥

[6]इदं तृतीयांशहरत्वं क्षेत्रजस्य।

समग्रधनभोक्ता स्यादौरसोऽपि जघन्यजः। त्रिभागं क्षेत्रजो भुंक्ते चतुर्थं पुत्रिकासुतः॥

इति ब्रह्मपुराणैकमूलकत्वात्। उत्तमदत्तकविषयमित्यपरे।

वशिष्ठः—

यस्मिंश्चेत् प्रतिगृहीते औरस उत्पद्यते स चतुर्थभाग् भागी यदि स्यात् यदि नाभ्युदयिकेषु युक्तं स्यात्तस्मिन् पुत्रे सत्प्रतिगृहीतपुत्रः यदि [6]स्याद्ये भूतं धनमिति शेषः। यद्याभ्युदयिकेषु यज्ञे स्यौरसेन प्रयुक्तं न स्यादत्र मत्वादिभिः पुत्रान्तरसत्त्वेऽपि सकलपितृधन-

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१. गृह्यते यस्तु। २. सोऽपविद्धो। ३. पौनर्भवः। ४. एकत्रैवौरसः।
५. एकत्रैवौरसः। ६. स्यादग्रे

ग्राहकत्वमौरसस्यैवेत्युक्तं पुनस्तैरेव तत्रांशिताय्युक्तेति सगुणौरसनिर्गुणौरसपरत्वान्न विरोधः। तथा दत्तकस्यैव क्षेत्रजस्यैवान्येनाधिकांशग्रहणमपि तैरेवोक्तम् तत्रापि तदेव समाधानम्। एवञ्च श्राद्धाधिकारे विष्णुयाज्ञवल्क्योर्विरोधोऽपि पूर्वोक्तपरतया विकल्पेन वा समाधेयः। एकमातृकयोर्विभिन्नपितृकयोः स्वस्वपितृभागो भवति।

अनेकपितृकानान्तु पितृतो भागकल्पना। यस्य यत्पैतृकं रिक्थं स तद् गृह्णीत नेतर॥

इति विष्णुवचनात्। पुत्रामासान रिक्थभाजः।[1]

अथ पुत्रधनग्रहणाधिकारः

तत्र विष्णुः—

अनपत्यस्य धनं पत्न्यभिगामि तदभावे मातृगामि तदभावे पितृगामि तदभावे बन्धुगामि तदभावे सहाध्यायिगामि तदभावे ब्राह्मणधनवर्ज्जं ब्राह्मणगामि। बन्धुपदेनात्र सपितुः।

बृहस्पतिः—

सपिण्डिता तु पुरुषे सप्तमे विनिवर्तते। सामानोदकभावस्तु निवर्तेता[2] चतुर्दशात्॥
जन्म नामस्मृतिरेके तत्परं गोत्रमुच्यते।

अनपत्यस्येति पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्ररहितस्य। पुनः पौत्र प्रपौत्रो वेत्यादिना पाठक्रमेणैव वरत्वधिकारे सिद्धे समानशीलस्य ऋक्थग्रहणस्यापि तथैवाधिकारसिद्धेः।

अत्र पौत्रप्रपौत्राणामभावे पत्न्यधिकारिणी। तदाह **बृहन्मनुः**।

अपुत्रा शयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती व्रते स्थिता। पत्न्यवदद्यात्[3] तत् पिण्डं कृत्स्नमर्थं लभेत च।

बृहस्पतिः—

आम्दाये[4] स्मृतितन्त्रे च लोकाचारे च सूरिभिः।
शरीरार्द्धं स्मृता जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले समाः॥

यस्य नोपरता भार्या देहार्द्धं तस्य जीवति। जीवत्यर्द्धं शरीरेऽर्धं कथमन्यः समाप्नुयात्॥ स कुल्यैर्विद्यमानस्तु पितृमातृसनाभिभिः। अपुत्रस्य प्रमीतस्य पत्नी तद्भागहारिणी॥ पूर्वप्रणीताग्निहोत्रमृते[5] भर्तरि तद्धनम्। विन्देत पतिव्रतान रीं धर्म एष सनातनः॥ जंगमं स्थावरं हैमरौप्यं धान्यं वसाम्बरम्। आदायदापयेच्छ्राद्धमासां षाण्मासिकादिकम्॥

पितृव्यगुरुदौहित्रान् भातृस्वस्रीयमातुलान्।
पूजयेत् क्रव्य पूर्त्ताभ्यां विनाऽनाथातिथीन् स्त्रियः॥
तत् सपिण्डा बान्धवा ये तस्या स्युः परिपन्थिनः।
हिंस्युर्द्धनानि तान्राजा चौरं दण्डेन दापयेत्॥[6]

तथा च अनपत्यस्य मृतस्य भार्यायाः एव श्राद्धाधिकारस्तत् सकलधनाधिकारश्चेति-वर्तुलार्थः। इदञ्च विभक्तपतिधनपरम्। पतिव्रता साध्वीमात्रं। अन्यथा धनग्रहणापत्तेः। अविभक्तस्य भ्रातुः मृतस्यानपत्यानां भार्याणां स्नुषानाञ्च किञ्चिन्मात्रं जीर्णानि वासांस्य-विकृतानि च गुरुर्दद्यात्।

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१. पुत्राः समानरिक्थभाजः। २. निर्वर्तेता। ३. पत्नी प्रदद्यात्
४. आम्नाये ५. पूर्वप्रणीषाग्निहोत्रे मृते ६. तापयेत्।

हारीतः—

विधवा मौरनस्था[1] हि नारी भवति कर्कशा। आयुषः क्षपणार्थञ्च दातव्ययं स्त्रीधनं सदा॥

इदं संसृष्टिभार्यापरमित्यन्ये। अविभक्तस्यानपत्यस्य मृतस्य पत्न्या भागो नास्तीति प्रागेव व्याख्यातम्।

भारते—

स्त्रीणां स्थपतिदायस्तु उपभोगफलं स्मृतः। नोपहारं स्त्रियः कुर्युः पतिवित्तात् कथाचन॥

उपहारमैच्छिकं दानं विक्रयादिकम्। पत्न्यभावे दुहितृगामि लिखितविष्णुवचनात्।

बृहस्पतिः।

अङ्गादङ्गात् संभवति पुत्रवद्दुहिता स्वयम्। तस्याः पितृधनं यः[2] कथं गृह्णीत मानवः॥

नारदोऽपि—

पुत्राभावे तु दुहिता स्तन्यसन्तानकारणात्। पुत्रश्च दुहिता चोभौपितुः संतानकारकौ॥

यथैवात्मा तथा पुत्रः पुत्रेण दुहिता समा। तस्यामात्मनि जीवन्त्यां कथमन्यो धनं हरेत्॥

अपुत्रधनग्राहिणी कुमारी। यादृशी कुमारी धनग्राहिणी तामाह

बृहस्पतिः—

सदृशी सदृशेनोढा साध्वी शुश्रूषणे रता। कृता कृता वा पुत्रस्य पितुर्द्धनहरी तु सा॥

न चैतत् सर्वं पुत्रिकाविषये तस्या अपि पुत्र सत्वे समधनग्रहणाधिकारात् तदभावे मातृगामि। **बृहस्पतिः**।

भार्या सुता विहीनस्य तनयस्य मृतस्य तु। माता रिक्थहरी ज्ञेया भ्राता च तदनुज्ञया॥

मनुः—

दौहित्रो ह्यखिलं रिक्थमपुत्रस्य पितुर्हरेत्। स एव दद्याद्धौ पिण्डौ पित्रे मातामहाय च॥

एतत्तु द्वयं पुत्राद्यभावे पत्नी दुहितर इत्यादि क्रमानुरोधात् अनपत्यस्य पुत्रस्य च धनं मातुस्तदभावे पितामह्याः।

तदाह मनुः—

अनपत्यस्य पुत्रस्य माता तद्दायमाप्नुयात्। मातर्य्यं निवृत्तायां पितुर्मातामहोधनम्॥

दुहित्रशून्यस्य[3] धनं पितामही हरेदित्यर्थः। मात्रभावे[4] पित्रा ह्यधिकारकथनात्। मात्रभावे[5] पितृगामि तदभावे भ्रातृगामि तत्र **मनुः**।

पिता हरेत्पुत्रस्य धनं भ्रातर एव वा।

गोतमः। प्रेतानां धनं ज्येष्ठस्य। **आपस्तम्बः**। आसन्नः सपिण्डस्तद्भावे व्यवहितस्तदभावे आचार्यस्तदभावे अन्तेवासी।

याज्ञवल्क्यः—

पत्नी दुहितरश्चैव पितरो भ्रातरस्तथा। तत्सुतो गोत्रजो बन्धुः शिष्यः स ब्रह्मचारिणः॥

एषामभावे पूर्वेषां धनभागुत्तरोत्तरः। भार्य्या तस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिः॥

पितरो मातापितरौ क्रमादेव विष्णुवचनानुरोधात्। तत्सुतः भ्रातृव्यः। अपुत्रस्य पौत्रादिरहितस्य। **कात्यायनः**।

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१. भवनस्था हि २. यत्तत् कथं ३. दौहित्रशून्यस्य ४. मात्र्यभावे
५. मात्र्यभावे

विभक्तसंस्थिते द्रव्यं[1] पुत्राभावे पिता हरेत् ।
माता वा जननी वापि माता वा तत् पितुः क्रमात् ॥

अत्र व्यवस्थितो विकल्पः । तेन पित्रार्जितं पिता भ्रात्रार्जितं भ्राता मात्रार्जितं माता पितामह्यार्जित[2] पितामही हरेदित्यर्थः । पैठीनसिः । अपुत्रस्याभार्य्यस्य भ्रातृगामिद्रव्यं तदभावे मातापितरौ लभेताम् । **देवलः** ।

ततो दायमपुत्रस्य भक्तेरंस्तत्[3] सहोदराः । तुल्या दुहितरो वापि म्रियमाणः पितापि वा ॥
सवर्णा भ्रातरो माता भार्य्या चेति यथाक्रमम् । एषामभावे गृह्णीयुः सकुल्याः सहवासिनः ॥
तुल्याः सहजाः । भ्रातरोऽत्र वैमात्रेयाः । अत्र देवलोक्तक्रमेण विष्णुयाज्ञवल्क्यक्रमयोः सर्वपुरुषार्जितधनपरत्वान्न विरोधः ।

बौधायनः । सपिण्डाभावे सकुल्यस्तदभावे आचार्यस्तदभावेऽन्तेवासिनः । ऋत्विग्ग्राह्वे[4] तदभावे वाजासगोत्राभावे[5] बन्धुर्याज्ञवल्क्यवचनात् । तत्र बन्धुपदेन स्वबन्धु मातृबान्धवः ।

आत्मपितृषु स्वपुत्रा आत्ममातृषु स्वसुताः । आत्ममातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया आत्मबन्धवाः ॥
पितुः पितृषु स्वपुत्राः पितृमातृषु स्वसुताः । पितुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया पितृबान्धवाः ॥
मातुलपितृषु स्वपुत्रा मातुमातृषु स्वसुताः । मातुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया मातृबान्धवाः ॥

एषामपि क्रमत एवाधिकारः । तेषामभावे ब्राह्मणधनवर्ज्जं राजा गृह्णीयात् । तदाह **मनुः** ।

अहार्यं ब्राह्मणधनं राज्ञानित्यमवस्थितः । इतरेषान्तु वर्णानां सर्वाभावे हरेन्नृपः ॥

बौधायनः—

ब्रह्मस्वं पुत्रपौत्रघ्नं हन्यादेकाकिनं विषम् । तस्माद्राजा ब्राह्मणस्वं नाददीतकथञ्चन् ॥

शंखलिखितौ । परिषद्गामि श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं न तु राजगामि । परिषदत्र ब्राह्मणाः । तथा चायं फलितागमः । क्रमात् पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्रः साध्वी भार्या दुहिता माता पिता भ्राता भ्रातृव्यः आसन्न सपिण्डः क्रमाद्व्यवहितसपिण्डः मातृकुलादिः । ब्राह्मणधनं विना राजा ब्राह्मणानन्तरं पूर्वपूर्वाभावे क्रमादेतेऽधिकारिणः । **याज्ञवल्क्यः** ।

वाणप्रस्थयति ब्रह्मचारिणाभृत्थभागिनः क्रमेणाचार्यतच्छिष्यधर्मभ्रात्रेकतीर्थिनः ॥
प्रतिलोम क्रमेणाधिकारिणः । तथा च ब्रह्मचारिणामाचार्यः ॥
यतेस्तच्छिष्यः । वाणप्रस्थस्य भ्रातृत्वेनानुमतो वाणप्रस्थः ।

वाणप्रस्थतिनो[6] पैतामहादिधनसम्भवेऽपि[7] कौपीनादिधनमस्त्यतो न वैयर्थ्यम् । **शंखः** ।

नाहार्य्यं स्त्रीधनं राजा तथा प्राणधनानि च । नार्य्यः षडागमं वित्तं बालानां पैतृकं धनम् ॥
षडागमं[8] परिभाषितम् ।

बालदायगतं रिक्थं तावद्राजानुपालयेत् । यावत् स्यात् समावृतो यावच्चातीतशैशवः ॥
न गृह्णीयादनुपालयेदित्यर्थः ।

अथ संसृष्टधनविभागाः

तत्र बृहस्पतिः—

विभक्तो यः पुनः पित्रा भ्राता चैकतः संस्थितः । पितृण्येनाथवा प्रीत्या तत् संसृष्ट उच्यते ॥

१. विभक्तेसंस्थितेद्रष्टां। २. पितामह्यार्जितं ३. भजेरस्तत्
४. ऋत्विग्ग्राह्वे ५. वास्य सगोत्राभावे । ६. वाणप्रस्थितनो
७. पैता महादिनासम्भवऽपि ८. षडागमम्

अस्माकं यदुतभाविभवधनं[1] तत् सर्वेषामस्माकमन्यतमस्य पुनर्विभागं यावदिति व्यवस्थया एकत्र स्थितः प्रकाशोपितृभ्रातृ पितृव्यैरेव वा संसर्ग इति। केचित्तु पृथक्धनाद्धन मेलनमेव संसर्गो लाघवादित्याहुः। इदं पक्षद्वयमपि हेयम्। आवृत्तिवाचिपुनःपदस्य-वशात्। द्वितीये वाणे .भागिनीमात्रांशवहारार्थम्।[2] धनमेलने संसृष्टत्वापत्तेः। तथा चानस्थायां वाकार इति च लोकवादपस्तेन[3] विगाप्रतियोगिना येन केनापि विभक्तसंसृष्ट इत्येवार्थः सम्यक्। तथा च

विभक्ता भातरो ये च संप्रीत्यैकत्र संस्थिताः। पुनर्विभागकरणे ज्येष्ठन्तेषां न विद्यते॥

अंशाधिक्ययोग्यतायामपि नात्रोद्धारादिः।

कदाचिद्वा प्रमीयेत प्रव्रजेद्वा कथञ्चन। न···प्यते[4] वा तस्य भागः सोदरस्य विधीयते॥

[5]यातस्य भगिनीस्दत्र तोंशन्लब्धुमर्हति। अनपत्यस्य धर्मोऽयमभार्यापितृकस्य च॥

संसृष्टानाम्भध्ये यद्येकः प्रमीयेत प्रव्रजेत। तस्य भागो न प्यते[6] तं भागं संसृष्टिसोदरो गृह्णीयात्।

सौदर्य्या विभक्तेरंस्तं[7] सनेत्य सहिताः समम्।
भ्रातरो ये च संसृष्टा भगिन्यश्च सलाभय[8]॥ इति

मनुवचनैकमूलत्वात्। अनपत्यस्येति पर्य्युदासः। केचित्तु द्वौ सोदरौ एको वैमात्रेयः। तेषां किञ्चिद्धनविभागानन्तरं संसर्गे तत्र द्वयोर्मध्ये एकस्मिन् मृते स्थालीपुलाकन्यायेना-विभक्तधनेष्वंशे[9] तादृशरूपो विभागो वृत्त एवं सङ्ग्राहिकया मृतस्य भागः सोदरसंसृष्टि-नाग्राह्य इत्याहुः। तत्र श्वङ्ग्राहिकयाक्षपातं विना न विभागो भवति। तत्राक्षपातस्यैव निर्णायकत्वात् स्थालीपुलाकन्यायस्त्वक्षपातेन सिद्धे विभागो युक्तस्तद्विभागस्य फलं स्वत्व-संकोचमात्रमिति।

संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टि संसृष्टी सोदरस्य तु सोदरः।
दद्यादपहरेच्चांशं जातस्य च मृतस्य च॥

जातस्य जीवत इति हलायुधः। परे तु पुनः पुत्रापुत्रसंसर्गे भ्रातरि जाते पितरि मृते तत् पितुर्भागं तस्मै भ्रात्रे दद्यादित्याहुः। प्रमीत संसृष्टिभागः संसृष्टं तस्य सोदरात्सोदर-संसर्गे त्वेकस्मिन् मृते तत् सोदरस्यैव भवति नान्यस्येत्यर्थः। एवं पितापुत्रयोरपि संसृष्टिन-स्त्वित्यविशेषाभिधानात्। ननु "पैतामहञ्च पित्र्यञ्च यत्किञ्चित् स्वयमर्जितम्" इति वचनात् सर्वेषामस्त्विति चेन्न भागेन स्वत्वेन स्वत्वस्य निराकृतात्वात्। नवानपत्यस्येति वचनान्नैवमिति वाच्यम् तस्य संसर्गान्तरजातविषयत्वात्। अत्रायं निष्कर्षः संसृष्टिनः पितुर्भागस्य विभागोत्तरजात अत्राग्राहकास्तदभावे संसृष्टितः पुत्रास्तदभावे संसृष्टसहोदरा-दिर्न संसृष्टपुत्रः। एतदेवाह **मनुः**।

ऊर्ध्वं विभागाज्जातस्तुपैत्रमेव धनं हरेत्। संसृष्टास्तेन यो वा स्युर्विभजेत स तैः सह॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः—

न्याय्योदर्यस्तु संसृष्टी नान्योदर्य्यधनं हरेत्। असंसृष्टयापि चादद्यात् सोदरो नान्यमातृजः।

आदद्यात् गृह्णीयात्। अन्यमातृजः सोदराद्भिन्नः।

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१. अस्माक यत्पूर्वं विभक्तधनं २. व्यवहारार्थम्। ३. लोकापवादस्तेन
४. न तदर्प्यते नो वा ५. यत्रस्य भगिनीस्दत्तं ६. न समर्प्यते
७. भजेरंस्तं ८. सनाभयः। ९. विभक्तधने स्वांशेऽपि

नारदः—

संसृष्टानां तु यो भागस्तेषामेव स इष्यते। अतोऽर्थांश[1] भाजस्तु निर्वीर्येष्वितरामियात्॥

निर्वीर्येषु निरपत्येषु इतरानियात् पूर्वोक्तभिन्नात् गच्छेत् इत्यर्थः। पिण्डदानिति न्यायात्। संसृष्टानां पुनर्गुटिका पातादिना विभागस्तथैव पूर्वप्रतिज्ञावाक्यात्। **शंखः।**

भ्रातृणामप्रजः कश्चिद् प्रेयाच्चेत् प्रव्रजेत वा। विभजेरन्धनन्तस्य शेषास्तु स्त्रीधनम्बिना॥

भरणञ्चास्य कुर्वीरन् स्त्रीणामाजीवितक्षयात्। रक्षन्ति शय्यां भर्तुश्चेदांच्छिद्युरितरासु तत्॥

यातस्य दुहिता तस्याः पित्रंशे भरणो मतः। आसंस्काराद्धरेद्भागं परतो विभृयात् पतिः॥

संसृष्टिनाम्मध्ये कश्चिद्भ्राता निपत्यः[2] प्रव्रजिते मृतो वा भवेत् तदा संसर्गिणो भ्रातरस्तद्धनं गृह्णीयुः। तस्य साध्वी स्त्री यावज्जीवं भर्त्तव्याव्यभिचारिण्यश्च न भर्तव्याः। तस्य कुमारी दुहिता विवाहपर्यन्तं परिपोष्या।

कात्यायनः—

संसृष्टानां तु संसृष्टाः पृथक् स्थाने पृथक् स्थिताः।
अभावेऽर्थहराः ज्ञेया निर्वीजान्येन्य[3] भागिनः॥

निर्वीजे पतिः ते हि परस्परनिरन्वयापरभागभाज इत्यर्थः। अत्रायं वर्तुलार्थः। संसृष्टिनि मृते संसर्गोत्तरजातपुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रा धनग्राहिणः। तदभावे साध्वी भार्या व्यभिचारिणी नांशहरा। भर्त्तव्या सापि तत्कन्यया विवाहनिष्पत्तिपर्यन्त भवणं[4]। तेषामभावे संसृष्टी तत्रापि सोदरासोदरसंसर्गे सोदरसंसृष्टी असोदरमात्रसंसर्गे सोदरासोदरौ संसर्गोत्तर विद्यार्जितेऽऽर्जकस्य द्वयंशतेति। प्रकाशे।

स्थावरं द्विपदञ्चैव यद्यपि स्वयमर्जितम्। असंभूय सुतान्सर्वान्नदानन्न च विक्रयः॥

अस्यापवादः—

एकोऽपि स्थावरे कुर्याद्दानाद्यमनविक्रयम्[5]। आपत्काले कुटुम्बार्थे धर्मार्थे च विशेषतः॥

स्थावरं द्विपदमिति संसृष्टधने मध्यस्थले वा अत्रैव पितुरस्वातन्त्र्यात्। ननु "भार्या पितामहोपात्ता" इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनेन पैतामहधने पुत्रस्याप्यंशित्वे सिद्धे "सामान्ययुत्रदारादिसर्वस्वन्यासयाचितम्। प्रतिश्रुतं तथान्यस्मैद्य देयत्वं त्वष्टधा स्मृतम्[6]॥" इति वचनेन यथा पितुः पैतामहस्यादेयत्वं तथा स्वातन्त्र्येपि तद्धनेनैवादेयता स्यादिति चेन्न, भ्रान्तोऽसि सामान्यमित्यत्र तादृशसाधारणन्नविवक्षितम्। "सप्रागमाद् गृहक्षेत्रादि यत् यद् क्षेत्रं प्रदीयते। पित्र्यं चाथ स्वयं प्राप्तं तद्दातण्यं विवक्षितम्" इति बृहस्पतिवचनस्यासङ्गत्यापत्तेः। सर्वत्र स्वतंत्रकृतस्य प्रामाणिकत्वव्यवहारस्योच्छेदा[7]पत्तेत्ते। अतएव स्मृतिसारे सामान्यमत्र संभूयार्जितमिति विविच्य व्याख्यातम्। पुनरपि तथैव देयप्रकरणे स्थावरमविभक्त सम्मत्यपेक्षा मध्यक एव नामध्यक इति। तथा "अनुशिष्टौ विसर्गे च विक्रये चेश्वरा मताः" इत्यत्र पुत्रस्य दानं न पुत्रगामि क्षेत्रादिदानमिति स्मृतिसार इति दिक्। एकोऽपीति विभक्तस्यापि स्थावरमपि तत् [8]साधुवल्यामापदितत् कन्यादानं वा देयं विक्रेयमिति।

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१. अतोऽर्थांश २. पतितः ३. निर्वीजान्ये न भागिनः।
४. भवने ५. कुर्याद्दानाध्ययनविक्रयम्। ६. तथान्यस्मै ह्यदेयं त्वष्टधास्मृतम्।
७. व्ययहारस्य ८. साधुवाण्यामापदि तत्

विभक्ता अविभक्ता वा दायादाः स्थावरे समाः। एको ह्यनीशः सर्वत्र दानाधमनविक्रये ॥[1]
स्वग्रामज्ञाति सामन्त दायानुमतेन च।[2] हिरण्योदकदानेन षड्भिर्गच्छति मेदिनी ॥

विभक्तेऽपि अविभक्तत्वसंशयनिरासाय विभक्तानुमितिः। तथा दानप्रकाशनार्थं सीमाविवादनिरासाय स्थावरे विक्रयो नास्ति कुर्यादाधिमनुज्ञापति[3] निषेधः।

यो भूमिं प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति। उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिना ॥

विद्यादानप्रशंसा च। तेन विक्रयेऽपि हिरण्योदके दत्वा न विरोधः। वस्तुतस्तु स्वतन्त्र्यस्य सर्वत्र स्वच्छयैव स्थावरं द्विपदश्चैवेत्यादिवचने नञर्थोऽप्राशस्त्यमेव। तेनैव स्वतन्त्रकृतस्थावरादिदानविक्रयादि व्यवहारो न निवर्त्य इति सम्प्रदायः।

अथ विभागनिर्णयः

तत्र नारदः—

विभागधर्मसंदेहे दाहादानां विनिर्णयः। ज्ञातिभिर्भागलेख्येन पृथक् कार्यप्रवर्त्तनात् ॥
भ्रातृणामविभक्तानामेको धर्मः प्रवर्त्तते। विभागे सति धर्म्मोपि भवेत्तेषां पृथक्-पृथक् ॥
दानग्रहणपश्वन्न-गृहक्षेत्रपरिग्रहाः। विभक्तानां पृथक् ज्ञेया पाकधर्मागमव्ययाः ॥
साक्षित्वं प्रतिभाव्यञ्च दानग्रहणमेव च। विभक्ता भ्रातरः कुर्युः नाविभक्ताः परस्परम् ॥
येषामेताः क्रिया लोके प्रवर्त्तन्ते हि रिक्थिनां। विभक्तानभिगच्छेयुर्लेख्यमव्यन्तरेणताम् ॥

विभागा भिन्नो धर्मो विभागधर्मः। ज्ञातयो विभाग विभागद्रष्टारो दायदाः। भागलेख्यमयमस्यायमस्येति लिखितपत्रम्। पृथक् कार्य पृथगायव्ययादिः। दानग्रहणं पशुक्रियादिः अन्नं भक्तादि गृहं पाकगृहं। क्षेत्रं कृष्याद्युत्पादनस्थलं परिग्रहो बन्धकादिः। पाकधर्मः पार्वणादिः[4]। आगमो धनोपायः। व्ययो विनियोगः। सर्वमेतत् पृथक्। तथा ऋणादिप्रयोगे[5] मभेदमसौ गृह्णाति इत्याद्युत्तमर्णादिः। अहं गृह्णामीत्याद्यधमर्णादिः त्वया काले वक्तव्यमिति वाक्याधिकारी साक्षी। ऋणादौ दायन्न दास्यति। तदा मयैव देयमेवं स्वीकारकारी प्रतिभूः। तत्वं साक्षित्वं प्रतिभाव्यञ्च। एको ऋणादि ददाति अपरो गृह्णातीति दानग्रहणार्थः। एतैर्विभक्तत्वप्रतिपादकैर्विभक्तौ ज्ञेयौ। **याज्ञवल्क्योऽपि।**

विभागस्य तु सन्देहे ज्ञातिभिः साक्ष्यलेख्यकैः। विभागभावना ज्ञेया गृहक्षेत्रैश्च यौतुकैः ॥

तथा

भ्रातृणामथ दम्पत्योः पितुः पुत्रस्य चैव हि। प्रतिभाव्यमूलं साक्ष्यमविभक्ते तु न स्मृतम् ॥

अविभक्ते प्रातिभाव्याद्यनभिधानात्। तेन तैरपि विभागनिर्णय इत्यर्थः। ननु जायापत्योर्विभागो न विद्यत इत्यापस्तन्बवचनान्नतयोर्विभागप्रसङ्ग इति सत्यं श्रौतस्मार्त्ताग्निसाध्यकर्मस्वेव विभागो निषिध्यते। न सर्वकर्मसु पृथक् पृथगप्यन्यकर्माधिकारश्रवणात्।

तथाहि "जायापती अग्निमादधीयाता" मित्यदिश्रुतेस्तत्प्रकरण एव साहित्यं साहित्यमपि तत्तदेव सर्वत्रेति कथनसंभवात्। वस्तुतस्तु वेदमन्त्रेण दम्पतीप्रयोजिकामेदानिदेशः। श्रौतादिकर्मसु तयोः सहाधिकारबोधकापस्तम्बादिवचनम्। धनप्रतियोगिकविभागो भवत्येव अन्यथा बहुवचनविरोधः स्यात्। रत्नाकरेऽपि विभागस्तु दम्पत्योः। "पत्न्यः कार्याः समांशका" इति वचनादिति।

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१. दानाध्ययनविक्रये २. दायादानुमतेन च। ३. कुर्यादधिकमनुज्ञं प्रति।
४. श्रयणादिः। ५. सनादिप्रयोगे

बृहस्पतिः—

पृथगापण्यय[1] श्रनाकुशीदञ्च परस्परम् ।
येऽन्योन्यव्यवहारकर्तारस्ते विभक्तारेदितष्या[2] ॥ इत्यर्थः

विभागफलमपि पृथक् पृथक् व्यवहार एव । तथाह नारदः ।

स्वभागान् यदि दद्युस्ते विक्रीणीयुरथापि वा ।
कुर्याद्यथेष्टं तत्सर्वमीशास्ते स्वधनस्य वै ॥

इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीविद्यापतिठक्कुरविरचितो विभागसारः

१. पृथगायण्ययौ चापि २. विभक्तारो वेदितण्या ।

APPENDIX-II

श्रीविद्यापतिविरचिता

व्याडीभक्तितरङ्गिणी

VYĀḌHIBHAKTITARAṄGIṆI

by

VIDYAPATI

Arranged, collated and edited for the first time by the author in collaboration with Dr. Virendra Shrivastava, Vidya-Vacaspati, Professor and Head of the Department of Hindi, Bhagalpur University, Bhagalpur.

Though it was belived that Vidyapati wrote *Vyāḍhibhabhakti-taraṅginī*, the manuscript of the same was not available in India. Snake worship was prevalent in Mithila and hence it is not unsual to have a work on the subject by our poet. It was Dr. Sukmar Sen who first drew our attention to this manuscript and later Dr. P. K. Maity made a notice of this manuscript in his Thesis. I contacted my esteemed friend Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah. Head of the Islamic studies, Dacca University, Dacca, who spared no pains in helping me in locating the manuscript of this invaluable work hither to unknown. He got it transcriped for me. The Manuscript was corrupt and full of mistakes. I am very obliged to Dr. Virendra Shrivastav who took pains to compare and corllate the manuscript and prepared the text for the press. My thanks are due to Dr. A.B.M. Habibullah and Dr. Virendra Shrivastava. The text is now before the scholars and it is for them to judge its importance. It has been included in the appendix because this work of Vidyapati was unpublished. Like other works it also appears to be incomplete and ill-arranged. A second copy, if and when discovered, may give us a correct picture.

व्याडीभक्तितरङ्गिणी

अथ विद्यापतिविरचितो

॥ ॐ नमो गणेशाय ॥

अथ घटस्थापनविधिः

प्रथमतः सूर्याध्यें दत्वा स्वस्तिवाचनं कुर्यात् ।

ओ३म् स्वस्ति न इन्दो वृद्धश्रवाः स्वस्तिनः पूषा विश्ववेदाः ।
स्वस्ति नस्तार्क्ष्यो अरिष्टनेमिः स्वस्ति नो वृहस्पतिर्दधातु ॥

ओ३म् स्वस्ति स्वस्ति

वेतालाश्च पिशाचाश्च राक्षसाश्च सरीसृपाः । अपसर्पन्तु ते सर्व्वे वैष्णवास्त्रेण ताडिताः ॥

सूर्यः सोमो यमः कालः सन्ध्ये भूतान्यहः क्षपा ।
पवनो दिक्पतिर्भूमिराकाशं खचराम (राः) ॥
ब्राह्मं शासनमास्थाय कल्पध्वमिह सन्निधिम्

Folio 2 A

लोकवादाश्च तत्रोक्ताः ।

आकाशदेववेतालाः[1] लोकानां सौख्यमोक्षदाः ।
पृथिव्याः प्रतिलोकेशा लोकवादा इतीरिताः ॥

ते च सर्व्वभूतडाकिन्यादिशान्त्यर्थं लौकिकवधमन्त्राद्यो विषहरी मङ्गलचण्डिका-गीतादयश्च । ते च प्रसिद्धा लोकवादा यथाः—

लक्ष्मीधरेण नो दत्ता यस्मान्मधुकराभिधा । तस्मान्मनोरमां नावं कृत्वा तत्र[2] प्रपूजयेत् ॥
मृण्मयीं प्रतिमां कृत्वा देवताद्यैः समावृताम्

घटयित्वा विचित्रा (श्र)

Folio 2 B

पूजयेद्गीतनर्तनैः

देवताद्यैरित्यत्राद्यशब्दात् सिद्धनागकिन्नरगन्धर्वयक्षराक्षसादीनामपि परिग्रहस्तेषां पूज्यता चोक्ता ।

अधमा विंशहस्तानौश्चत्वारिंशच्च मध्यमा । उत्तमा षष्टिहस्ता च शतहस्तोत्तमोत्तमा ॥
चतुर्दश महाभव्याः लोकाः (सं) परिकीर्तिताः[3] । सन्निधौ भूतनाथस्य विपुलायाश्च नर्तने ।

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१. आकाशादेवैतालाश्च मोक्षदात्

२. तन्त्रं (यन्त्रं ?)

३. चतुर्दशकान्यना लोका परिकीर्तिता ।
ऐसा लगता है कि इस श्लोक के उत्तरार्द्ध वाले दो चरण लुप्त हैं ।

ये ये समागता द्रष्टुं तान्[1] संस्तुत्य प्रपूजयेत् ॥
ब्रह्माणं माधवं रुद्रं वाणीं लक्ष्मीं च पार्वतीम् । कार्तिकेयं गणेशं च कालीयं पन्नगाष्टकम् ॥

Folio 3 A

जरत्कारुमास्तिकञ्चमर्त्ये चन्द्रधरन्तथा । स्वर्णरेखाञ्च तत्पत्नीं पुत्रं लक्ष्मीधरस्तथा ॥
तत्पत्नीं विपुलाञ्चापि श्रीधराख्यं द्विजन्तथा । यशोधरञ्च देवज्ञं कर्णधारञ्च दुर्ल्लभम् ॥
अग्रे गणेशं लोकानां[2] पत्तिनोऽष्टौ मनोहरं । भाण्डारिणञ्चाखुधरान् मध्येऽग्रे मूलके तथा ॥
नेत्राख्यां[3] रजकीञ्चैव सुगन्धाञ्च तथापराम् ॥
सुरेश्वरीं तथा दुर्गां देव्या दिक्षु समन्ततः । इन्द्राविलोकपालश्च साधुधान् सस्ववाहनान् ॥

Folio 3 B

पूजाहोमादिकं कुर्याद् यग्मदिवसं द्विजः[4] । यथाकामं यथाशक्ति बलिदानं विधानतः ॥
नीराजनञ्च कर्तव्यं तौर्यत्रिकपुरस्सरम् । नद्याञ्च स्थापयेद् देवीमुडुपे चोत्तमे ततः ।[5]
दक्षिणां विधिवद्दत्वा गीतवाद्यैः समापयेत् ॥
दर्शनाच्च विचित्राया वाग्दृष्टिकरणं भवेत् । नावो नाम्ना च गोहारी[6] विख्याता सा महीत ॥
योऽर्च्चयेत् सुरसां देवीं व्रतस्थो भक्तिभावतः । इहेष्टकामान्संप्राप्य देहान्ते स्वर्गमुत्तमम् ॥
पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रान्तं लक्ष्मीनैरुज्यभाग्भवेत् ।

Folio 4 A

डाकिन्यादिभयं नास्ति न[7] च सर्पभयन्तथा ।

गौड़मैथिलकृत्यसारे च :—

सुरसां पूजयेद् यस्तु कालीयाद्यष्टपन्नगैः । मुक्त्वा तु विविधान् भोगानन्ते स्वर्गे प्रमोदते ॥
क्वचिन्नैव तु सर्पस्य भयं प्राप्नोति सोमर्त्यः[8]
तस्माद्वित्तर्द्धि[9] नैरुज्यपुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रकं ।
तेन सर्वापच्छान्तिः[10] पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रावधिवित्तनैरुज्याप्तिः[11] ।

Folio 4 B

सर्पभयप्राप्त्यभावः[12] । ऐहिक-विविध-भोगप्राप्तिपूर्वक-स्वर्गावस्थितत्वकामो मनसादेवी प्रीतिवर्त्यभिलाषः[13] ।

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१. तास्तुत्य स्थान प्रपूजयेत् । २. लोधायाः । ३ a. तेरकां
४. कं कुर्याद् युग्मदिवशं द्विजैः
युग्म की जगह अयुग्म पाठ अच्छा मालूम पड़ता है क्योंकि अयुग्म दिवस तक ही पूजा की परम्परा है जैसे सप्ताह, नवाह, नवरात्र आदि ।
५. नद्या च स्थापयेद्देवा मुद्धुपै + चोत्तामततः । ६. गौंहारी ।
७. न ८. कचिन्नैप सर्पस्य भयं प्राप्नोति सतु मर्त्यः । ९. तद्वितद्धि ।
१०. न्ति । ११. ण्ति । १२. प्राप्यभावः । १३. प्रीतिवेत्यभिलापः ।

अथ रयहानिः

दर्शनापयतो यस्य[1] रयहानिस्तुराखिला । रयहानिरितिप्रोक्ता प्रतिमा भाव्यदायिनो ॥

शुद्धिदीपिकायां :—

मृग (युत) लघुवर्ग वारुणे विष्णुदेवे । मरुददितिनिष्ठे शोभने वासरे च ॥
12, 21, 26, 4, 17, 29, 6, 13, 24, 22, 25, 7, 23,
त्रिदशमदनभग्ने[2] द्वादशे[3] शीतरश्मौ[4] । विवध कृतितीरतीष्टी ? नाडिनक्षत्रहीने ॥

सामान्यदेवताघटनं ।

हेमाद्रौकाशी खण्डे :—

सौवर्णी राजती ताम्री मृण्मयीवा विशेषतः[5] । यथाशक्ति प्रकर्तव्या प्रतिमा स्वर्द्धिवृद्धये[6] ॥

गौड़मैथिलप्राच्यादिकृत्यसारे :—

प्रतिमायाञ्च चित्रे वा मण्डले वा घटेऽपि वा । पूजयेत् सुरसां देवीं दुर्गावद् भुवि साधकः ॥
दुर्गावदित्यतिदेशाद् बलिदानाचारः, तथा च—
निरामिषेण यो ह्यर्चेज्जगद्गौरीं मुनेः प्रियाम् । तस्य संवत्सरे हानिर्नित्यं स्यात्तु पदे पदे ॥
एतेन यच्छागादिबलिदानं माऽस्त्विति विशारदादिभिरुक्तं तद्धेयम् ॥
तत्रैव पञ्चम्यां गुरुवारे च—

Folio 5 B

रविवारेऽर्कसंक्रमे ।
दशम्याञ्च त्रयोदश्यां शुक्लपक्षे तथापरे । वैशाखादिषु मासेषु पूजयेत् सर्वशान्तिदां ॥
एतेन श्रावणमास्येव पूजनमिति मतमपास्तम् ।
तत्रैव पञ्चमत्रेच दद्याद् देव्यै करण्डिकाम् ।

पूजायाः फलश्रवणात् प्रतिमानिर्माणस्य प्रयासबाहुल्यात् फलभूयस्त्वम् । तथा च छन्दोगपरिशिष्टम्—

यत्र स्यात् कृच्छ्रबाहुल्यं[7] श्रेयसोऽपि मनीषिणः
भूयस्त्वं

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ब्रुवते तत्र कृच्छ्रो यस्य वाप्यते । (वाप्यते)

अत्र यद्यपि सकृत्कृते कृतः शास्त्रार्थ इति न्यायेन सकृत्पूजाकरणादेव फलसिद्धिर्जायते तथापि फलबाहुल्याय दिनत्रयादिकं प्रत्यहं पूज्यते । तथाऽपि जैमिनिः—फलस्य कर्म-निष्पत्तिर्लोकवत् प्रतिमानतः[8] । यथा लौकिके कर्षणादीनां बाहुल्ये पुनः फलादिकं तथा वैदिककर्मापीत्यन्वयः । एवं

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१. भने । २. वादशे । ३. रश्मो ।
४. सौवर्णी राजतीं ताम्रीं मृण्मयीं वा विशेषतः । ५. खेद्धिवृद्धये ।
६. कृच्छ । ७. पविमानतः

Folio 6 B

कर्म कुर्वतां यत्तादृशं फलं न दृश्यते तत्कलिस्वभावात् । तथा च **विष्णुपुराणम्** :—

यदा तदा सतां हानिर्वेदमार्गानुसारिणां । तदा तदा फले वृद्धिरनुमेषा विचक्षणैः ॥
प्रशस्ताश्च विपीदन्ति यदा धर्मभृतां नृणी । दतानुमेयं प्राधान्यं कलेर्मत्रेयपण्डितैः ॥

मण्डलस्तु गौडमैथिलकृत्यसारे :—

स्थण्डिले हस्तमात्रे च मण्डलं चतुरस्रकं
चतु--

Folio 7 A

ष्कोणं चतुर्द्वारिं रक्तपद्मविभूषितम् । पूजयेन्मनसा देवीं तत्र नागाष्टकैः सह ॥

अथ देवीपुराणम्

सुप्रे जनार्दने कृष्णे पद्मम्यां भवनाङ्गने । पूजयेन्मनसा देवीं स्नुहीविटपसंस्थिताम् ॥
(पल्लवोऽस्त्री किसलयं विस्तारो विटपोऽस्त्रियामित्यमरकोषात्[1] ।)
देवीं संपूज्य नत्वा च न सर्पभयमाप्नुयात् । पद्मम्यां पूजयेन्नागानन न्ताद्यान् महोरगान् ॥

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क्षीरं सर्पिस्तु नैवेद्यं देयं सर्पविषापहम् ।

परवचनं गारुडेऽपि :—

अनन्तो वासुकिः पद्मो महापद्मोऽथ तक्षकः ।
कुलीरः कर्कटः शङ्खे ह्यष्टौ नागाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

तथा

कालीयं धृतराष्ट्रञ्च पिङ्गलं मणिभद्रकम् । तथैवैरावतं नागं धनञ्जयमथार्चयेत् ॥
चतुर्दश समाख्याता वरदा कामरूपिणः ॥

अत्र पूजयेन्मनसा देवीमिति देवीपुराणे दर्शनान्मनसा

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त्विदं ।

तेन ओ३म् मनसादेव्यै[2] नम इत्यष्टाक्षरमन्त्रः ।
मं मनसा देव्यै[3] नम इति वा । ओ३म् विषहर्य्यै[4]
नम इति सप्ताक्षरः[5] विं विषहर्य्यै नम इति वा ।

तश्राधिवासः निर्णयामृते हयशीर्ष-पञ्चरात्रम् ।

अधिवासगृहे देव शय्याशेते यथाविधि । वसु (ह्य) वाहोह्यते[6] यस्मादधिवासः स उच्यते ॥
एकरात्रं द्विरात्रं वा त्रिरात्रमपि वा तथा । कर्तारेच्यनुसारेण कुर्यात् सद्योधिवासनम् ॥
संस्कारो गन्धमाल्याद्यैः यः स्यात्तदधिवासनमित्यमरः[7] ।

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१. पल्लवोतइन्द्री किशलयं विस्तारो विपटइस्थियामित्यमरकोषात्) इससे यह अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि मूल पाठ कितना असङ्गत हो सकता है ।
देवै ।
२. देवै । ३. देवै । ४. विषहरायै । ५. सप्ताक्षरं ।
६. वसवाहोचते ७. यस्माऽदधिवासनं

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दीव्यतीति[1] मनसादेवी दिवे (रच्) प्रत्ययान्तान्नदादित्वादी। तथा च **श्रीपति** :—

पङ्कजं मनसा देवी पद्मनाभो युधिष्ठिर इत्यादि।

तेन ओ३म् मनसादेव्यै नम इत्येव मन्त्रः। मनसादेवीति पञ्चाक्षरनामत्वात्। तथा च

ब्रह्मपुराणन् :—

ओ३म्कारादिसमायुक्तः[2] नमस्कारान्तकीर्तितः[3]।
स्वनाम सर्वसत्तानों मन्त्र इत्यभिधीयते॥

ब्रया ? मनः[4] स्वनामाद्यक्षरं बीजं सर्वेषामभिधीते। तत्रान्तरे च—

ओ३म्कारम् विन्दुमध्यस्थं नाभधेयाद्यमक्षरम्।
देवतानां स्वबीजं तत् पूजायामृद्धिसिद्धिदम्।

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अत्रं फलजनका[5]ऽपूर्वेक्यात् कर्मणोप्यैक्यम्। अन्यथा संकल्प वाहन विसर्जन दक्षिणाभेदः स्यात्। ततश्च श्री यियक्षुणाऽधिवासदिने इज्याधिकाराय तद्बीजभूतकामप्रधानाधिकार-साम्पादक-कंज-तिल-जलत्यागसहितकामाभिलाषपूर्वकप्रधानसंकल्पः कार्य इति द्वैतनिर्णयः। भृङ्गारस्नानादिमन्त्रास्तु लौकिका एवं[6]। भृङ्गारस्तु स्वर्णकर्करी। 'भद्रकुम्भः पूर्णकुम्भो भृङ्गारः कनकालुका।' 'कर्करीलुर्गलन्तिकेत्यमरः। पूजायां कायशुद्धयर्थं प्रथमतो भूत-शुद्धिप्रकारमाह **भविष्यत् पुराणम्** :—

गत्वाऽथ चायं शुद्धतनुर्यजेत।

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पूर्वं कुम्भकं कृत्वा रेचकञ्च समाहितः। कृत्वोंकारेण दोषांस्तु हन्यात् कायादिसम्भवान्॥

आदिषदेन वाङ्मनस योरुपादानम्।

वायव्याग्नेय-माहेन्द्र-वारुणीभिर्यथाक्रमम्
किल्विषं धारणाभिश्च हन्याच्छुद्धात्मनेनांततः[7]

शोषणे दहने स्तम्भे प्लावने च यथाक्रमम्। वाय्वग्नीन्द्रकुलाख्यातिधारणाभिः कृतेति॥

ध्यायेद्धि शुद्धमात्मानम्[8]।

प्रणवेनाकीसितं देहं, तेनैव सञ्चिन्त्य पञ्चभूतमयं परम्। तेनैव प्रणवेन सञ्चिन्त्य संघटयन् स्थूलं सूक्ष्मं तथा ध्याना[9]ख्यमनःसु प्रकल्पयेत्। इत्यादीन्यभिधाय आहव-नादिकर्मणि।

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रक्षणम्च्च प्रणवेन तु।

आदिपदेन स्थापन-सन्निधापन-सन्निवोधनानि।

यावत्त्वागारमानं तु सान्निध्यं परिकल्पयेत्। दत्त्वा पाद्यादिकां पूजां स्वाद्वन्नञ्च निवेदयेत्॥

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१. जिव्याततिं मनसा देव दिवे प्रत्ययान्तान्नदादित्वादि २. युक्तं।
३. नमकारान्त। ४. मनोस्वनाम। ५. जनकथ पूर्वैक्यात्। ६. एवं।
७. शुद्धात्मानम्। ८. ध्यायेद्धि शुद्धभाजाम्। ९. तथाद्धानिख्यमनेषु।

जप्तं तु[1] विधिवन्नत्वा ततो देवं[2] विसर्जयेत् । एष कार्यक्रमः प्रोक्तः सर्व्वेषां यजनक्रमः ॥

अत्र विसर्जयेदित्यनेन मूलपूजामभिधाय एष क्रम इत्यनेन सर्व्वेषां देवानां पूजने आकांक्षितभूतशुद्ध्यादिकमुपचारदानात्परमिति[3] दृश्यते । ततः मूलमन्त्रेण बीजेन प्रणवेन प्राणायामः । तथा च

[4]**कालीहृदये:—**

प्राणायामत्रयं कुर्यात्

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मूलेन प्रणवेन वा । अथवा मन्त्रबीजेन यथोक्तविधिना सुधीः ॥

तथा च तन्त्रान्तरे

पूरयेत् षोडशभिर्वायुं[5] धारयेत्तु चतुर्गुणैः । रेचयेत् कुम्भकार्धेन अशक्त्या[6] तत्तुरीयकम् ॥
तद[7]शक्तौ तच्चतुर्थमेवं प्राणस्य संयमः । प्राणायामं विना मन्त्रपूजने न हि योग्यता ॥

अथ कराङ्गन्यासः । शारदायाम् :—

अङ्गहीनस्य मन्त्रस्य स्वेनैवाङ्गानि कल्पयेत् ।

अथ षोडशोपचाराः । **कृत्यचिन्तामणौ**[8] :—

आसनं स्वागतं पाद्यमर्घ्यमाचमनीयकम् । मधुपर्काचमनस्नानवसनाभरणानि च[9] ॥
गन्धपुष्पे धूपदीपौ नैवेद्यं वन्दनं तथा ।

प्रपञ्चसारे :—

अर्घ्यपाद्याचमनकं मधुपर्काचम—

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नान्यपि ।

गन्धादयो नैवेद्यान्ता उपचारा दश क्रमात् ॥
गन्धादयो नैवेद्यान्ता पूजा पञ्चोपचारिका ।
मधुपर्कैत्यत्र पठित्वा स्नानोयेति व्यवहरन्ति ।

गन्धपुष्पमात्रः प्रकारः उक्तं **ब्रह्मपुराणे** :—

अनेनैव विधानेन गन्धपुष्पे निवेदयेत् ।

केवलपुष्पोपचार**स्त्वग्निपुराणेः—**

ध्यात्वा प्रणवपूर्वन्तु तान्नाम्ना सुसमाहितः । नमस्कारेण पुष्पाणि विन्यसेत्तु[10] पृथक् पृथक् ॥

उपचाराभावे—

सर्वोपचारवस्तूनामभावे भावेन बहिर्नि मलेनोदकेनाथ पूर्णतित्याह **नारदः** ।

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१. जप्ततुविधि । २. देव्व विसर्जयेत ।
३. परमति दृश्यते । ४. कानीहृदये । ५. दूरयेत षोडसोर्मिवायुं ।
६. शक्त्यां वीयकैः । ७. दद्शक्तौ । ८. कृत्येचिन्तामनौः ।
९. मधुपर्काचमनस्मानवस्त्राभरनानि च । १०. विन्यमेतु ।

अथावरणपूजा । **गौडादिसंग्रहे :—**

अङ्गास्त्रे वाहनं तस्याः पूजयेच्च ततः परम्

नागानां प्रतिमा—

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भावे तु देव्या मुकुटादिष्वनन्तादीन् पूजयेत् । यथा—

अनन्तादित्रिनागैर्मुकुटं भावयेद् बुधः

कर्कोटककलिकाभ्यां कर्णाभरणभूषिताम् । शंखपद्माकहस्ताञ्च हारकस्तन (मण्डिताम्[1]) ॥

तथा—

पूजयेन्मनसादेव्याः पुरतो गणनायकम् । दक्षिणे चण्डिकाञ्चैव वासुदेवञ्च पृष्ठतः ॥

वामभागे महादेवं सर्वकामफलप्रदम् । यजेच्छिवान्तिके गौरीं[2] वासुदेवान्तिके श्रियम् ॥

पुरोग्रहान्नयेद्देव्या[3] अवतारांस्तथा परान् । इन्द्रादिलोकपालांश्च स्वस्वदिक्षु प्रपूजयेत् ॥

ततश्चन्द्रधरादींश्च यथानाम्ना यजेत् क्रमात् ।

ततो हो—

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मः । शारदातिलके स्थण्डिललक्षणं यज्ञपार्श्वः ॥

हस्तमात्रं स्थण्डिलं वा संक्षिप्ते होमकर्मणि[4] । अङ्गुलोत्सेधसंयुक्तं चतुरस्रं समन्ततः ॥

खादिरादिस्रुवाभावे राघवभट्टोद्धृत[5] संहितायाम् ।

पलाशपत्रे निश्छिद्ररुचिरे स्रुक्स्रुवे स्मृते । विद्यादश्वत्थपत्रे वा संक्षिप्ते होमकर्मणि ॥

होमे स्वाहान्ततामाह यत्रपार्श्वः । आदाय दक्षिणे पाणौ स्रुवं त्रिमधुरं हविः[6] ।

ओ३म् मुखोवह्नि जायन्ते जुहुयान्नयुज्जपाणिना ॥

त्रिमधुरं घृतमधुशर्करात्मकं न्युज्जपाणिनेति शान्तनवीयम्[7] । विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे :—

दूर्वाहोमः परः प्रोक्तस्तेन स्वर्गे महीयते । तस्मद्दशगुणं प्रोक्तं भिक्षुभिः प्राश्नीयात्[8] कृती ॥

तस्मद्दशगुणो यतः[9] ।·····नशद्दै ?·····ब्रीहिभिर्द्विगुणं भवेत् ॥

यतश्चतुर्गुणः प्रोक्तः तिलैर्दर्भैः कृतो होमः । तस्मद्दशगुणं घृतेनाष्टगुणं ततः ॥

तत इत्यनेन घृतस्य सर्वोत्तमत्वं[10] दर्शितम् ।

मन्त्रतन्त्रप्रकाशे[11]·····नमइत्यन्तेन[12] नमोदयात् स्वाहान्तादिष्ट[13] एव च

पूजायामाहुतौ चापि सर्वत्रायं विधिः शिवे ।

अन्तेऽवसाने दिवे[14] स्वाहा

अत्र ओ३म् स्वाहा शब्दः स्वीयद्रव्यत्यागार्थकः ।

यथाह **हरिशर्मा :—**

उपदिष्टहोमाः स्वाहाकार प्राणहूतय इति ।

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१. हारकथन——। २. याजच्छिवान्तिके गाडणा ।

३. पूरोग्रहानयद्देव्या अवतावांस्तथा । ४. कर्म्मणि ।

५. राघवभटधृत ६. A हरः । ७. शाख्यन्तवीयं । ८. प्रश्नीयात ।

९. यवः (?) । १०. सर्वोत्तमं । ११. मन्त्रतन्त्रप्रकाशं ।

१२. नमो इन्तेन । १३. नमो दद्यातस्वाहान्तद्वि । १४. द्विवं ।

स्वाहाकारेण स्वाहेति पदेन प्रदानम् ।
त्यागो यासु आहुतियुतान्तता[1] ।

अतएव स्वाहाकारस्य प्राधान्यदत्त हविष्य[2] त्यागस्याम्नायसिद्धत्वेन कृतत्वाद्-द्वितीयस्या—

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म्नायमनर्थकं स्यादिति भट्टभाष्यम्,[3] प्रदानार्थत्वन्तु तत्रैव यत्र मन्त्रस्थे नाम्नि चतुर्थ्यन्तता । तेन ओ३म् मनसा देव्यै[4] नमः स्वाहेति होमे दशाक्षरी मन्त्रः ।

भविष्ये—

आहुतिस्तु घृतादीनां श्रुवेणाधोमुखेन तु । हुते[5] तिलस्याहुतिस्तु दैवेनोत्तानपाणिना ॥

महाकपिलपञ्चरात्रे—

संख्यानुक्तौ शतं साष्टं सहस्रं वा जपादिषु ।

अत्र शान्तिस्कृत्वा[6] वरदोऽग्निः । **गोभिलयुत्रः**—

शान्तिके वरदः स्मृतः । शान्तिदीपिकायां **वसिष्ठः**—

वन्दनां कारयेत्तेन शिवः कठांशकेषु च । कश्यपस्येति मन्त्रेण यथानुक्रमयोगतः ॥
ततः शान्तिं प्रकुर्वीत अवधारणमेव च । दक्षिणा च प्रदातव्या ग्रहाणाञ्च विसर्जनम् ॥

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शान्तिर्वामदेव्यगानादिः

अवधारणवच्छान्तिरवधारणानन्तरं कार्या[7] ।

न तु पाठझमादरः

वृथा विप्रवचो[8] यस्तु गृह्णाति मनुजः शुभे । अदत्वा दक्षिणां वापि स याति नरकं ध्रुवम् ॥

इति **नारदीयात्** ।

विसर्जनानन्तर[9]न्नद्यामुडुपादि स्थापयेन्न तु जले ।

"नद्यां च स्थापयेद्वीमुडुपे चोत्तमे[10] ततः ।" इति लोकवादात्[11] ।

तदशक्तौ स्थले च ।

अथातः कामरूपत्वादिति दाक्षिणात्यैः कालविषहरीत्वेनाव्यवहार्यकृष्णवर्णा पूज्यते ।

अथ पूजाभेदाः :—

द्वियामं वा चतुर्यामं हेलोकृत्यार्चना द्विधा

क्लीङ्कृतिभिश्च[12] पूजाभिरर्चि—

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तारोग्यदायिका ।

क्लीमिति[13] हैव क्लींकारस्तस्मिन् कृतिः करणं यस्यां पूजायां सा क्लीङ्कृति[14] पूजेत्यर्थः ।

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१. युतान्तथा । २. हविस्यागस्या । ३. मटभाष्यम् । ४. देव्ये ।
५. हुने । ६. शान्ति कक्ता । ७. अवधारणस्मच्छीन्द्रावधाररन नेन्तरं कार्यं । ८. विप्रचोयस्तु गृह्णन्ति । ९. विसर्जनानन्तरान्तो ।
१०. मुडुपो चान्वमो । ११. लोकवादात् के बाद पूर्णविराम नहीं है ।
१२. कुदशीभिश्च । १३. कुमिति दैवाक्लींकारस्तस्मिन् । १४. शाक्लीङ्कृतिः ।

न वियूते दुष्कृतिवीक्षणं[1] यस्यां पूजायां सा लिक्षतिः पूजेत्यर्थः। अनुक्तं यदन्यद्[2] दुर्गा-भक्तितरङ्गिण्यामनुसन्धेयम्, ग्रन्थगौरवं शङ्कयात्र पुनर्न लिखितमिति।

इति समस्तप्रक्रियालङ्कृतभूपतिवरवीरश्रीदर्पनारायणदेवेन समरविजयिनाज्ञप्त-श्रीविद्यापतिकृतौ श्रीव्याडीभक्तितरङ्गिण्यां प्रधानतरङ्गः प्रथमः। श्री व्याडीचरणे मद्भक्तिरस्तु।

श्री हरि—नामवान्[3]
श्रीदुर्गासहाय।

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ओ३म् मनसादेव्यै नमः।

स्मृत्यागमपुराणादिलोकवादानुसारतः। व्याडीपूजाविधानस्य प्रयोगो लिख्यतेधुना॥

अथाधिवासविधिः—

तत्र पूर्वदिने कृतनियमो[4] ऽधिवासदिने सायमधिवासात् प्राक् प्रातःकाले कृतस्नानादिर्गोमयोपत लिप्तदेशे दर्भपाणिराचान्त उदङ्मुखो दर्भयुक्तासन उपविष्टब्राह्मणान्[5] स्वस्ति वाच्य ओ३म् तद्विषणोरित्यनेन विष्णुं स्मृत्वा तत् सदित्युच्चार्य तामं पात्रं दर्भत्रयतिलजलपूर्णं यथोपपन्नं[6] वा गृहीत्वा ओ३म् अद्यामुके मास्यमुकपक्षेऽमुकतिथिवारसुदिनत्रयं यावत् प्रत्यहममुकगोत्रः श्री अमुकदेवशर्मा पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रावधिऋद्धि-नैरुप्यप्राप्ति-सर्पभयाव्याप्त्यैहिकविविध—

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भोगपरत्रिकस्वर्गमोदनकामोऽमुकापक्षान्तिकामो मनसादेवीप्रीतिकामो वा पूर्वस्वीकृत-मनसादेवी—पूजामहं करिष्ये। परार्थे[7] तु षष्ठ्यन्तेन प्रयोज्यं करिष्यामीति प्रयोगः।

इति संकल्प्य जलमैशान्यां क्षिप्त्वा "ओ३म् यज्ञाग्रत इति पठेत्। यद्यन्यद्वारा पूजां करोति तदा तं वृणुयात्। अथ स्वयम् प्राङ्मुख आसनमानीय उदङ्मुखं ब्राह्मणम्, '[8]ओ३म् साधु भवान् आस्तामिति" वदेत्। ओ३म् साध्वहमास इत्युक्तावुपविशेत्। ओ३म् अर्च्ययिष्यामो भवन्तमिति वदेत्। ओ३म् अर्च्येति प्रत्युक्ते गन्धपुष्पाङ्कुलीयवस्त्रादिनार्च्चयित्वा दक्षिणं जानुमाधृत्य,[8] ओ३म् अद्यामुके मास्यमुके पक्षेऽहं श्री अमुक

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इति घटशोधनम्।

वरुणोस्योत्तम्भनमसि वरुणस्यस्कम्य सर्जनीस्थो, वरुणस्य ऋत सदनमासीद[9]।

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१. कुष्कृति। २.यदन्यदुर्गाभक्ति। ३. वामवान ४. कृतनिमोहाधिवास
५. ब्राक्षनान्। ६. यथोत्पन्नं। ७. पवार्थथ्येत।
८. दक्षिणंजानुरि धृत्ये।
९. वरुणस्तम्भनम शिरस्य स्कम्भसर्जनिस्तु वरुनस्य खत शदन्नसि वरुनस्य खत शदनमाशिद्।

APPENDIX—III

Some Extracts from Likhanāwalī in English Translation

(Letter Nos. 38 to 64)

EXTRACTS FROM THE *LIKHNĀWALĪ*

(Translated into English in collaboration with Prof. Vishwanath Jha of C. M. College, Darbhanga)

The *Likhanāwali* of Vidyāpati was published in the year 1901 (from Union Press, Darbhanga) and the published text became rare after some time. While writing the present work, I tried to collect the letters of the *Likhanāwalī* and it was after great difficulty that I could get some extracts through the efforts of Dr. Brajkishore Varma of Bahera. Later on Dr. Indrakant Jha procured a copy of the same and supplied me with some extracts. Dr. Jha has already published his work on *Likhanāwalī* and its Maithili and Hindi translation. Since *Liknanāwali* is a very important work of Vidyāpati and is of immense importance for the study of the cultural life of Mithilā, some extracts in English translation are being presented here for those who do not know Sanskrit or Maithili. It was Professor S. H. Askari who suggested to me the idea, but it has not been possible for me to incorporate the translation of the whole of it. In preparation of this work, I have received ungrudging help and support from Professor Vishvanath Jha of Darbhanga. Thanks are also due to Shri Binod Bihari Varma.

The *Likhanāwali* was written by Vidyāpati in L. S. 299 at the court of Dronwāra King, Purāditya. There are in 84 letters and the whole book is in the form of letter writing. These letters are like modes of writing letters to persons of upper status (or class); of equal status and of lower status. Besides those, there are thirty one letters relating to law, legal system and the administration of justice. While the style has the stamp of Vidyāpati's originality, the language

is Sanskrit mixed with vernacular and it can be easily understood by a man who has even little education. The modes of addressing students are also indicated. Maithili words have been freely used in the text—a tradition begun by earlier Vācaspati.

Administrative and technical terms like *Mahāpatanika Thakkura; Mahāmattaka Thakkura; Mahāsupakārapati; Mahāpārṇāgārika Thakkura; Svasrāgārika, Pāntyāgārika, Māhādeśanaibandhika Thakkura; Mahāvārtika Naibandhika; Mahādevāgārika Thakkura; Koṣāgāra, Mahabhānugārika; Mudrāhastaka; Arthi, Pratyarthi, Pratihastaka; Sākṣi, Asteya; Jayapatra; Tappā, Rupyatanka; Mūdrā, Moqadam, Śtridhana, Paṇa, Svarṇa, Bandhaka, Pargana, Dalpati, Raut, Śāntikarnika, Kāryi, Osathi, Senāpati,* etc. are mentioned in the text. Letter No. 48 refers to the four expedients of diplomacy. Letter No. 54 refers to the rules governing the Laws of debt and the method of repayment. Letter Nos. 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61 refer to the *Śūdras, Pargana, Tankā, Paṇa* etc. *Śūdra* and *Kaivarta* are mentioned together in letter No. 60. *Śūdras* were expected to serve in the house of rich people. There is also a reference to the sale and purchase of *Śūdras* and serfs (better known as *Bahiyās* in Mithilā). Letter No. 55 is an important document. There is a reference to the manumission of slaves in letter No. 67 and of promissory bonds in letter No. 68. The *Likhanāwalī* deserves to be studied from sociological point of view. It is for the benefit of the readers that I am appending here with a translation of the Letter Nos. from 38 to 64. These letter have bearings on the socio-economic life of Mithila in the age of Vidyāpatì and hence the limitation. 'Yautuka' (जौतुक in मैथिली) here stands for dowry.

Letters to Subordinates

Letter No. 38

To business. We have settled the negotiation proposed by you and supported by others as well. Hence on the tenth day from now the marriage of our daughter will be solemnised. We request you kindly to grace the occasion with your family and get this auspicious work performed in your presence. [Realising the heavy pressure of engagements here,

the respectable son-in-law has kindly agreed to bring..... (name of the elder daughter)- This (form of letter) will do even for bringing one's sister. Compliments are to be paid to the father and mother of the addressee.] Time is short; it won't suffer any delay. Please lose no time therefore in coming over to this place.

Letter No. 39

From Shrīkaraṇa writes the well-reputed chief registrar (or the officer in charge) Shri...Das to Shri...the Panjika (one who enters receipts and expenditure in a book particularly of a Kāyastha tribe) on business. Nothing is heard of the completion of accounts of the last year and the current one entrusted to and agreed upon by you, nor there is any trace of the record (निबन्ध). You are hereby required to complete to perfection the book of receipts and expenditure lest it is brought to the notice of the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Shri..... and you are exposed to his wrath and consequent punitive measures are adopted against you for false assertions.

Letter No. 40

From 'Saraswatī-Khaṇḍa' informs Shri..... the high-ranking chief cook to cooks. On account of the marriage of our daughter we have taken permission of the king and are proceeding home. Of all the cooks you are adept in the science of cooking and most skilled in the art of mixing various ingredients in right proportion. You are, therefore, directed to represent us in the royal *kitchen* till our return.

Letter No. 41

From the betel house (पर्णशालातः) writes the high ranking chief officer in charge of betel to Shri..... officer in charge of royal sister's residence. Here in the royal sister's chamber white, green and rotten betel leaves have all got so mixed up that they are of no use. White (betel) leaves are wanted. that is why you were despatched to fetch ripe betel leaves, but you have been staying out for a month. As there is no betel leaf fit for the royal sister, come with white leaves at the earliest. Also bring 'Bhīmasena' Camphor worth a

thousand Taṇka (a stamped silver coin.) Seek for नागर-खण्ड, vermillion of a special variety (वर्ण सिन्दूर) and areca catechu (betel nut chewed with betel) and bring the same if it be found.

Letter No. 42

From the store-house of drinking water writes Thakkur Shri.. ... the high-ranking officer in charge of water for drinking purposes to Shri..... the potter. Here there are several water-houses but they are not perfect. Hence it is difficult to expose the water to sun during the day and to dew-drops in the night, cover it with wet cloth and cool it with fans made of palm leaves. This is possible only with a large number of pitchers. Taking all this into account you are required to make biggest possible pitchers and bring the same here at the earliest. We hear that some traders have come. Hence come without delay with Aguru (the fragrant aloe wood) Guggulu (bdellium—the gum resin used as perfume) and Sihlaka (the olibanum) and other incense materials purchased with the Tankas already sent. You will keep ready water perfumed with trumpet-flowers in each of the pitchers. It is useless to write more.

Letter No. 43

From the capital writes Thakkura Shri..... the high-ranking chief envoy and glossorist to the emissary (वार्त्तिक) Shri..... You have been sent by..... to collect information concerning the progress being made all over the kingdom. But we learn you are staying at home. If it is so proceed at once where you are meant to be. If you are tempted to the comforts of home and delay even for a day, you will incur the royal displeasure. How can one who lives by serving the kingdom hope to get comforts of home and what is an emissary good for if he fails to collect intelligenee in a day ?

Letter No. 44

From a certain place writes Thakkur Shri..... the high-ranking (his excellency) officer in charge of grant of property, assignment or gift for the whole country to Pratinidhipas

(deputies or substitutes). You left for home for a certain period but are now overstaying. It appears you are oblivious of governmental administration. Now that Āshādhi is at hand we have in keeping with the terms and conditions laid in various Nibandhas (laws), to disburse means of subsistence among the infantry subscribed by the barons of Raut order, you who know them are required to be present here at the earliest, so that nothing is done contrary to the implications and practice of law (निबन्ध).

Letter No. 45

From the Royal place of worship writes His excellency Thakkur Shri..... the chief priest (or controller or superintendent of temples) to Shri..... the officer incharge of collection of flowers. You left for home for some personal work and are still staying there. It appears the king is sore at heart discovering lack of proper attention in collection of flowers at the time of worship. You are therefore required to come here at the earliest with all those flower-picking boys and garland makers who have been absent so that, (पर्युषितानि =) stale, not fresh, fresh (?) flowers unspoiled by worms and insects, having no holes and well strung are available when the king worships the god.

Letter No. 46

From the royal treasury writes His Excellency Thakkur Shri..... the chief Treasurer to Shri..... the Mudrāhastaka (an officer of the Treasury for sealing coins). When you were sent away on state duty on some business, you carried away with you the sealing instrument; that was improper. As the same is needed in keeping money (द्रव्य) after sealing the strings (of the bag), you are required to send the same mudrā (Seal) without any delay per personal messenger

The end of the Second Chapter.

अथ समकक्ष लिखनानि

Letters to Equals

Letter No. 47

From..... village writes Shri..... Rāja this loving (friendly) letter to His most exalted Highness Mahārāja

Shri..... deva Simha whose great fame like the fragrance of camphor has spread all over the earth—the earth that is made into and used as a bracelet by him, who has performed sacrifices for himself and good works for others and thus graced the whole of the earth, who in observance of truthfulness is like Yudhisthira himself and who has won hundreds of battles. We are all well here and are to be delighted with the news of your welfare and that of your family and army. I beg to let it be known—that our friendship has since long remained so fast as to entitle you to claim our treasure, city and other such things as your own. You are already aware that the army sent by the Muslim rulers to overcome the land ruled by you has drawn near. You should write for whatever we possess if it be of any use to you. The friendship of the noble ones proves effective on suitable occasion. If you make a treaty with the Muslim ruler, we shall send money and other things as presents and shall personally be present to do the needfull. What more ? The name of the addressee to be written outside).

Letter No. 48

This most loving and friendly letter is addressed to His Excellency Thakkur Shri..... the chief minister of foreign affairs (war and peace) who is well-versed in adopting all the four expedients i.e. Negotiation, sowing dissension, conciliation for winning over an adversary, liberality (or bribery) and whose reputation is coveted like the gently blown filaments of the Ketaki (Paudanus Odoratissimus) flower. That all is well here will make you glad at heart. Your welfare is eagerly solicited to add to our joy. When in past your king craved for friendship with our king we, convinced of his sincerity, made our king enter into friendship with yours. This King of ours, noble and magnanimous (महेच्छाः) as he is, did accordingly and has been observing the terms of friendship as a result of which the peoples of the frontiers (border) areas of the two lands have been tilling their fields, enjoying sound sleep and leading a peaceful life. But now, certain acts of the servants and attendants of your king at

certain places reveal deviation from straight forward or upright dealings. If these sundry acts of crookedness are made known to our king, it will incur his wrath, for he cannot put with anything improper, and once inflamed his wrath is beyond anyone to alleviate. You are the minister (concerned) in that state and we here in this state happen to be in frequent contact with the king. If the friendship brought about by the two of us comes (व्यभिचरति) to naught (fails) it would bring a slur on ourselves, for Kings born independent do what they like, while people blame ministers. Hence let us promise not to kidnap men belonging to each of the two countries, punish those who create dissension and not to encroach upon each other's land. Along with these let us give expression to other such things as may perpetuate the bonds of our love and friendship.

Letter No. 49

From..... village this letter purported to express deep love and humility is addressed to Shri..... Sharma, reputed scholar, the most venerated, ocean of nobility, one who like Bhagiratha has exalted the glory of the two families by virtue of his high moral character and upright dealings. All is well here and we crave to be delighted with the news of your welfare. Now let me come to the point. You are a Shrotriya of noble lineage, well versed in all branches of learning and one whose faith in noble conduct (सदाचार) is invincible. Hence we, desirous of enhancing our (Social) prestige, got our child related to you. As for the tale of woe of our daughter given away in marriage to your son, the least is said the better, You, on the other had, make out that this relation has estranged you to your near and dear ones. We fail to understand how such baseless things are uttered by you [when it is contrary to truth. You should enumerate, hold forth, (प्रत्याकलनीयम्) assess your own worth]. Nothing more ought to be written to one who is a respectable scholar.

Letter No. 50

From..... village writes Shri..... This loving note to Shri..... whose fame, like the Jasmine flower, is bright

(untinted), standing firm in nobility. Your welfare is solicited. All is well here. To the point. We have returned from overseas with our object well accomplished. It is gratifying that our boat laden with things precious like pearls came ashore quite safe (unhindered) we sought your friendship in view of your noble birth and gratefulness. Your befitting actions have made that friendship reach day by day the highest pinnacle of its glory like the first digit of moon of the bright phase. [The good that comes of friendship is twofold—determined by life and by wealth (might.)] God alone knows when you will require (my life at your service) or I shall get the opportunity to lay down my life at your service. In respect of sharing the friends, wealth, you have always been indifferent to sharing mine. We merchants went overseas for trade and acquired four of the first pearls (मुक्ताफल). As this jewel is for you, we are sending the same to you. You should have no hesitation in accepting them, for one hesitates in accepting things belonging to others; but when there is friendship why this delicacy? *Although the friendship of noble ones is irrespective of give and take yet it shines all the more if it is adored in a proper way.* The pearls being sent are as big as आमलकीफल (the fruit of Emblic Myrobalan) in size and very bright.

The list of articles sent—Pearls 4. For पत्रचिन्ह silken cloth pieces 14, Cotton cloth pieces 20, silver wares 4 सुवर्णभाजन (golden ware) I, Camphor-bares 10, चन्दन समीचीन पल 1000.

Letter No. 51

From..... village this letter containing the nectar of natural friendship and pure love is addressed to Prince (Kumar) Shri..... Simha of refined taste and glorious career whose piety and fame permeates the whole of the earth like the fragrance of Ketaki flower (Pandames Odoratissimus). All is well here. Your welfare is solicited. To the point. It was not good of you to be scurrilous (or garrulous) to his majesty the king. Although being well-versed आम्नायिक in national customs (or in the Vedas), and always recipient of royal honour, having annexed glory in several battles, you

cannot put up with insult, still these Kings are very mighty and one has always to concede to some extent to their strength (privileges—औजित्यम्). It is not meant to claim equality with them and indulge in war of words. You should not have left the place in anger when as ill luck would have it (दिवस दूषणेन) an exchange of words (वचनानुवचनन) led to this misunderstanding (दुर्विचिन्तितं). When these kings satisfy us with riches or honour us with ornaments, they are kings, but if per chance they grow angry they are bad kings—this is not the way men of nobility are wont to think (or—this is beyond the bounds of propriety. Even now you should stay on outside the city where you sought shelter) after you left in rage and wait till we come. Even the king is ashamed. [He may come to appease you or you will come to appease the king] ? You must not go anywhere. If you must go, let me accompany you or we shall go together. We studied together and serving the king and fighting in the battle field are our sole mutual concern. If we stand united from beginning to end, all is right. You must not put a step further than where you are staying and I bind you by hundredfold Oath.

Letter No. 52

From Gopalpur this appropriate letter conveying manifold humble submission (utmost humility) is addressed to Vaṇik (merchant) Shri..... Whose acquisitions are legal who maintains the sanctity of his calling by dint of his acquisitions being lawful and right, who knows fully well how to act on different occasions, whose qualities of head and heart are untinted like the water of the river Ganges. It will gladden your heart that all is well here by your genial love. The news of your all round prosperity will great by delight us. To the point. We have received the letter and gone through its contents. You write, "Cultivation being our calling we possess seeds of all paddy crops except those of "Tulasi" variety. Hence get fifty Puraṇas (about 66 Tolas or 13 Chataks) of the same seeds purchased with the Kapardak (the cowrie shell) and send the same to us."

As for your [compliments that we are acting in accordance with the place and time and that you are a cultivator by profession] we have heard the same very often from several others. We, too, are cultivators by calling. As our callings are the same, it is meant that we should be friends. We are, therefore, sending the seeds of the paddy of Tulasi variety and also the seeds of Gola (probably the red arsenic) just out of love and we request you to accept the same. Your cowries are being returned per messenger and they too may kindly be taken back.

Letter No. 53

This letter saturated with the nectar of the writer's great friendship and respectful regards is addressed to Mahamahattak Thakkur ( ) Shri..... well-versed in politics that is beyond reproach and who has earned a reputation for purity of his heart devoted to the practice and preaching of righteousness. We are well here and solicit your welfare. Let us come to the point. It is rumoured that Shri Mahārāja Shri..... discusses administrative affairs irrespective of consultations with you and that there is no heart to heart understanding (affinity) between you and the king. This has pained me. We are your friend. Kings are kings. We are to serve them in action, thought and speech all our life. Let the kings do what they like, we the high-born कुलीन (the men of eminent descent) must do our duty. You should not deviate from propriety. If you do (deviate) we are still your friend. Whatever we possess—wealth and life itself—is at your disposal; you have simply to command without any hesitation (or delicacy). *Prosperity makes friends but adversity* (प्रस्तावे) *tries them.* What else ?

व्यवहार लिखनानि

The beginning of Legal, Social or Commercial letters.

Letter No. 54

In village..... on the fifth day of the dark phase of Māgha (a Wednesday) in L. S. 299 Shri..... Sharma the Pratihas-

taka Mahopadhyaya (a deputy of the great venerable teacher or scholar) in consultation with or assisted by the Parishad (an assembly probably of village elders) considered the money suit of Brahmaṇa Shri Devadatta, the plaintiff or prosecutor against Shri Jayadatta Rāuta, the defendant. The plantiff lodged the complaint, "Five years ago the defendant incurred a loan of one hundred Purāṇas (each Purāṇa = 16 Paṇa or about 26½ Tolas 100 Purāṇa thus comes to about 34 seers) of Kapardaka (cowries) from my father on interest. I demand that he should return the same to me." The defendant pleaded (contradicted) "I incurred that much of Loan, but I repaid the same with interest thereon to the father of the plaintiff." The accusation and the denial of the cause of complaints by the defendant were duly considered and on enquiry the defendant offered three witnesses (1) ..... Sharma (2) ..... Sharma and (3) ..... Sharma and the plaintiff accepted them. These witnesses appeared on the date fixed for निगद (discussion) hearing. They asserted that it was true the defendant had repaid the one hundred Purāṇas of Kapardaka with interest and that he was free from debt. One whose assertions are said to be true by the witnesses wins and one whose assertions are contradicted by witnesses loose. Taking this aspect of the law into consideration the decree was awarded to Shri..... the defendant.

Letter No. 55

In the Lakshmaṇa Sen year 299 on the fourteenth brightday (Friday) of Bhādra (again in figures.....) Shri..... Datta of village Simbara falling in Bhigo Tappa and subjected to Ratnapur-desha (?) in Tirhut ruled by..... invests his money in the purchase of a male and a female slave (शूद्रशूद्री). The person who took money from the purchaser is named Shri..... Rāuta who, under some urgency (चांड्य ?) sold for good, till the sun and the moon last, to this wealthy man after giving or paying गोत्रागोत्रनिवारकं—his slave, a fisherman or sailor, approximately forty-four year old, Black complexioned and named...··· for six Taṅkas (a particular coin probably of silver) and the wife of that slave, approximately thirty-year old, bright-complexioned, named..... for four Taṅkas

and their son approximately sixteen year old..... bright-complexioned named..... for three Taṅkas and their daughter approximately eight year old dark-complexioned named..... Thus the number of slaves sold = 4, the amount paid to the seller = 14, the fee (?) of Gotragotranivāraka to be paid by both parties (समुभय देये) = 2/2. Now, therefore, these slaves will do all jobs such as ploughing, eating *Uchchhista*, fetching water, bearing palanquin in the household of the purchaser. If they run away, this deed empowers the purchaser to extricate them even from under the throne of the king and bring them back to do the slave work again. Devadatta, Yajnadatta, Vishnumitra and others were made to witness and they did witness this transaction. The deed was written with the consent of both parties by Kayastha..... The fee for getting the deed written is payable at the rate of rupee one by each. The deed of maintenance (भरण पत्र) may also be written as the above one. The amount of money given—fourteen Taṅkas as the price. Received the value of the money after due verification (परीक्ष्य) to which the witnesses were as mentioned in the deed.

Letter No. 56

In the king Lakshman Sen year 299 on Friday the fourteenth bright day of Bhādra Shri..... Rāuta of village..... falling in..... Tappa in Tirbhukti being ruled by..... the most venerable (the king) of beautiful appearance (पुण्यावलोक) shining in exalted glory, invests his money in the purchase of a Shūdra (a slave). The person receiving this money is Shri..... Rāuta who sold himself for good, till the sun and the moon exist, for two Rūpya-Taṅka (a silver coin). The number of slave sold = 1, the money value = 2 Rūpya Taṅka, the Gotrāgotra-nivāraka fee = righteousness (honesty) itself. This slave (Shūdra) will serve the Dhanika (the purchaser) as a Dāsa (slave). If he runs away, this deed empowers the purchaser to bring him back even from under the royal throne and make him serve. Two persons named..... were made to witness and they did witness this transaction. Shri..... wrote it with the consent of both the parties. The fee for getting it written is payable by both, Even in (writing) the deed of main-

tenance this form will do. (There should be) two witnesses to the deed.

Letter No. 57

In the Lakshmana Sen year 299 on Friday, the fourteenth bright day of Bhādra Shri Devadatta Thakkura of village..... falling संलग्न in..... Tappa in Tirbhukti being ruled by Maharaja Shri..... the great king of beautiful appearance, shining in exalted glory, invests his money in securing a bond to serve on all week-days सर्ववार व्यूढ़िबन्धकार्थं. Then on receiving money from him is named Shri..... Rāuta who, being called upon to pay off Govt. taxes accepted the terms of agreement to serve on all week days in lieu of Rūpya-Tańkas four which he paid off to..... Bahibhunjāpaka (the person putting him in the servitude of the creditor). The condition (बन्धः) laid down is that the said Shri.....Rāuta will serve the creditor on all week days without cloth and wages—the value of the money received on agreement = Rūpya-Tańka—4. He (the said Rāuta) will, in the household of the creditor (धनिक), get all and sundry acts (such as carrying weight) done by a Shūdra (slave). If he does not get it done, the agreement fails (व्यूढ़िपात) and he will be liable to pay the creditor (a) six Kākinis (= a coin, equal to 20 Kapardas) per day. The fee for writing this Vahi-bhunjāpikā (deed of agreement.....) is to be paid by both parties @ 4 each. Shri Devadatta Thakkura wrote it with the consent of both. The fee for getting it written is payable by both @ Rūpya 1 each. The three persons named..... were made to witness and did witness this deed and the deed of maintenance (wages, hire ?) too runs as above.

Letter No. 58

In the Lakshmaṇasen year 299 on Saturday the fourteenth bright day of Bhādra Shri..... Rāuta of village..... in the desha (district ?) falling in Pargana..... in Tirabhukti ruled by..... the great king of kings of handsome appearance and shining in exalted glory, invests his money in getting the bond of servitude surrendered to him by Shri..... Rāuta, the person receiving the money from him, The said..... Rāuta driven

by some urgency pledged,..... a Shūdra (slave) Kaivarta (Keot) by caste, dark complexioned, twenty-five year old and received five Rūpya-Taṅkas. The slave (वहिप्राणी) offered = 1 the money value of the bond = 5, the daily wage to be paid to the slave = one square meal. the wage to be given once in a year = सनकपटकसपट = . If by any reason the terms of the bond are not fulfilled (वहिपातो भवति), the creditor will be entitled to be given two Paṇas (in figures—2 paṇas every day as compensation for this breach of agreement. This slave will do, like the servant of the creditor, all odd jobs. The fee for writing Vahibhunjāpikā is to be paid by each 2/2. If the slave runs away the debtor is liable to pay back the value of the bond. So and so..... were made to witness and did witness this transaction. So and so wrote it with the consent of both parties. The fee for writing it out is to be paid by both @ 2/-.

Letter No. 59

In the L. S. year 299 on Friday the 14th day of the bright half of Bhādra Thakkura Shri..... of village..... in..... in..... Pargana attached (subject) to..... 'desha' (region, province) in Tirbhukti ruled by..... deva, the king of kings shining in exalted glory, invests his money in securing a bond of servitude for four days in a week from..... a kaivarta (Keot) by caste, the person receiving the money from the creditor. The said..... driven by some urgency took Rūpya Taṅka Four and bound himself to the creditor to serve him four days in a week [In figures the bond = 1, the value of the bond = 4 Rūpya Taṅka. If the terms of the bond are not fulfilled, the debtor will be liable to pay to the creditor six Kākinis (each Kākini = 20 cowries) per day. The fee for getting the bond (registered or written ?) वहिर्भुंजापिका is to be paid by both @ 2 each so and so..... were made to witness and did witness this transacfion. Theis deed was written by..... with the consent of both parties. The fee for writing it is to be paid by both.

Letter No. 60

In L. S. year 299 on Friday the 14th day of the bright half of the month Bhādra Shri..... Upādhyāya of village.....

in Tirbhukti being ruled by Shri..... Deva the great king shining in exalted glory, invests his money in purchasing a slave-woman (शूद्री). Shri..... Kayastha by caste, the person receiving money from him sold bright complexioned maid named the daughter of.....a Shudra (slave) of Kaivarta (Keot) tribe for four *Vārāṭaka-Purāṇas* and gave her in marriage to..... the son of..... the Shūdra (slave) of Kaivarta (Keot) tribe (or sold..... by way of marriage to.....)—In figures the number of slave woman sold=1, the value of the sale=4. The three persons named..... were made to witness and did witness this transaction. This deed was written by..... with the consent of both. The fee for writing it is payable by both @ one and a half each. Where Kaivarta Gorāoḍa Pum. 4 and Amāta and etc. Pum. 8/4.

Letter No, 61

In L. S. year 299 on Sunday the fifth day of the light half of month Kārtika the three debtors named..... Kula Kaivarta (Keot) and Dhīvara (fisherman) by caste respectively execute this note of hand (or bond) in favour of Shri..... Chaturvedi, the creditor. They made Shri..... Sāhu the Pratibhū (surety) and everyone of them took ten Rūpya Taṅka agreeing to pay the capital along with one-fourth of it as its interest (सपादिव्यवस्थया) The said Shri..... Sāhu hereby undertakes "I agree to be the Darshaka-Lagnaka (the surety instrumental in recovery of the debt by pointing out to the creditor the whereabouts of the debtor) of the loan of ten Rupya Tanka advanced to..... the Kula, as also the Pratyāyaka-Lagnaka (the surety who makes the creditor believe that the debtor is capable of repaying the debt) of the loan of Ten Rupya Tanka advanced to..... the Kaivarta (Keot) and the Datṛ-Lagnaka (in surety undertaking to pay off the debt in case the debtor fails to do so) of the loan of Ten Rūpya Taṅka advanced to..... the fisherman. Whether I am a Darshaka-Lagnaka or Pratyāyak-Lagnaka or Datṛ-Lagnaka, I promise to get the debts duly repaid to the creditor by the debtors or repay them myself. So and so witnessed this deed.

Letter No. 62

In..... Nagara (town or city) four brothers named..... having differences over their property execute hereby a deed of partition (separation) (निस्सम्बन्धपत्री). We hereby divide by casting a dice (अक्षपूर्वकं) the property inherited from our father and grandfather, the entire property general movable and immovable, giving the eldest brother whatever is his special due (ज्येष्ठांश) (the best share) and leaving out the nuptial gifts of our wives and each of us takes his due share. Hence forth we shall have no connection whatsoever in matters of wealth and property. It was witnessed by so and so.

Letter No. 63

In the L. S. year 299 on Thursday the fourteenth day of the dark half of chaitra, Shri..... Mahattama (a person of high rank).

In..... village in the L. S. year 299 on thursday the 14th dark day of chaitra the tenant (प्रजा)..... does hereby give the प्रवेशपत्री to Mahattama (the most high) Shri..... to the effect that he hereby agrees to pay twenty Puraṇas as the share of the produce his land along with the one fifth payable by him. Hereby pays twenty Rūpya taṅka as the fee for entering for cultivation into the land of the said महत्तम and also agrees to pay twenty Purāṇas of the produce of the land inclusive of the one-fifth (पञ्चकञ्च) payable by him.

Letter No. 64

In L. S. year 299 on thursday the fourteenth dark day of Chaitra in..... nagara (village or town) Mokadam Shri Murarik collected four hundred Rūpya taṅka as taxes due for the current year to the great Mahāraja Shri..... सिंहदेव Shining in exalted glory and got it entered into the Potra (an office) through Rāuta Shri..... करभू (a name ? or a designation of a tax collector). Entered Rūpya-taṅka 400. A Bhūyūti (grant of land ?) is hereby given to him.

APPENDIX IV

Rules governing the Grāma Panchāyata in medieval Mithila

My grandfather, late Shyam Lal Choudhary, had a very fine collection of old and ancient manuscripts and records but unfortunately a devastating fire destroyed these precious collections in the second half of the 19th. century. He salvaged some of them and prepared copies of (i) the Pānjis of the Kayastha, (ii) an anthology (Manuscript with me) and (iii) rules regarding the Grāmpanchāyata. Important pages of the Paṅji have since been lost. The anthology, in his own handwriting, is still preserved and copy of the rules governing Grāmapanchāyata in medieval Mithilā on a page of paper could anyhow he procured. The rules are written in Maithili language in Kaithi-Nagari Script.

प्राचीन हस्तलेख से प्राप्त ग्राम पंचायत क नियमावली
(मैथिली भाषा में)

ग्राम्य पंचायत सभा क नियमावली

१ एहि सभा क नाम ग्राम्य पंचायत होएत ।

२ एकर उद्देश्य सम्पूर्ण जनता क शुभकामना अर्थात्—परस्पर भ्रातृभाव स्थापन—साधारण क अभाव-अभियोग क विचार परस्पर क विवाद क विषय मै सत्यतापूर्वक निराकरण आदि मुख्य विषय होएत ।

३ एहि सभा क पति कार्य तथा निराकरण मध्य धार्मिक विचार तथा प्राचीन समयानुसार यथार्थ स्थिति क अन्वेषण कय सुविचार होए वाक पूर्ण प्रयाश होएत ।

४ एहि सभा क मुख्य स्थान क नाम[1]…कहल जाएत ओ सदा रजभक्त रहत ।

५ एहि सभा क अनेक शाखा प्रान्तर मध्य वनयवाक प्रयत्न केन्द्र सभा क ग्रधान कार्य होएतैक ।

६ एहि सभा क प्रति कार्य मध्य नम्रतापूर्वक देश दशा क सुधार प्रधान होइतैक ।

७ एहि सभा क कार्यकर्ता मात्र कौं सहनशीलता तथा सदाचार क अमुषरन आवश्यक ।

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१. मेटाएल अछि—स्थानक नाम जेनहि पढ़ल जा सकल—

८ ई सभा परस्पर क राग द्वेष तथा वलप्रयोग क समनक सर्वदा उपाय क वर्ती रहत।

९ ई सभा उद्धति विचारवालाकाँ शान्ति सौं न्यायानुकूल मार्ग क सहानुभूति देखयवाक सर्वदा प्रयास रहत।

१० ई सभा सम्पूर्ण समाज काँ सुमार्ग पर अनवाक तथा एहि सभा क अनुसार कार्य करवाक उपाय शान्ति सौ करत।

११ सामायिक राजनियमावली क अवहेला जाहि सौ नहि होइक तहि दिश सतर्क रहत ओ अधिकार क दुरुपयोग (भोग) कानून कविषय। साधारणो कार्य मध्य हस्तक्षेप नहि कर (त?)

१२ ई सभा प्राचीन नियम पालन तथा राज नियम (कानून) क अनुकूल प्रति विषम क विचार करत।

१३ ई सभा स्वार्थी, अनाचारी, परपीड़क तथा अहम्मन्यता से सर्वदा फराक रहत।

१४ ई समा परस्पर क स्वत्वक तथा साधारण विचार क जाहि मे वादी तथा प्रतिवादी काँ अपना मध्त निर्णय करवा क अधिकार नियमानुसार (कानूनन) रहतैकय।

१५ ई सभा सर्वदा सतर्क रहत जाहि सौ समाज काँ अपना मध्य तेहन विवाद क कुसमय उपस्थित नहि होइक जाहि सौ दीवानी तथा फौजदारी क शरण आवश्यक होई।

APPENDIX V

Typical Maithili words from the Prakritapainglam.

The Prakritapainglam may be taken as an example of the earliest literary composition in Maithili or proto Maithili language. The affinity of this work with Vidyapati's Apabhraṁsa works is envident and a close study of the *PPm.* reveals to us that Maithili was taking its literary shape at the time of its composition. There are a number of passages in the *PPm.* which support my contention. Here I have collected only about two hundred words as specimen of the Maithili language.

Typical Maithili words from the Prakrita Painglam

१ अंधार
२ अंवर
३ अक्खर
४ अट्ठारह
५ अठ्ठाइस
६ अठतालिस
७ अट्ठासिजोणी
८ अपारु
९ अवतरिअ
१० अवसउ
११ अवुहः
१२ अमिअ
१३ अमिअवाणी
१४ अमिअहेकन्दा
१५ अरु
१६ अरेरे
१७ असरणा
१८ असुर भयंकरु
१९ अहीर
२० आउ
२१ आओ
२२ आणहु
२३ आणु
२४ आव
२५ आवेइ
२६ आसावरि देशा
२७ इकलि
२८ इग्गारह
२९ इह
३० उगो
३१ उच्छलइ
३२ उछई
३३ उप्परि
३४ उवरल्ल
३५ एओ
३६ कंठए
३७ कंत
३८ कंपइ
३९ कंवए
४० कंपिअ
४१ कज्ज
४२ करवाल
४३ कह
४४ कहइ
४५ कहावहु
४६ कहिअउ
४७ कहिआ
४८ कहु-कहू
४९ काआ
५० काम
५१ किछु
५२ के
५३ को
५४ खंजण जुअलणयण वर उपमा (खंजन युगल नयन वरोपमा)
५५ खंजण लोअणि (खंजन लोचने)
५६ खंजण पअ (खंजापाये)
५७ खण (क्षण)
५८ खणे
५९ खलिअ थणवसणआ (स्खलित स्तनवसना)

६० खसइ
६१ खाए
६२ खाहि
६३ खीर
६४ खुर
६५ खेलंत
६६ गअबरगमणि
(गजवर । मने)
६७ गवइ
६८ गरास
६९ गाइकधिता (गोघृत)
७० गिरिपर सअण
(गिरिपरशयने)
७१ गिरवरसिह
(गिरिवर शिखरं)
७२ गुडिया
७३ गुणमेत
७४ घर-छर
७५ घरणि
७६ घुलकि-घुलकि
७७ घुमइ
७८ चउअण्ण
७९ चउआलिस
८० चउकल
८१ चउथो
८२ चउद्दह
८३ चउपअ (चतुःपादानि)
८४ चउरासी
८५ चउसटि
८६ चउबीस
८७ चकमककरि
८८ चल
८९ चलु
९० चारि
९१ चारिठाई
९२ चारिम
९३ चालिस
९४ चालीसधर
९५ चूअ
९६ छत
९७ छप्पण
९८ छब्बीसक्खा
९९ छेहत्तरि
१०० जउ (यदि)
१०१ जखण
१०२ जजमउ
१०३ जहिं
१०४ जाइहि
१०५ झंपइ
१०६ झंपिअ
१०७ टोप्पर
१०८ ठांइ (स्थान)
१०९ ठाइस (२८)
११० ठाम
१११ ठामहि
११२ डगमग
११३ डुलइ
११४ तंरवण
११५ तरासइ
११६ तावअ (तावत्)
११७ तासु
२१८ तीस
११९ तुअ
१२० तेरह
१२१ थिर
१२२ दमसि
१२३ दहा
१२४ दिअ
१२५ दिस
१२६ दीस
१२७ दु
१२८ दुई, दुअउ, दुहु,
दुइचारि
१२९ दुणा
१३० दुव्वरि
२३१ देहि
१३२ दोस (दोष)
१३३ धणि
१३४ पअ
१३५ पकाबउ
१३६ पलाउ
१३७ पसर
१३८ पसरइ
१३९ पसरि
१४० पहु
१४१ पाउ
१४२ पाणि
१४३ पाबउ
१४४ पाबिअ
१४५ पिअ
१४६ पिअई, पिआरि
१४७ फंफाई
१४८ फुर
१४९ फुलिअ
१५० फुल्लठाम कुसुम
(फुल्लनवकुसुम)
१५१ बअणा
१५२ बइर (बैर)
१५३ बइरि (बैरी)
१५४ बंगला
१५५ बखाण; बखाणिओं;
१५६ बनीसह, बत्तीस;
१५७ बर
१५८ बरिस; बरिसई;
बरीसए
१५९ बलआ
१६० बह, बहइ
१६१ बहु; (वधुः)
१६२ बहुत
१६३ बहुलिआ (बधुका)
१६४ बाइस
१६५ बाघण
१६६ बारह
१६७ बास

१६८ वासठि
१६९ विखम (विषम)
१७० विजुरि
१७१ विणा (विना)
१७२ विरम (विरामे)
१७३ बुज्झह; बुज्झिआ
१७४ मणई
१७५ भुअंगम
१७६ भुअण (भुवने)
१७७ मण (मनः)
१७८ भाई (मानः)
१७९ माणः (मानस्य); माणहु (मानपत), माणिअ, माणु
१८० मारअ, माणु मारु
१८१ मियवह (मेटाव)
१८२ मुह
१८३ मोर
१८४ रूसइ
१८५ लग
१८६ लेहि
१८७ लोरहि
१८८ सेज
१८९ सेभरि
१९० सङ्करि
१९१ सत्ताइस
१९२ ससुर
१९३ सुझ्झे
१९४ सुणहु, सुणहि, सुणिअ;
१९५ सुण्ण (शून्ये)
१९६ सुमरु
१९७ सोलह
१९८ सोहई (शोभा)
१९९ हम
२०० हाराए
२०१ हेरि

APPENDIX VI

(Maithili Dances)

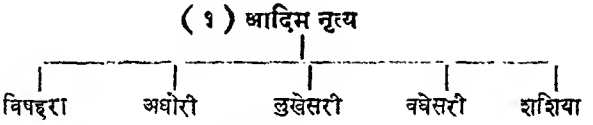
मैथिली नृत्य

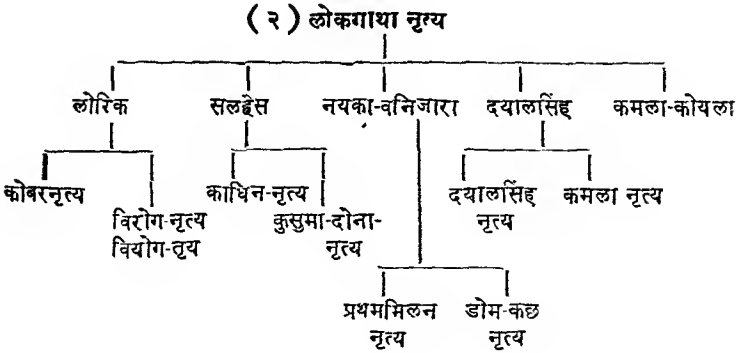
(In Collaboration with Dr. Braj Kishore Varma of Bahera).

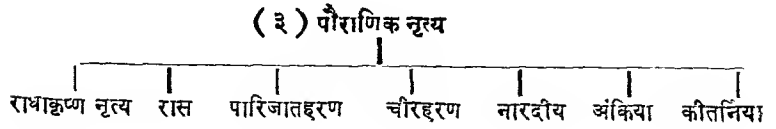
The importance of these dances has been death with in the book and here we get the details.

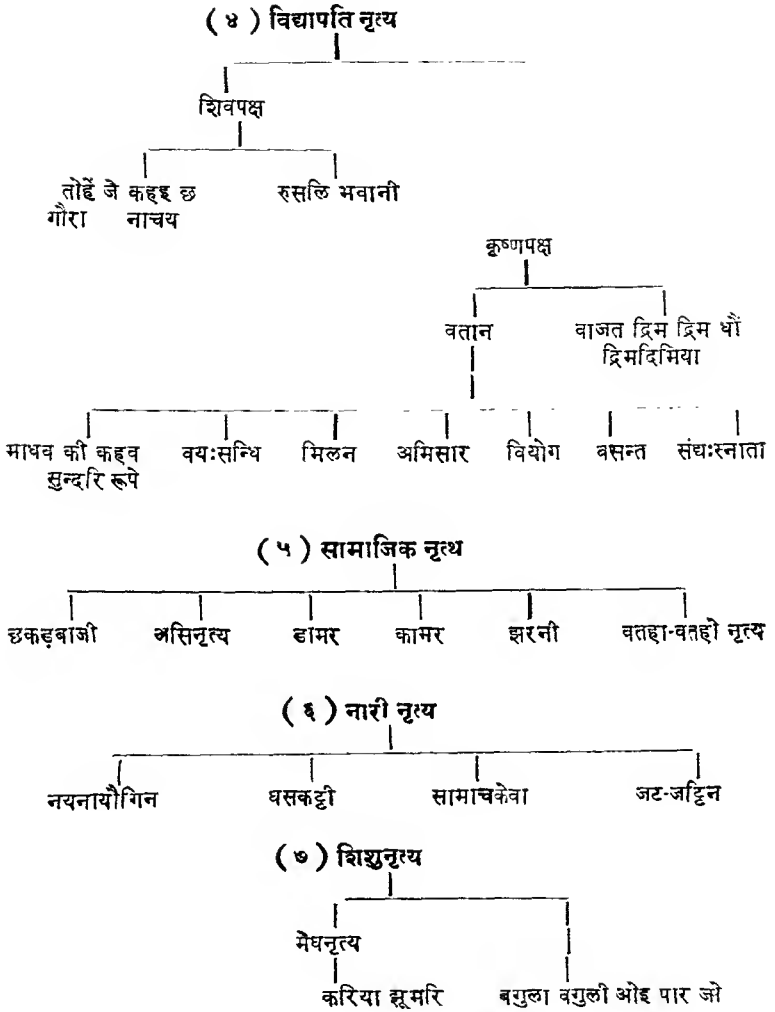
सूची

१ आदिम नृत्य ।
२ लोकगाथा नृत्य ।
३ पौराणिक नृत्य ।
४ विद्यापति नृत्य ।
५ सामाजिक नृत्य ।
६ नारी नृत्य ।
७ शिशु नृत्य ।
८ विपदा ।
९ वाद्य ।
१० उपसंहार ।









मैथिली नृत्य

मैथिली नृत्य बड़ प्राचीन। कालक्रम में इ विभिन्न रूप लैत रहलैक। मैथिली क प्राचीन पोथी ज्योतिरिश्वर क 'वर्णरत्नाकर' में एकटा वाक्य आछि "लोरिक नाच्यो"। ओना ओहू सँ अधिक प्राचीन नृत्य क भग्नावशेष समाज में उपस्थित आछि।

आदिम नृत्य

जंगल युग क नृत्य, ओही युग क चित्र जोकां बड़ प्राणवन्त अछि। ओ एखो सजीव अछि जे ओकरा दैवी प्रभाव सँ युक्त मानल जाइत अछि आ इ विश्वास बैल जाइत अछि

जे ओकर 'भगता' लोक कै दुःख सै त्राण दियै सकैत अछि। 'भगता' नर्तक होइत अछि आ इ विश्वास कैल जाइत अछि जे देवता विशेष क ओ "भाव" करैत (आनैत) अछि।

कोनो नृत्य क सफलता ओकरा 'भाव' कै सफलता पूर्वक व्यक्त केनाइ छी। अइ दृष्टि सै इ नृत्य एत्ते सफल होइत अछि जे दर्शक तद्-रूप मै जाइत अछि आ लोक ओकरा शरीर में ओइ देवता (जकर ओ 'भाव' करैत अछि) कै ऐल मानि लैत अछि आ ओकरा सै विभिन्न दुःख का अभाव सै त्राण क याचना करैत अछि। से जंगल युग क ओ नृत्य सब आइयो समाज में जीवित आ प्रचलित अछि। विशेषतः इ देव नृत्य वार्षिक पूजा क अवसर पर देखल जा सकैत अछि जकरा 'वहर जात' कहैत छैक।

अइ नृत्य क प्रमुख वाद्य होइ छइ, झालि मृदंग आ डंडताल। सब देवता सबहिक अपन अपन निश्चित गीत छैन्ह। अइ गीत सब कै भगति गीत कहैत छैक आ नर्त्तक कहावैत छाथे "भगता"। गाम क बाहर अइ देवता सबहिक 'थान' वा 'गह्वर' बनल रहैत छैक।

विपहरा

इ सर्प नृत्य छी। भगता क माथ पर छोट पैथ क क्रम सै कलश सब एक दोसर पर शिखराकार स्थापित रहैत छैक। ओकरा एक हाथ में बेंत रहैत छैक आ दोसर में धूपदानी बाजा गनगना उठैत छैक आ भगति गीत प्रारम्भ होइत छैक। बेंत कै ऐठैत-जूठैत भगता (नर्त्तक) पूरा भावभंगी मे आएव जाइत अछि। बेंत सांप क प्रतीक भेल आ माथ पर कलश, पर्वत शिखर पर क जल-कुंड क। शिखर पर क जलकुंड नाग सबहिक विहार-स्थल मानल जाइत छैक। नर्तक क हाथ क धुपदानी सै रहि रहि कै ज्वाला बहराइत रहैत छैक जे सर्प विष क ज्वाला क प्रतीक छियैक नर्तक, सांप जोकां अपन जीह लगातार लपलपबैत रहैत छैक।

अइ वर्ग क कैक प्रकार क नृत्य छैक। ओ नृत्य सब कतोक रस कै उपस्थित करैत छैक। अइ प्रकारें भैरव, रौद्र रस में, अघोरी, वीभत्स रस में (नृत्य क क्रम में अघोरी कै करैत अछि आ पुनः कै कैल वस्तु कै भक्षण करै लागैत अछि जे काज साधारण अवस्था में असम्भव छैक।) वघेश्वरी, (वाव नृत्य) वीर रस में, लुखेश्वरी, वात्सल्य रस मैं, जनषा (ज्वालामुखी) शान्त रस में आ शशिया (चन्द्र) शृङ्गार रस में उपस्थित कैल जाइत छैक।

यद्यपि उपरोक्त नृत्य सब आदिम नृत्य छियैक आ संसार क कोनो आदिम नृत्य सै मिलैत जुलैत छैक तथापि एकर उपयोग नृत्य लै नहिं मै पूजा क हेतु होति छैक तथा इ बड़ पवित्र मानल जाइत छैक।

लोकगाथा नृत्य

मैथिली लोकगाथा सब बड़ प्राचीन। विभिन्न जाति क ऐतिहासिक व्यक्तित्व सबहिक सम्बन्ध में, अधिक ओजस्वी शैली में, गेय लोक गाथा सब लोक क जीह पर दै यात्रा करैत चल आवि रहल अछि। एकरा लोक-महाकाव्य कहल जा सकैत अछि। इ सब बड़ लोकप्रिय अछि। कल्पना क उड़ान, कथानक क छवि-छटा आ धीरोदात्त नायक क ईन्द्रधनुषी चरित्र, सबटा एकटा अपूर्व वातावरण क सृजन करैत छैक। चूड़ी आ तरुआरि

क झंकार एक्के संग सुनाइ पड़ैत छैक। युद्ध आ रोमांस हाथ मिला कै चलैत छैक। अइ मे किछु लोक महाकाव्य एहेन छैक जकर नायक आ नायिका क नाम पर ओही भावना सै ओत-प्रोत नाच एखनहुं समाज में प्रचलित छैक। अइ नाच सब मे एक्के संग भक्ति आ मनोरंजन दूनू क समावेश रहैत छैक। अइ में प्रमुख छैक :—

दुलरा दयाल सिंह

दयाल सिंह क विवाह, बखरी क सुप्रसिद्ध "डाइन" बहुरा ठकुराइन क परम सुन्नरि बेटी अमरावती सै भेलैन्द। विवाह काल में, दयाल सिंह क काका, (भीम सिंह) कै, बहुरा ठकुराइन, अपना मंतर सै कनाह कै देल। वरपक्ष वला, वर दयाल सिंह कै लै कै पड़ा गेलाह। दयाल सिंह आनि पर मरइवला व्यक्ति छल। ओ कामरूप कामख्या चल गेल। ओ कामरूप में मंतर सिद्ध केलक। नर्त्तक तै ओ श्रेष्ठ कोटि क छलाहे। कामरूप वला कै अपना नृत्य सै मुग्ध कें लेलक आ इनाम में मन्त्र-तन्त्र क शिक्षा पौलक।

कामरूप से घूरि दयाल सिंह अपन पत्नी अमरावती क पुरागमन करै चलल।

बहुरा ठकुराइन क अपना इनार क पानि सड़ि गेल छलैक। अतएव ओकर बेटी अमरावती अपना भाउज क संग, चौघटिया नामक स्थान क इनार सै पानि आनय चलल चौघटिया इनार लग, आम-गाछी में, दयाल सिंह अपना बरियाती क संग अँटकल छल। दयाल सिंह कै प्यास लागलैन्ह। ओ अपना नोकर 'झिलमा' कें पानि आनै पठोलन्हि। अमरावती पानि भरि कें देवा सै अस्वीकार केलन्हि। बेसी हुज्जति करैक दुआरै हुनक भौज फूलमती, अपन सोना क मजरौठा (एक किस्म क कंगन) सै झिलमा क मुंह पर मारि देलकैक। झिलमा क आगू क दांत टूटि गेलैक आ मुँह लहु-लहुआन भै गेलैक।

ओ घूरि कै दयाल सिंह कै एकर सूचना देल कैन्ह। दयाल सिंह, अपना पैर में घुघरू बान्ह लन्हि ओ पीयर धोती पहिरये चलाह। हुनक उत्तरीय लाल छलैन्ह झिलमा, मृदंग बान्हलक। मृदंग पर थाप पड़ल। घुघरू झंकार कै उठल। ओ कुँइआ क समीप पहुँचलाह। मृदंग पर बाजि रहल छल—"प्यासल कै पानि दे।"

किन्तु ओ ललना लोकनि तइ पर कोनो ध्यान नहिं देलथिन्ह। हुनका भय छलैन्ह जे घुरइ में विलम्ब भेला सै बहुरा ठकुराइन तमसा जेतीह।

किन्तु दयाल सिंह, धरती सै, इनार पर आ इनार पर सै ओकरा लहरा पर आबि गेलाह। ओ नवयौवना लोकनि हुनका नृत्य पर मुग्ध भै गेलीह। दयाल सिंह लहरा पर बेग सै घुमैत नृत्य करै लागलाह। कामिनी सब कांपि गेलीह। कतौ नृत्य बेग में, ई तरुण नर्त्तक इनार में ने खसि पड़ै।

अमरावती अनुनय केलथिन्ह—"हे सुदर्शन कलाकार, अहां नृत्य बन्न करू। हम अहां कें अपना हाथ सै पानि भरि कै पियैब।"

ओ पानि भरै लागलीह।

नर्त्तक आब अर्धवृत्त बनबैत अधहे लहरा पर नृत्य करै लागल।

आशंका सै अमरावती व्याकुल भै उठलीह—"हे नर्त्तक देव, ठमकू, हम सत्त करैत छी। स्वं अपनइ हाथे पानि भरि कै पियैब।"

नृत्य थमि गेलैक।

"दयाल सिंह" नृत्य क संक्षिप्त पृष्ट भूमि.यैह छियैक।

झालि आ मृदंग एकर मुख्य बाजा छियैक। नर्तक पहिले "आकर्सग-नृत्य" करैत छैक। ओ जानैत अछि जे पनिभरनी रूप सी ओकरे पत्नी छियैक अतएव ओकरा आंखि में प्रणय क प्यास छैक आ अधर पर जल क प्यास वला मुद्रा छैक।

अइ नृत्य क तीन चरण छैक।

क—इनार क नीचा में पनि भरनी क ध्यान आकर्षित करेक हेतु जे कैल जाइत छैक।...उच्चाटन नृत्य

ख—मोहन नृत्य...ओ नृत्य जे इनार क लहरा पर नाचल जाइत छैक। ओइ वृत्ताकार नृत्य सँ ओ ललना लोकनि मोहित भै जाइत छथि। अइ में भय आ रोमांस दूनू क समावेश छैक। एक दिस अगाध इनार में खसैक भय आ दोसर दिस सुन्दरी लोकनि दिस दृष्टिपात नृत्य कै सन्तुलित रखैत छैक।

ग—वशीकरण नृत्य...तेसर चरण में, नर्त्तक इनार पर क अधहे लहरा पर नृत्यमान रहैत अछि। ओही में ओकरा नृत्य क चक्कर (circuit) अर्ध-वृत्त अवस्था में पूरा करै पड़ैत छैक। नर्त्तक, इनार क पानि में, रूपसी पनिभरनी क प्रतिबिम्ब देखैत नृत्य करैत अछि।

पहिल झंकार छैक...प्यासल कै पानि दे : धाकिट धा धा धा।
दोसर झंकार छैक...नयन जुड़ा गेल हृदय जुड़ा दे।
"ता धिन ता, ता ता धिन धिन ता।"
तेसर झंकार छैक...सत्त राख : सत्त राख।
"धा किट किट। धा किट किट।"

नृत्य क तांन्त्रिक स्वरूप

दयाल सिंह...(माथ पर स्वर्ण कलश नेने। स्वर्ण कलश मां कमला क निवास क प्रतीक। शिव तत्व में गंगा क प्रतीक) = शिव तत्व = * = अग्नितत्व। *=सुषुम्ना इनार क लहरा क वृत्ताकार चक्कर=O=सूर्य तत्व=पिंगला इनार क लहरा क।

अर्ध वृत्ताकार चक्कर=⌣=चन्द्र तत्व=ईड़ा।

अइ प्रकारें इड़ा, पिंगला आ सुषुम्ना जइठां एकाकार होति छैक ओइ ठां "प्रयाग" बनैत छैक आ ओही ठां काम=जल=अमरावती क प्राप्ति होमि छैक आ "हृदय-कमल" जुड़ा जाइत छैक।

कमला नृत्य

कमला नृत्य, दयाल सिंह नृत्य क क्रम में दोसर नृत्य अछि।

अमरावती, दयाल सिंह क हेतु पानि भरै लागलि। ओ अपन डाइन-माइ क घमंड में मां कमला ' कमला नदी) उपेक्षा केने छलि। अतएव इनार क पानि माता कमला क प्रेरणा सै नीचा दिस सरकै लाग लैक। जहिना जहिना रेशमी क डोरी सै बान्हल नीचा दिस जाइ, तहिना तहिना पानिक नीचा सरकैत जाइ। डारा समाप्त भै गेल तै सत्त सै बाध्य अमरावती, अपन आंचर क छोर डोरी सै बान्हि देलकैक। साड़ी क छोर से हो इनार में नीचा ससरै लाग लैक ओ अर्ध नग्न जांघां भै गेलि किन्तु जल क सतह नहिं भेटलैक।

अमरावती आकुल भै उठली। हुनका एक दिस तँ अपन कैल "सत्त" क चिन्ता छलैन्ह, आ दोसर दिस ओ नग्न भै रहलि छली। ओ करुणा में भरि कै पुकारि उठली — "कमला भैया नुआ पुरायब नुआ पुरायब कमला भैया। फेर की छल, इनार में पानि भरि आथल आ ओकरा चारू भरि, कमला क फेनिल हिलोर क रूप में जल लहरा उठल आ अमरावती क चारू भर अर्ध प्रस्फुटित आ पूर्ण प्रस्फुटित कमल-पुष्प सब देखाइ मैनै लागल।

कमला-नृत्य का स्वरूप

नर्त्तक किशोर वयः के होति छैक। नील साड़ी में आ नवयौवना क रूप में उपस्थित कैल जाइत अछि। ओकरा माथ पर कोढ़िला क मुकुट बनल रहैत छैक ओइ में सुशोभित रहैत छैक, कमल-फूल, काश क फूल, हंस आ माछ क आकृति। इ सब कमला-नदी क प्रतीक भेल। कंचुकी पीयर रंग क होति छैक। ओकरा हाथ में सत्तरि-अस्सी हाथ क, बड़ पातर आ श्वेत पाग वस्त्र रहैत छैक।

बाजा में झालि-मृदंग आ डंड ताल क प्रयोग होति छैक। सब सै पहिने कमला क भगति गीत गौल जाइत छैक। तखन नृत्य प्रारम्भ होति छैक। इ बड़ वेगशील नृत्य होति छैक। तै नाच क अन्त में नर्तक कै पकड़इ लै, चरि व्यक्ति चारू दिशा में बैस ल जाइत अछि। कहल जाइत अछि, जे, जो ओइ नृत्यमाग नर्तक कै नहिं पकड़ि लेल जाय तै नचैत नचैत ओकर मृत्यु भै जैतैक। अतएव इ चारू दिक्पाल निश्चित समय पर, नर्तक कै पकड़ि कै, ओकरा माथ पर सं शिरत्राण उतारि लैत छथि।

नृत्य क प्रारम्भ में नर्तक जेना कानि उठैत अछि :--"कमला भैया नुआ पुरायब, नुआ पुरायब कमला भैया।"

जहिना-जहिना नृत्य गतिशील भेल जाइत छैक पहिना-तहिना नर्तक क हाथ क ओ पातर वस्त्र लहरा उठैत छैक जेना, कमला नदी में फेनिल हिलोर उठि रहल हो। नृत्य कै अधिक वेगशील होइते ओइ वस्त्र सै फुलैल, अधफुलैल आ पुरनिक पात क आकृति सबहि क सिरजन होति चलैत छैक। बीच-बीच में नर्त्तक क करुण रागिणी सुनि पड़ैत छैक--"कमला भैया नुआ पुरायब नुआ पुरायब कमला भैया।"

कमला कोयला

कोईला, कमला (कमला-नदी) क बड़ प्रिय भक्त छल। प्रतिदिन सहस कमल सै ओ हुनक पूजा करैत छल। गंगा कमला सै कहल थिन्ह--"इ सेवक हमरा दै दिअ बहिन।"

कोइला, गंगा क सेवक बनइ सै अस्वीकार कै देल। गंगा क प्रेरणा सै, कटनियां में धसना खसैक कारणे कोयला के मृत्य भै गेलैक। कोइला, मरि कै अमर भै गेल आ कमला क चिर सेवक बनि गेल।

कोइला नृत्य क स्वरूप

किशोर नर्त्तक, नृत्य क्रम में, पूजा, नाव, पतवार, हिलोर आ कटचियां क भाव उपस्थित करैत अछि। अन्त में ओकर बलिदान क नृत्य, नृत्य-गति कै चरम-उत्कर्ष पर आनि दैत छैक।

शलहेस-नृत्य

शैलेस क अर्थ होति छैक पहाड़ क राजा। शैलेस कै कुसुमा आ दोना नाम के दूटा मालिन नवयौवना प्रेम करैत छलैन्ह किन्तु आन जाति क होइक दुआरै ओ सब मिल नहिं पवैत छलाह। कुसुमा-दोना आजीवन विलाप करैत रहि गेलीह :--

"केश तिलकि गेल, वयस वीति गेल
राजा शलहेस लै आंचर वान्हलौं
वारह वरिष सै आंचर वान्हली
तैयो ने निरदइया दुसधा बुझई रे की।

इ नृत्य, पर्वत सै, जल-विन्दु क किंकिणी वजवैत निर्झरिणी जोकां गतिशील छैक। अइ पर सुप्रसिद्ध नेपाली नृत्य "झाउरे" क विपुल प्रभाव छैक। अइ नृत्य क क्रम में दूटा नृत्य छैक। पहिल छियैक "वाघिन-नृत्य" आ दोसर छियैक "कुसुमा-दोना" नृत्य।

अइ में, वाँस, तम्बूरा आ तार सै बनल, "घूना" आ "चिक्कारा", मृदंग क संग बजैत छैक।

वाघिन-नृत्य क स्वरूप

मन्त्र जानइ वाली कुसुमा, मन्त्र क वलें वाघिन बनि जाइत अछि। ओ विकराल भावे 'सलहेस' क वाट छेकैत अछि। सलहेश क प्रग छैन्ह, कोनो रूप क नारी (मादिन) पर शस्त्र क आघात नंइ करैक। ओ हाथ क भाला फेकि वाघिन क सन्मुख ठाढ़ भै जाइत छथि। वाघिन हुनका पर आक्रमण नहिं कै हुनका चारूकात चक्कर काटैत छैन्ह। नृत्य चरम अवस्था पर तखन पहुँच जाइत छैक जखन, राजा सलहेस वाघिन क दूनू हाथे उपर उठा लैत छथि। कुसुमा क मुखौटा खसि पड़ैत छैक आ ओइ तर सै प्रगट होति छैक चान सन क कुसुमा क मुख मंडल। ओकर मुक्त केश लहराइत छैक। मुँह सुन्दरी नारी क आ शरीर वाघिन क।

किछु क्षण तक अही स्थिति में नृत्य क चक्कर चलैत अछि।

कुसुमा दोना-नृत्य

राजा सलहेस, वांसुरी वजवैत छथि आ एक दिस सै "कुसुमा आ दोसर दिस सै "दोना" नृत्य करैत अवैत छथि। कने काल धरि नृत्य अही क्रम में रहैत अछि किन्तु जै कि कुसुमा आ दोना नृत्य क्रम में विपरीत दिशा में घूरइ छथि कि राजा सलहेस पड़ा जाइत छथि। सहसा बाजा क रागिणी वदलि जाइत अछि आ कुसुमा ओ दोना वियोग नृत्य प्रारम्भ करैत छथि।

नयका वनिजारा

नयका वनिजारा परम प्रतापी व्यापारी छलाह। वारह साल क हेतु, ओ व्यापार लै परदेश गेलाह। हुनका अनुपस्थिति में, हुनक दुष्ट वहिन 'तिलेसरी' हुनक परम सुन्दरी फुलेश्वरी कै एक लक्ष स्वर्ण मुद्रा में, काशी क वेश्या-व्यापारी कुम्भा डोम क हाथें वेचि लेलन्हि। कुम्भा, फुलेश्वरी कै संग चलैक हेतु वाध्य केलन्हि। वड़े कौशल सै, रानी फुलेश्वरी, वाट में, डोम सै अपन सातित्व रक्षा करैत छथि।

डोम कछ नृत्य

अइ नृत्य में एक दिस रानी फुलेश्वरी रहैत आ दोसर दिस सै कुम्भा क चारि-पांच टा रूपसी हुनका कुम्भा लै लोभावैत हुनका चारूकात नृत्यमान चक्कर दैत छैन्ह आ कथोपकथन चलैत छैक। अन्त में हाथ में चाबुक नेने अबैत अछि विकराल 'कुम्भा'। किन्तु ओ फुलेश्वरी क सौन्दर्य देखि ततमता जाइत अछि आ ओकर चाबुक, फुलेश्वरी क चारूकात नाचि कै ओकरा कोनो आघात केने बिना घुरि जाइत छैक। अइ कथोपकथन कै रावण-सीता क कथोपकथन बूझ क चाही। डोम क मुद्रा एक्केक्षण में भयंकर आ याचनापूर्ण दूनू होइत रहैत छैक। ओकरा मुद्रा में उत्कट वासना छैक आ फुलेश्वरी क मुद्रा में करुणा। अन्त में रानी फुलेश्वरी क विजय होति छैक आ डोम रानी क चरण में माथा टेक दैत छैक।

हम एकरा महान मैथिली नृत्य मानैत छी। अइ में कोनो बाह्य घटना द्वारा रानी फुलेश्वरी क सहायता नहिं कैल जाइत छैन्ह, वरन् रानी फुलेश्वरी क समीप, स्वं डोम क हृदय क वासना तिरोहित भै जाइत छैक। कछ क अर्थ होति छैक-भगल केनाइ। डोम कछ क अर्थ भेल-डोम द्वारा आतंक, आ प्रणय आदि क भगल कैल गेनाइ। छोटा नागपूर में डोमकछ नृत्य दोसर रूप में प्रचलित अछि।

नयका फुलेश्वरी नृत्य

नयका क क्रम में दोसर नृत्य अछि 'नयका-फुलेश्वरी' नृत्य। इ नृत्य ओइ क्षण कै व्यक्त करैत छैक जखन बारह वर्ष क उपरान्त, नैका व्यापार सै घुरैत अछि आ मार्ग में ओकरा फुलेश्वरी सै भेंट होति छैक। इ वियोग, करुणा, मान आ मान-भंग क द्योतक नृत्य अछि। अइ में, पृष्ट भूमि में मात्र सारंगी क विभिन्न रागिणी द्वारा भाव उत्पन्न कैल जाइत छैक। बीच में 'धूर' क मद्धिम प्रकाश रहैत छैक आ अन्हार एवं आलोक क रहस्यमय मिश्रण रहैत छैक। उत्तेजक क्षण में, बीच-बीच में नगाड़ा बजि उठैत छैत।

लोरिक नाच्यो

आदिम नृत्य क उपरान्त, इ सब सै प्राचीन नृत्य छैक। ऊपर कहल जा चुकल अछि जे, ज्योतिरीश्वर ठाकुर द्वारा लिखित 'वर्ण-रत्नाकर' में एकर चर्चा आवि चुकल छैक। आइयो इ नृत्य अपन ओज क कारण जन-समाज में ओहिना प्रचलित अछि।

अपनइ 'गण' क शाप क कारण 'शिव' लोरिक, पार्वती, मांजरि आ गंगा, 'चनैन क रूप में धरती पर अवतरित भेलाह।

लोरिक क व्याह परम सुन्दरी मांजरि सै होति छैन्ह। मांजरि पर उधरा-पेंवार नामक राजा आसक्त छैक। ओ सोनिका नामक योद्धा कै, मांजरि कै कोवर घर सै चोरा आनइ लै पठवैत छैक। सोनिका, घर क छप्पर फांड़ि कै कोवर में प्रवेश करैत अछि।

दिन भरि युद्ध आ यात्रा क झमारल लोरिक भेर निन्न में सूतल अछि। किन्तु मांजरि क आंखि में निन्न कतै? लोरिक क विश्व-विजयी खंडा, घर क एक कोन में ओंगठौल छैक।

ओही क्षण में सर्वाङ्ग शरीर में कज्जल क लेप केने 'सोनिका' शनैः शनैः आगू बढ़ैत अछि। ओ हाथ में तरुआरि नेने अछि आ लोरिक क हत्या करै चाहैत अछि। मांजरि,

लोरिक कै जगवैत छैक। लोरिक जागि कै अपन खंडा उठबै चाहैत अछि किन्तु सोनिका ओकर बाट छेकि लैत छैक। ओ तरुआरि सँ लोरिक पर आघात करैत अछि। लोरिक ओकर आघात बचबैत आकुल भै उठैत छथि। मांजरि क आंखि में आतंक छैन्ह। ओ बड़े कौशल सँ ओइ दुधर्ष खंडा कै उठा लैत छथि आ लोरिक क हाथ में दै दैत छथिन्ह। सोनिका एक्के आघात में धराशायी भै जाइत अछि। लोरिक, हाथ में खंडा नेनइ मांजरि कै आलिङ्गण पाश में भरि लैत छथि आ सोनिका क शव पर नृत्य करैत छथि।

कोबर-नृत्य

अइ नृत्य क प्रारम्भ सोनिका करैत अछि। ओ एक हाथ में तरुआरि नेने रहैत अछि। एक दिस लोरिक क खंडा धैल रहैत छैक। मांजरि आ लोरिक संगे नृत्य करैत अबैत छथि। सोनिका क आघात कै बचबैत लोरिक एक्के चक्कर में दू रस क समावेश करैत अछि। ओ सोनिका क दिस रौद्र-भाव सँ ताकैत अछि आ मांजरि दिस प्रणय दृष्टि सँ। मांजरि क आंखि में आतंक रहैत छैक। किन्तु ओ नृत्यमान गति सँ खंडा आनि कै बड़े कौशल सँ लोरिक क हाथ में दै दैत छैक। लोरिक क एक्के आघात में सोनिका धराशायी भै जाइत आ ओ मांजरि कै बाम आलिङ्गण में भरि, सोनिका क पीठ पर पैर राखि नृत्य करै लागैत छथि।

इ नृत्य क दोसर चरण, 'उल्लास-नृत्य' में परिणत भै जाइत अछि। एना बूझि पड़ैत अछि जेना एकर प्रेरणा 'शिव' क गजासुर वध सँ लेल गेल होइ।

अइ क्रम में दोसर नृत्य अछि, चनैन-नृत्य। लोरिक, मांजरि कै छोड़ि, राजकुमारी चनैन संग, सोन्हौली घाट क भवन में, रंग-रभस में रमि जाइत छथि। बारह बरिस क प्रतीक्षा क उपरान्त, मांजरि, बाजिल कौवा क पैर में वियोग पत्र बान्हि कै पठबैत छथी। कौवा लोरिक क हाथ पर पत्र खसबैत छैक। लोरिक क हृदय हाहाकार कै उठैत छैन्ह आ ओ मांजरि क ओइठां चलैक हेतु प्रस्तुत होति छैन्ह। लोरिक कै ठमका लेवाक हेतु, सोलहो सिंगार केने अबैत अछि नचैत चनैन। अइ नृत्य क तीन चरण छैक।

क—मोहिनी नृत्य (वासनात्मक)।

ख—कलह नृत्य।

ग—करुणा आ आत्म समर्पण नृत्य।

नृत्य क अन्त लोरिक क चरण पर, चनैन क मस्तक अर्पित हेवाक दृश्य सँ होति छैक।

लोरिक—नृत्य नेपाल क त्रिवेणी मेला में प्रदर्शित कैल जाइत छैक। इ छोड़ि इ नृत्य आनठां अप्राप्य छैक।

लोक-गाथा नृत्य क मधुलोक सँ आब हम पौराणिक लोक-नृत्य दिस अबैत छी।

नारदीय नृत्य

पौराणिक आधार पर आधारित जत्ते नृत्य छैक तइ में सब सँ प्राचीन अछि भक्ति रस में सराबोर "नारदीय" नृत्य। इ सत्यनारायण क चौपहरा पूजा (रात्रि क प्रत्येक

प्रहर क पूजा) क अवसर पर प्रदर्शित कैल जाइत छैक। झालि आ मृदंग क संग नर्त्तक दल श्रीमन्नारायण क धुन क संग पूजा स्थल क अनवरत, नृत्यमान गति सै परिक्रमा करैत अछि। परिक्रमा क्रम में ताल क अनुसार तीन गति होति छैक—

क—हंस गति (विलम्बित)

ख—मृग गति (द्रुत)

ग—गरुड़ गति (गुड़कान वा गरुड़कान)

नर्त्तक वृन्द क हाथ में "करताल" रहैत छैन्ह। ओ पीताम्बर पहिरने रहैत छथि। शरीर पर काषाय उत्तरीय रहैत छैन्ह। गारा में तुलसी माला आ ललाट पर श्वेत तिलक रहैत छैन्ह रात्रि क विशेष प्रहर क अनुसार, श्रीमन्नारायण क धुन विभिन्न रागिणी में गौल जाइत छैक।

रास-नृत्य

पौराणिक नृत्य सब में, कृष्ण सम्बन्धी नृत्य सब सै अधिक प्रचलित छैक। अइ में सब सै प्रसिद्ध रास-नृत्य छैक इ प्रत्येक गाम में नाचल जाइत छैक आ प्रत्येक नर्त्तक एकरा जनैत अछि। मृदंग आ वांसुरी एकर मुख्य वाद्य छियैक। कतोक नृत्यमान गोपी सबहिक चलायमान वृत्त में राधा कृष्ण नृत्य चलैत रहैत छैक।

डंफा-वांसुरी:नृत्य (राधा कृष्ण नृत्य)

रास नृत्य क उपरान्त अही नृत्य क स्थान छैक। पृष्ठ भूमि में डंफा आ वांसुरी वजैत रहैत छैक। राधा क हाथ में पुष्प माला रहैत छैन्ह आ कृष्ण क हाथ में वांसुरी। नृत्य में राधा-कृष्ण क कथोपकथन मान सै प्रारम्भ होति छैक, पुनः पुनः मान भंग, प्रणय निवेदन क उपरान्त नृत्य क अंत मिलन में होति छैक।

राधा नीलाम्बर आ लाल कंचुकी पहिरने रहैत छथि। कृष्ण, मोरमकुट, पीताम्बर, आ वनमाला धारण केने। मिलन बड़ मोहक ढङ्ग सै होति छैक। नाचैत राधा कृष्ण क गरा में माला पहिरा दैत छथिन्ह आ कृष्ण पाछु घूमि कै, राधा क दूनू पार्श्व सै हाथ बहार करैत, हुनका आलिङ्गण पाश में भरि, उल्लासमय वांसुरी बजबै लगैत छथि। नृत्य क विभिन्न स्थिति क संचालन, डंफा क बोल द्वारा होति छैक।

चीर हरण-नृत्य

इ नृत्य कहियो बड़ प्रसिद्ध छल। वाद्य में सारंगी रहैत छैक बीच-बीच में वांसुरी से हो बजैत छैक। कृष्ण क इ नृत्य गोपी सबहिक अनुराग भरल विह्वल वातावरण में चलैत छैक।

पारिजात हरण नृत्य

कृष्ण क पत्नी, सत्यभामा, पारिजात वृक्ष लै रुसि रहली। कृष्ण हुनका गरुड़ पर बैसा कै, इन्द्र सै युद्ध केलन्हि आ पारिजात ने ने द्वारिका धुरलाह।

कोढ़िला (Shola-wood) आ मड़कीला वस्त्र क संयोग सै गरुड़ बनौल जाइत छैक। एकर वाद्य यन्त्र, तबला आ सारंगी छियैक। इ एक प्रकार क नृत्य-नाट्य छियैक। दरभंगा जिला क कोठवना गांव क नर्त्तक एकरा बड़े सफलता पूर्वक प्रदर्शित करैत छथि। पृष्ठ भूमि, में बेरावेरी गीत बदलैत रहैत छैक आ ओकरे ध्वनि पर नृत्य चलैत

रहैत छैक। विद्यापति क एक पीढ़ी क पूर्व कवि उमापति भेलाह। हुनक लिखल पारिजातहरण नाटक बहुत प्रसिद्ध अछि। ई नृत्य ओही नाटक क आधार पर अछि। नाच में "उमापति" क लिखल गीत गौल जाइत अछि।

अंकिया आ किर्त्तनिया नाच

राजनगर क मन्दिर सब में, दुर्गापूजा क अवसर पर, किर्त्तनिया आ अंकिया नाटक क आधार पर ई नृत्य प्रदर्शित कैल जाइत अछि।

पौराणिक नृत्य सबहिक अलावे "विद्यापति" नृत्य अत्यधिक लोकप्रिय अछि। अइ नृत्य क आधार विद्यापति क कविता अछि जे जन कण्ठ में विद्यापतिये क काल स बसैत चल आबि रहल अछि। विद्यापति नृत्य क प्रथम नर्त्तक "जयन्त" छलाह जे महाराज शिव सिंह क दरबार में कवि क जीवन काले में बहुत प्रख्यात भे लाह।

विद्यापति नृत्य क दू पक्ष अछि।

क—राधा माधव पक्ष।

ख—हर गौरा पक्ष।

राधा-माधव पक्ष क नृत्य क संख्या बेसी अछि। ई नृत्य "बतान" शैली क नृत्य छैक। "बतान" क अर्थ होति छैक भावभंगी द्वारा बतोनाइ–अभिव्यक्ति केनाइ।

अइ शैली में, विद्यापति क, वयःसन्धि, राधा क दूती, कृष्ण क दूती, सद्यःस्नाता, मिलन, अभिसार, मान-मान-भंग, वियोग आदि। बड़े सूक्ष्म विवरण क संग नृत्य रूप में प्रदर्शित कैल जाइत छैक। दरभंगा जिला क सखबाड़ गाम क श्री दरबारी अइ शैली क विख्यात नर्त्तक छथि।

विद्यापति स्वं अइ नृत्य सब में व्यवहृत होइ वला वाद्ययन्त्र सबहिक चर्चा केने छथि।

"बाजत द्रिम-द्रिम धौं द्रिम द्रिमिया।
नटत कलावति माति श्याम संग॥
कर करताल प्रबन्धक ध्वनियां।
डिम डिम डम्फ डिमिक डिम मादल॥
रुनझुन मंजीर बोल।

मुरज, रबाब, वीण, स्वर मण्डल आ करताल आदि वाद्य यन्त्र क नाम अइ 'रास' नृत्य क वर्णन क क्रम में ऐल अछि।

शिव पक्ष क "मान-रक्षा नित्य।"

विद्यापति क एकटा सुप्रसिद्ध नचारी छैह :—

पार्वती :—"नाथ आजु एक महाव्रत, महासुख लागत हे।
तोहें शिव धरु नट वेश डमरू बजावहु हे॥

शिव :—तोहें जे कहइ छ गौरा नाचै।
कोना हम नाचब हे॥
एक सोच मोरा लागु चारि कोना बांचब हे।
"जटा सै छिलकत गंग भूमि पर पाटत हे॥

आहे हयत सहस मुख धार समेटलो ने जायत हे।
अमिय चूवि भूमि खसत वघम्बर जागत हे॥
आहे हयत वघम्बर वाघ वसह धरि खायत हे।
जटा सै ससरत सांप अवनि पर आओत हे॥
आहे कातिक पोसल मयूर सेहो धरि खाओत हे।
मुँड माल टुटि खसत मसानी जागत हे॥
आहे तहूँ गौरा जेवह पड़ाय नाच के देखत हे।

अइ नृत्य क विशेषता इ अछि जे शिव नाचितो छथि आ अपन लाचारियो कहैत छथि। इ नृत्य अपन माधुर्य आ कलात्मक विशेषता लै प्रसिद्ध अछि।

नृत्य क स्वरूप

पृष्ठ भूमि में नचारी क रागिणी गूँजैत छैक। शिव अपन भाव भंगिमा एना प्रगट करैत छथि जेना पार्वती ओइठां उपस्थित होथि। (किन्तु पार्वती उपस्थित नहिं रहैत छथि) शिव नचैत, भंगिमा द्वारा अपन चारू 'लचारी' उपस्थित करैत छथि। पुनः अन्तिम कड़ी "तहूँ गौरा जेवह पड़ाय नाच के देखत हे" क संग रंग मंच सै शिव ओहिना पड़ाइ छथि जेना पड़ैलि जाइत पार्वती क पाछु-पाछु स्वयं विकल भेल चल जाइत होथि। विद्यापति क, शिव पक्ष क नृत्य क क्रम में दोसर नृत्य अछि :—

रूसनिहारि-नृत्य

इ हास्य उत्पन्न करैक हेतु प्रदर्शित कैल जाइत अछि। एकर आधार विद्यापति क इ नचारी छियैक :—

रुसलि भवानी तेजि महेश।
कर धैल कार्त्तिक गोद गणेश॥

भवानी, शिव क उपेक्षा सै अकछा कै नहिरा पड़ैल जाइत छथि। शिव हुनका वौसेत छथि आ अही पर भंगिमा द्वारा उतरा-चौरी होति अछि।

छकड़वाजी-नृत्य

विद्यापति-नृत्य क उपरान्त आव सामाजिक नृत्य दिस अवैत छी। सामाजिक नृत्य में छकड़वाजी-नृत्य क प्रमुख स्थान छैक। छकड़वाजी क अर्थ होति छैक "छौड़ा" क नृत्य। इ नृत्य, इस्लामी महाफिल क "साकी" सै प्रभावित नृत्य छैक। जम्मा, पहिरने, पटुका लपेटने आ माथ पर जरीदार टोपी राखने किशोर वय क नर्त्तक अइ नृत्य कै प्रदर्शित करैत छैक। सारंगी आ तबला एकर मुख्य वाद्य छियैक। अही फरमाइश दैत जाउ आ भाव-भंगिमा क संग गजल, ठुमरी, जयजयवन्ती आ तिलक कामोद जे मोन हो सुनैत जाउ।

असि-नृत्य

आइ सै दू तीन दसक पूर्व, असि-नृत्य वड़ लोक प्रिय छल जे आइ अप्राप्य भेल जा रहल छैक।

एकटा सैनिक अपन प्रथम प्रेयसी कै छोड़ि दोसर नवयौवना सै प्रेम करै लागैत छथि पहिल प्रेयसी, हुनका नव प्रेयसी क संग देखि लैत छथिन्ह।

सैनिक क डांड़ सै तरुआरि लटकि रहल छैन्ह। पहिल प्रेयसी क्रुद्ध भै म्यान सै तरुआरि झीकि कै सैनिक क वक्ष पर प्रहार करैत छथिन्ह। किन्तु हुनका अन्तर्मन में जे ओइ सैनिक क प्रति अगाध प्रेम, तइ कारणें, हुनक हाथ क तरुआरि सैनिक क वक्ष क अत्यन्त समीप जाय, एक सूत क अन्तर बनवैन, म्यान में समा जाइत छैक।

नृत्य क सरूप

नृत्य, सैनिक वेश में, डांड़ में अरुआरि बान्हने, नर्त्तक आ ओकर तरुणी प्रेयसी सै प्रारम्भ होति छैक। दूनू मिलन मुद्रा में नचैत छथि। किछुए क्षण में, सैनिक क प्रथम प्रेयसी, कलहान्तारिता नायिका क रूप में प्रवेश करैत छैक। तीनू नाचैत छैक। सैनिक नर्त्तक एक्के चक्कर में, नवीन प्रेयसी दिस प्रणय मुद्रा आ पहिल प्रेयसी दिस कलह मुद्रा बनवैत छैक। नवीन प्रेयसी क भंगिमा में लाज आ करुणा छैक। पहिल प्रेयसी क्रोधें अभिभूत भै कै सैनिक क डांड़ सै तरुआरि झोकि कै सैनिक क वक्ष पर प्रहार करैत छैक आ सहसा ओ तरुआरि सैनिक म्यान में विला जाइत छैक। अइ क्रम में, सैनिक आ ओकर दूनू प्रेयसी, बड़ मोहक मुद्रा उपस्थित करैत छैक।

डामर-नृत्य

सामाजिक नृत्य में, "डामर" नृत्य सब सै पुरान छैक। इ नृत्य, शिव क नचारी क गीत क संग डमरू क ध्वनि क बीच चलैत छैक। इ असकरो भै सकैत छैक आ समूहों में। वाद्य क नाम पर केवल अइ में डमरूए टा बाजैत छैक। बीच बीच में शंख ध्वनि सै नृत्य क स्थिति क विभाजन होति छैक।

कामर-नृत्य

कामर-नृत्य, कमरथुआ लोकनिक नृत्य कै कहैत छैक। बांस क वहिंगा में, दूनू दिस कामौर भार टांगि, माथ में जटा-जूट सँवारने, कान्ह पर उत्तरिय नेने, अभियान गीत (marching-song) गबैत, कमरथुआ क दल गंगाजल भरि कै, वैद्यनाथ धाम दिस बढ़ैत अछि। रहि रहि कै "हर हर बम बम" क उच्चारण होति छैक। बीच बीच में कमरथुआ क लोकनिक हाथ में डमरू रहैत छैन्ह। कमरथुआ पंक्ति बद्ध भै कै चलैत छथि आ बीच बीच में सुरम्य स्थान देखि कै नृत्य करै लागैत छथि। कमरथुआ—गीत, डमरू क स्वर नाचै लगैत छथि, देवाधिदेव महादेव कै रिझवइ लै।

अइ नृत्य क चारि मुद्रा आ चारि गीत होति छैक।

क—वरसह

ख—त्रिशूल

ग—सर्प

घ—गंगाजल

झुकि कै नाचनाइ आ मस्ती में मुड़ी डोलोनाइ-वरसह मुद्रा भेल, दूनू हाथ ऊपर उठा कै नाचनाइ, त्रिशूल क प्रतीक, पंक्तिवद्ध भै ऋजु-गति सै आगू बढनाइ सर्प क प्रतीक आ पांती में, वेग सै उछलैत, हिलकोर जोकां आगू बढ़नाइ गंगा क धारा क प्रतीक भेल। अइ प्रकारें, कमरथुआ अपना कै शिवोहम्, भैरवोहम् क अनुभूति में आनैक स्थिति कै "कामर" नृत्य कहैत छथि।

"कामर" आ "डामर" नृत्य लोक कै देखबइ लै नहि वरन् स्वयं तन्मय मै जाइक हेतु कैल जाति छैक।

वतहा-वतही-नृत्य

जूड़-शीतल क अवसर पर, भांग क गाछ, पतलखड़ी, कारिख आ केरा क डंफोर क संयोग सै एक व्यक्ति शिव आ दोसर व्यक्ति पार्वती बनैत छथि। संगहि वस्सह आ बाघ क रूप सेहो धरैत छथि। बाघ नाचइ छइ, वस्सह डोलइ छइ आ वतहा-वतही (शिव पार्वती) नृत्य करैत चलैत छथि। पाछू पाछू माटि कादो में सनल जन-समुदाय, शिवस्तव कै गुँजाय मान करैत अपना कै शिव क गण मानैत, भांग क निशा में भकुऐल होकि मुद्रा बनबैत ढ़ोल, मृदंग, झालि बजबैत चलैत अछि।

झरनी नृत्य

झरनी-नृत्य हसन-हुसैन क शहादत क गाथा पर आधारित अछि। इ गरबा नृत्य सन होति छैक। प्रत्येक वर्त्तक क हाथ में बांसक बनल झरनी रहैत छैक। ओ लोकनि वृत्ताकार ठाढ़ मै कै, गीत गबैत चक्कर काटैत छथि आ चक्कर मारैक क्रम में, एक दोसर क झरनी पर झरनि मारैत छथि। झरनी क आवाज, ताल लय में चलैत छैक आ खास छन्द में, "कर बला" क गीत हुनका अधर पर गुँजैत छैन्ह :—

"अपना महल सै बीवी अम्मा निकसलि।
हाथ में कमल के फूले जी॥
कहू कहू सुगना रण के खबरि हे।
रण में चमकइ तेगे जी॥
हाय हाय हाय हसन हाय हुसैन।
झर झर झराय झराय॥

पृष्ठ भूमि में ढोल आ ताशा गड़गड़ाइत रहैत छैक। मोहर्रम क अवसर पर हिन्दू आ मुसलमान दूनू एकरा प्रदर्शित करैत छथि।

नारी-नृत्य

नारी-नृत्य चारि प्रकार के होति अछि। अइ नृत्य सब में पुरुष क हेतु कोनो स्थान नहिं होति छैक। इ नृत्य निम्नलिखित अछि :—

१. नयना-योगिन नृत्य।
२. घसकट्टी नृत्य।
३. सामा-चकेवा नृत्य।
४. जट-जटिन नृत्य।

नयना-योगिन नृत्य

विवाह क रात्रि, वर कै जखन कोबर घर लै जाति छैक तै बधू कै किछु कुमारि-बाला क संग सिझरा कै, कोबर क चारि कोन में चित्रित नयना-योगिन क चित्र क सन्मुख लै जा कै, "नयन-मंगिमा" नृत्य चलैत छैक आ ओइ नृत्यमान बाला क बीच में, वर सै बधू कै चिन्हइ लै कहल जाइत छैक। इ नृत्य नेपाल क पहाड़ी जाति में जीवित छैक मुदा मिथिला क परिवार सब में, मात्र एकर भग्नावशेष रहि गेल छैक।

घसकट्टी नृत्य

वरवधू क प्रथम मिलन क रात्रि—चतुर्थी क रात्रि क प्रथम प्रहर-में ललना लोकनि, वरवधू कै दुर्वाच्छादित खेत में लै जायत छथि। सबहिक माथ पर दीप सै झलमल करैत डाला रहैत छैन्ह। वरवधू कै घास काटइ लै कहल जाइत छैन्ह, आ हुनका वृत्त क केन्द्र में राखि सुन्दरी लोकनि गीत गावैत चक्कर दैत छथि। नृत्य क चरम अवस्था तखन अबैत छैक जखन, वर, काटल घास क बोझ वधू क माथ पर राखै चाहैत छथि आ घेरल वधू क "नँइ-नँइ कहैत छथि।

पुनः वधू क माथ पर, फूल आ दीप भरल डाला, आ वर क माथ पर घास क बोझ नेने, नृत्यमान ललना क घेरा गीत गबैत घूरि अबैत छथि। इहो नृत्य आब अवशेष क रूप में देखाइ दैत अछि।

जट-जटिन नृत्य

इ नारी लोकनीक सामूहिक नृत्य अछि। जट क अर्थ भेल शिव आ जटिन क अर्थ भेल पार्वती।

इ एक प्रकार क शिव-पार्वती नृत्य भेल। साओन मास में जखन वरषा नहि होति छैक आ क्षितिज पर घनश्याम नहि देखाइ दैत छैक तै मेघ कै बजवइ लै इ नृत्य प्रदर्शित कैल जाइत छैक।

नारी लोकनि दू दल में बँटि जाइत छथि। एक तरुणी पुरुष क वेश धारण करैत छथि आ दोसर तरुणी ओकर वधू के। जट क दल एक दिस आ जटिन क दल दोसर दिस आबि जाइत छथि। गीत में कथोपकथन चलैत छैक। बीच में एकटा उखरि रहैत छैक। उखरि क कोर (Ring) पर दीप माला झिलमिल करैत छैक। उखरि क जल में एकटा बेंग राखल रहैत छैक। तइ पर सै एकटा झपना दीप-स्तम्भ जोकां बूझि पड़ैत छैक आ ओकरा चारू भर ललना लोकनि नचैत छथि।

सामा चकेब-नृत्य

इ हो नृत्य नारी लोकनिक सामूहिक नृत्य अछि। शरदागम क संग, हिमालय दिस सै आबइवला हंस समूह क स्वागत में इ नृत्य मनोल जाति छैक।

प्रत्येक क माथ पर बांस क बनल डाला रहैत छैक। प्रत्येक डाला में, श्याम-चकेव क मुर्त्ति—मुँह सुन्दरी नारी क आ शरीर छविमय पक्षी क (तुलनिय, स्फिन्कस सै) करमी क फूल आ कोका फूल सै डाला सजल रहैत छैक। इजोरिया राति में, दूर्वाच्छादित खेत में इ नृत्य चलैत छैक। गीत में भाई क सिनेह क प्रशंसा कैल आ भौज क शुष्कता क निन्दा :—

"गाम के सिरताज तोहें फल्हाँ भैया हे
हाथ दस पोखरि खुनाय दै, कि चम्पा वन लगवाय दै हे
कि राजहंस केलि करत हे।"

गीत क संग नृत्य चलैत छैक। प्रत्येक नारी क हाथ में उल्का दंड रहैत छैक। नृत्य क क्रम में ओइ में धधरा लगा देल जाइत छैक आ उल्का नृत्य प्रारम्भ भै जाइत छैक। माथ पर भरल दीप डाला हाथ में धधकैत उल्का, कंठ में गीत आ पैर में गति, एकटा अत्यन्त मोहक समां बन्हि जाइत छैक।

शिशु-नृत्य

अन्त में मिथिला में प्रचलित, दूटा शिशु-नृत्य क जों उल्लेख नहि कैल तै हुनका लोकनिक प्रति अन्याय केनाइ हैत।

करिया-झूमरि नृत्य

बालिका लोकनिक बड़ प्रिय अछि इ "मेघ नृत्य।" अषाढ़ मास क नव घनश्याम, जखन क्षितिज कोर पर, मृदंग क स्वर में गम्भीर ध्वनि करैत घेरि अबैत छथि आ विद्युत रेखा जखनि चमकि चमकि उठैत छथि, तखन बालिका सब दू दू के जोड़ी बना कै एक दोसर क हाथ क्रास जोंका पकड़ि, पैर में पैर मिला कै नाचै लागैत छथि। एके संग कतोक जोड़ी नृत्य-रत भै जाइत छैक। हुनका लोकनिक मुक्त केश लहराति छैन्ह। कोइ एकटा बालिका आगू गबैत छैक :—

"आम मजरलइ, जामु मजरलइ,
कमला में हिलकोर गइ।
बाबा पोखरि में कमल फुलेलइ,
कोइली पारइ सोर गइ॥"

कू कू कू

सबटा नृत्यमान बालिका एके संग कू कू कै उठैत छथि। अइ प्रकारें, गीत क प्रत्येक कड़ी क संग नृत्य क बेग बढ़ल जाइत छैक। इ नृत्य खूब प्रचलित छैक।

बगुला-बगुली नृत्य

बटुक लोकनिक नृत्य बगुला-बगुली नृत्य कहबैत छैक। पांच टा बालक सै इ नृत्य सम्पादित होति छैक। एकटा बालक बीच में ठाढ़ भै जाइत छैक। चारि टा बालक ओकरा सै हँटि हँटि कै चारू दिशा में ठाढ़ होति अछि। ओकरा सबहिक हाथ में एकहक टा रंगीन धोती होति छैक। बीच वला बालक, एक हाथे दू टा, पुनः दोसर हाथे दू टा धोती क छोर, आ चारू दिशा क बालक एकहक टा छोर पकड़ने रहैत छैक। बीच वला बालक कै नाचैक संग चारू दिशा क बालक नाचैत छैक। ओ लोकनि बुझैत काल गीत लय सै गति कै सन्तुलित रखैत छथि। प्रत्येक कड़ी क अन्त में :—

"बगुला-बगुली ओइ पार जो
हमर नुआ सुखौने जो
हमारा नुआ में झर झर बसात,
झर झर बसात॥"

झर झर बसात क संग ओ लोकनि बख कै जोर जोर सै हिलबै लगैत छथि।

नृत्य क प्रबन्ध क्रम

नृत्य में मुख बन्ध बड़ आवश्यक होति छैक। एकरा एक प्रकार क शान्ति पाठ बुझैक चाही। दिशा कै, आकाश कै आ तेलियामसान कै मनाल जाइत छैक। कोनो कोनो नृत्य क मुखबन्ध में, तत्कालीन राजा के नाम लेल गेल छैक जइ में "राजा भीम सेन", "मीरा सुल्तान" आ "रंगीला मुहम्मद शाह" क नाम विशेषतः आबैत छैक।

मुखबन्ध क उपरान्त प्रार्थना कैल जाइत छैल। गणेश गौरी आ गंगा क प्रार्थना क उपरान्त बड़े करुण स्वर में, नृत्य क वैखरी देवी सरस्वती क प्रार्थना कैल जाइत छैन्ह।

"कंठ वसिहऽ सरस्वती माता
कोकिला सन दिहऽ भास।"

अर्थात् हे माता सरस्वती, कंठ में वास करब आ कोकिल सन स्वर देब। कोनो कोनो नृत्य में नटराज शिव क प्रार्थना विशेष रूप सै कैल जाइत छैन्ह।

मैथिली नृत्य में विपटा

मैथिली लोक नृत्य में "विपटा" क स्थान बड़ महत्वपूर्ण रहैत छैक। आदिम नृत्य शिशु नृत्य आ नारी नृत्य छोड़ि कै प्रायः सब नृत्य में 'विपटा' क उपयोग कैल जाइत छैक। जों नृत्य कै कोनो बहुरंगा सुचित्रित पत्रिका मानि लेल जाय तैं "विपटा" ओकर व्यंग चित्र भेल। विपटा क स्थान वैह छैक, जे कोनो टा, "विदूषक", "क्लाउन", "बुड़िराज" वा "विट" के होति छलैक।

ओ अपन उपस्थित बुद्धि, वेषभूशा आ विचित्र भाग भंगी सै मात्र हँसेवे टा नहि करैत छैक वरन् अपना व्यंग सै तिलमिला दैत छैक।

ओ बुभुक्षित समाज क सन्मुख प्रार्थना करैत छैक :—

"करमी बन्दौं, सुथनी बन्दौ आर बन्दौ अल्हुआ।
सुद खेनिहार महाजन बन्दौं भेलइ मोटा कै कल्हुआ॥

कखनउँ कखनउँ ओ नृत्य क टूटैत कड़ी कै जोड़इ में सहायक होति छैअ आ नृत्य क रिक्त-क्षण (gap-moment) में दर्शक क ध्यान अपना दिस आकर्षित करैत, नर्त्तकी क वेश में अबैत पात्र सै चौल करैत रहैत अछि। स्वर्गीय लाल दास अपना मैथिली रामायण में, मैथिली विपटा कै, नृत्य क संग, राम क बरियात में राजा—दशरथ आ अयोध्यावासी पर व्यंग करैक बड़ मोहक वर्णन केलन्हि अछि।

उपसंहार

तान्त्रिक साधना, आन्तरिक उद्वेग, साधना, भक्ति, शृंगार पूजा, सामाजिक उल्लास आ विभिन्न चिन्तन धारा सबहिक प्रतीक, मैथिली नृत्य सब कम ओ वेश अवशेषैक रूप में जीवित अछि।

सामाजिक प्रगति एकरा द्युतिमान बनबैक अपेक्षा काल क्रम में धुमिल बनबैत गेलैक आ आधुनिक युग क सिनेमा, लाउडस्पीकर तथा पोषक तत्व क कर्मी सै इ नृत्य सब विलायल जाइज अछि।

मैथिली नृत्य क विकास क क्रम सै मैथिली समाज क मान्यता, चिन्तन आ सांस्कृतिक धारा के विभिन्न रूप कै नीक जोकां बूझल जा सकैत अछि।

मैथिली कवि लोकनिक कविना कै मिथिला क नर्त्तक नीक जोकां ग्रहण करैत रहलाह। आइयो ओइ कंठ में, विद्यापति, गोविन्द दास, उमापति, लाल दास मुन्शी रघुनन्दन दास, मधुप, भवप्रीता आ कतोक अज्ञात नाम कवि सब वास करैत छथि।

मैथिली नृत्य, अधिक खोज जा विश्लेषण क अपेक्षा रखैत अछि।

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